Jesuit Image Theory

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Jesuit Image Theory

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Contents

PART 2
Embedded Jesuit Image Theory

Acknowledgements

Notes on the Editors

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Karl Enenkel
is Professor of Medieval Latin and Neo-Latin at the University of Münster (Germany). Previously he was Professor of Neo-Latin at Leiden University (Netherlands). He is a member of the *Royal Netherlands Academy of Arts and Sciences.* He has published widely on international Humanism, early modern culture, paratexts, literary genres 1300–1600, Neo-Latin emblems, word and image relationships, and the history of scholarship and science. Among his major book publications are *Francesco Petrarca: De vita solitaria, Buch 1.* (1991), *Die Erfindung des Menschen. Die Autobiographik des frühneuzeitlichen Humanismus von Petrarca bis Lipsius* (2008), and *Die Stiftung von Autorschaft in der neulateinischen Literatur (ca. 1350–ca. 1650). Zur autorisierenden und wissensvermittelnden Funktion von Widmungen, Vorworttexten, Autorporträts und Dedikationsbildern* (2014). He has co-edited and co-authored some 30 volumes on a great variety of topics, among others, *Modelling the Individual. Biography and Portrait in the Renaissance* (1998), *Recreating Ancient History* (2001), *Mundus Emblematicus. Studies in Neo-Latin Emblem Books* (2003), *Cognition and the Book* (2004), *Petrarch and his Readers* (2006), *Early Modern Zoology* (2007), *The Sense of Suffering. Constructions of Physical Pain in Early Modern Culture* (2009), *The Neo-Latin Epigram* (2009), *Meditatio—Refashioning the Self. Theory and Practice in Late Medieval and Early Modern Intellectual Culture* (2011), *Portuguese Humanism* (2011), *The Authority of the Word* (2011), *Discourses of Power. Ideology and Politics in Neo-Latin Literature* (2012), *The*

Reception of Erasmus (2013), *Transformation of the Classics* (2013), *Die* Vita *als Vermittlerin von Wissenschaft und Werk* (2013), and *Neo-Latin Commentaries and the Management of Knowledge* (2013), *Zoology in Early Modern Culture* (2014), and *Discourses of Anger in the Early Modern Period* (2015). He founded the international series *Intersections* (Brill); *Proteus. Studies in Early Modern Identity Formation*; *Speculum Sanitatis: Studies in Medieval and Early Modern Medical Culture* (*500–1800*) (both Brepols), and *Scientia universalis. Studien und Texteditionen zur Wissensgeschichte der Vormoderne* (LIT-Verlag). He is member of the board of, among others, *Humanistica Lovaniensia*, and the *Conseil international pour l'édition des oeuvres complètes d'Erasme*.

 Walter Melion

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Notes on the Contributors

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has been Director of the Sarah Campbell Blaffer Foundation and Curator in Renaissance and Baroque Painting at the Museum of Fine Arts, Houston since 1994. He has co-curated traveling exhibitions of prints from the collection of the Blaffer Foundation—*A Portrait of the Artist, 1525–1825* (2005) and *The Plains of Mars: European War Prints, 1500–1825* (2009)—as well as several loan exhibitions: *The Body of Christ in the Art of Europe and New Spain, 1150–1800* (1997); *Scripture for the Eyes: Bible Illustration in Netherlandish Prints of the Sixteenth Century* (2009); *Elegance and Refinement: The Still-Life Paintings of Willem van Aelst* (2012); and *Pleasure and Piety: The Art of Joachim Wtewael* (2015). He has published essays on diverse aspects of art and culture in Italy, Germany, the Netherlands, France, and England, from the fifteenth century to the eighteenth, and co-edited *Imago Exegetica: Visual Images as Exegetical Instruments, 1400–1700* (2014).

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enteenth century. He is the author of *Ignace de Loyola. Le lieu de l'image* (1992); *Décréter l'image. La XXVᵉ session du Concile de Trente* (2013); and of a critical edition of Ignatius of Loyola's *Journal des motions intérieures* (2007). He also edited Marcel Bataillon's *Jésuites dans l'Espagne du XVIᵉ siècle* (2009; Spanish edd. 2011, 2013). He has co-edited more than thirty publications, including (with Antonella Romano) "Les jésuites dans le monde moderne. Nouvelles approches historiographiques", *Revue de Synthèse*, 1999/4; (with Bernard Vincent) *Notre lieu est le monde. Missions religieuses dans le monde ibérique à l'époque moderne* (2007); and (with P. Boutry and D. Julia) *Corps saints, lieux sacrés. Le culte des reliques à l'époque moderne* (2009).

David Graham

After having been Dean of Arts and Science and then Provost and Vice-President, Academic Affairs, David Graham is now professor of French literature at Concordia University in Montreal, Quebec (Canada). His academic research interests lie primarily in several areas of emblem studies, including emblem theory, emblem semiotics as manifested in text-image relationships, and the digitization of early modern emblem books, an area in which he was a pioneer. He is the editor of *An Interregnum of the Sign: Essays in Honour of Daniel S. Russell* (2002). He has been Managing Editor of the journal *Emblematica*. He serves on the editorial boards of *Glasgow Emblem Studies* and *Imago*, and is the editor of the semi-annual newsletter of the Society for Emblem Studies.

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Steffen Zierholz

studied art history, philosophy and pedagogics at the University of Tübingen and Rome ("La Sapienza"). From March 2012–2016 Steffen Zierholz was a doctoral candidate within the Sinergia project *The Interior: Art, Space, and Performance* (*Early Modern to Postmodern*) at the University of Bern. He was part of the subproject *The Art and Visual Culture of Solitude: Interiority and Interior Spaces in Post-Tridentine Europe*, directed by the principal investigator Prof. Christine Göttler. Presently, he is assistant lecturer at the Institute of Art History, University Bern. In his PhD thesis *Space and Self. Art and Spirituality in the Society of Jesus* (*1580–1700*), he explores the relationship between the built church interiors and the production of interiority, focusing on three Jesuit case studies in Rome.

List of Illustrations

Introduction: The Jesuit Engagement with the Status and Functions of the Visual Image

Walter S. Melion

Let us begin with a couple of examples taken from two Jesuit books, both of which say a great deal about the Jesuit investment in thinking in, through, and about visual images. Produced at the behest of Pedro de Ribadeneyera, Theodoor Galle's *Vita beati patris Ignatii Loyolae religionis Societatis Iesu fundatoris* (*Life of Blessed Father Ignatius of Loyola, Founder of the Society of Jesus*) consists of sixteen magnificently engraved large oblong plates that illustrate major episodes from Ribadeneyra's Latin biography of Ignatius, adapted from the Spanish edition of 1583 [Fig. 1.1].[1] The print series cleaves closely to subtle distinctions made by Ribadeneyra amongst the kinds and degrees of sacred image that Ignatius beheld as he progressed in sanctity. Within the prosopography that he codified, the form and function of such *imagines*, and the manner and meaning of their viewing, constitute the chief markers of the Jesuit vocation as defined by the founder's life. Plate 4, scenes 'A' and 'B', for instance, puts forward two inflections of the spiritual image [Fig. 1.2]. In scene A, on the steps of the Dominican church in Manresa, Ignatius discerns the Most Holy Trinity by means of a certain visible image ('specie quadam visibili') that signifies externally what he is perceiving internally ('id significante exterius, quod interius percipiebat'); working in tandem, the external and internal images allow Ignatius to see with bodily eyes what the *oculi mentis* behold from

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*   The "Introduction" concludes with summaries of the contributors' essays, co-authored by Wietse de Boer, Karl Enenkel, and Walter Melion.

1   *Vita beati patris Ignatii Loyolae religionis Societatis Iesu fundatoris ad vivum expressa ex ea quam P. Petrus Ribadeneyra eiusdem Societatis theologus ad Dei gloriam et piorum hominum usum ac utilitatem olim scripsit; deinde Madriti pingi, postea in aes incidi et nunc demum typis excudi curavit* (Antwerp, Theodoor Galle: 1610). On this pictorial *Vita* and its relation to the image theory propounded by De Ribadeneyra in his *Vita Ignatii Loyolae*, see "*In sensus cadentem imaginem*: Varieties of the Spiritual Image in Theodoor Galle's *Life of the Blessed Father Ignatius of Loyola* of 1610", in Boer W. de – Göttler C. (eds.), *Religion and the Senses in Early Modern Europe*, Intersections: Interdisciplinary Studies in Early Modern Culture 26 (Leiden – Boston: 2013) 63–107.

FIGURE 1.1   *Cornelis Galle* (*engraver*)*, Title-Page to Petrus Ribadeneyra,* Vita beati
                patris Ignatii Loyolae religionis Societatis Iesu (*Antwerp, Theodoor Galle:
                1610*)*. Engraving, 200 × 140 mm.*
                LEUVEN, MAURITS SABBEBIBLIOTHEEK.

FIGURE 1.2   *Carel de Mallery* (*engraver*)*,* Visions of the Trinity and of the Verum Corpus in
                the Dominican Church at Manresa*, plate 4 to Petrus Ribadeneyra*, Vita beati
                patris Ignatii Loyolae religionis Societatis Iesu (*Antwerp, Theodoor Galle: 1610*)*.
                Engraving, 205 × 145 mm.*
                LEUVEN, MAURITS SABBEBIBLIOTHEEK.

within.[2] Plate 4, scene 'B' depicts a spiritual image solely visible to the eyes of the mind: during the celebration of the Mass, while viewing the elevated host, Ignatius discerns with his mind's eye, rather than merely imagining, what truly inheres in the bread and wine, once they have been consecrated. The most complex spiritual image in the *Life of Blessed Father Ignatius of Loyola* appears in plate 10, scene 'A' [Fig. 1.3]. This is the famous vision at La Storta, experienced by Ignatius on his way to Rome, where he was seeking papal approbation for the new order he proposed to found. The vision, as Ribadeneyra intimates and plate 10 demonstrates, consists of two primary elements—a spiritual image of God the Father and the visionary presence of Christ carrying the Cross.[3] The attention paid by Ribadeneyra to kinds and degrees of image, and to the allied

FIGURE 1.3 *Cornelis Galle* (*engraver*), Vision at La Storta and Ignatius Recounting the Vision to his Associates on the Way to Rome, *plate 10 to Petrus Ribadeneyra*, Vita beati patris Ignatii Loyolae religionis Societatis Iesu (*Antwerp, Theodoor Galle: 1610*). *Engraving, 202 × 146 mm.*
LEUVEN, MAURITS SABBEBIBLIOTHEEK.

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2   The reference to a visible image that signifies externally while being perceived internally, comes from the description of this crucial episode in Ribadeneyra's *Vita Ignatii Loyolae*; see Dalmases C. de (ed.), *Vita Ignatii Loyolae auctore Pedro de Ribadeneyra*, in Dalmases (ed.), *Fontes narrativi de S. Ignatio de Loyola et de Societatis Iesu initiis*, 4 vols., Monumenta Historica Societatis Iesu 93 (Rome: 1965) IV 122.

3   De Ribadeneyra, *Vita Ignatii Loyolae*, ed. De Dalmases, IV 270.

distinction between image and presence, can be seen to exemplify the pervasiveness and richness of Jesuit image-culture.

We see further evidence of this image culture in an early Jesuit manuscript prayerbook, the *Libellus piarum precum* of 1575, composed for a priest resident at the nascent Jesuit College in Trier.[4] Several openings consist of a mimetic image of the wounded Christ juxtaposed to an abstracted image of his five wounds, the former focusing on a thematic of transience, the latter on a thematic of permanence bound up with the votary's desire to become incorporated sacramentally into the *corpus Christi* [Fig. 1.4]. Embedded within the *Libellus's* prayers is a rich image-theory that analogizes various types of image to successive stages of the votary's relationship to Christ in the Mass.

What is the context for the Jesuit commitment to expounding religious experience by reference to the theory and practice of image-making? Jesuit Christology often invokes the *imago* and its species—*figura, pictura, repraesentatio, similitudo, simulachrum, speculum*—treating them as mimetic instruments best suited to expounding, within the limits of human capacity, the supreme mystery of the Incarnation.[5] As codified by Jerónimo Nadal and other Jesuit theologians, incarnation doctrine celebrates the omnipotence of the *Deus Artifex* who fashioned Christ Jesus, the divinely human *imago Dei*, and thereby translated his incarnate person and Holy Name into *imagines* newly discernible to human senses, hearts, and minds. Construed as an act of divine image-making, the Incarnation licenses the production of further sacred images *ad imitationem Christi*; indeed for Jesuit theologians such as Nadal, devotional prayer in all its forms, public and private, meditative and liturgical, entailed visualizing the image of Jesus by recourse to secondary images—both verbal and visual, textual and pictorial, variously titled *imagines imaginis Dei* or *imagines secundo loco*—that derive from Christ the primary image of God.[6]

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4 *Libellus piarum precum* (Trier [?]: 1575). On this early Jesuit manuscript prayerbook, see Melion W.S., "*Libellus piarum precum* (1575): Iterations of the Five Holy Wounds in an Early Jesuit Prayerbook", infra.

5 On Jesuit terminology for the *imago* and its theoretical implications, see Dekoninck R., '*Ad imaginem': status, fonctions et usages de l'image dans la littérature spirituelle jésuite du XVIIe siècle*, Travaux du Grand Siècle 26 (Geneva: 2005).

6 On Nadal's conception of the relation between the mystery of the Incarnation and the production of sacred images, see Melion W.S., "The Art of Vision in Jerome Nadal's *Adnotationes et meditationes in Evangelia*", in *Jerome Nadal, Annotations and Meditations on the Liturgical Gospels*, ed. – trans. F. Homann, S.J. (Philadelphia: 2003) 1–96. On Nadal's practice of image-making, as it relates to the meditative 'composition of place' enshrined in Ignatius of Loyola's *Spiritual Exercises*, see Fabre P.A., *Ignace de Loyola: le lieu de l'image* (Paris: 1992), esp. 162–239, 263–295.

a

b
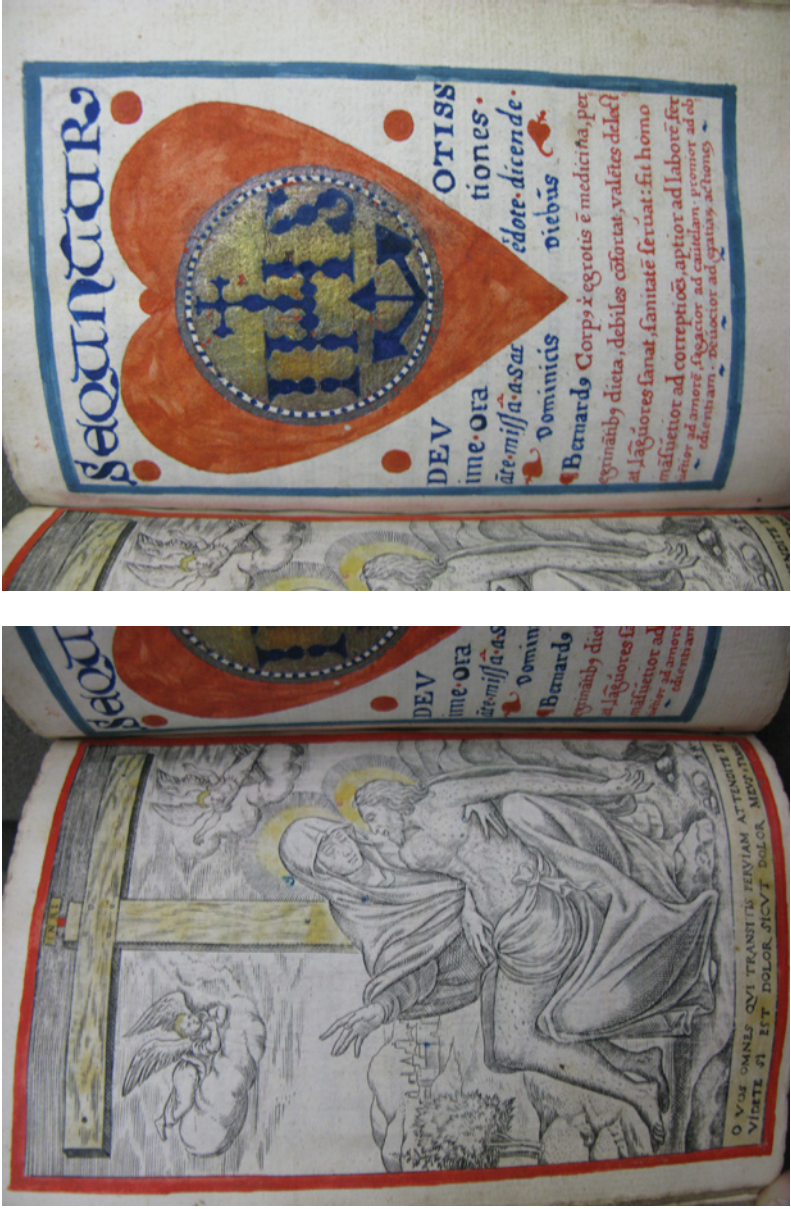
FIGURES 1.4A & B   Pietà and IHS Monogram in Golden Host within Heart Flanked by the Four Wounds of Christ, facing fols. 80 verso and 81 recto in Libellus piarum precum (Trier: ca. 1571–1575). Engraving and watercolor (left) and pen and colored inks, gouache and watercolor (right), ca. 146 × 96 mm.

ATLANTA, MANUSCRIPT, ARCHIVES, AND RARE BOOK LIBRARY, EMORY UNIVERSITY.

Jesuit Mariology is equally image-centred. For Petrus Canisius, whose *Mariale* of 1577 constitutes the first and most important Jesuit treatise on the Virgin, Mary exemplifies the imitation of Christ, for she mobilizes sacred images to mould body and soul into fully realized *imagines Christi*; for Canisius, the kinds and degrees of images she harnesses, and the action of image-making she perfects, derive ultimately from the paradigm of the pictorial image, as becomes evident from his anchoring of Marian devotion in the iconic archetype of the Virgin and Child painted by Saint Luke, upon which all further portraits of Mary, including the verbal portraits of Jerome, Epiphanius, Cedrenus, and the other Fathers, are seen to be based.[7]

Jesuit rhetorics likewise embrace the resources of visual artifice, comparing the orator to a picturer and inviting him to exploit the full range of rhetorical figures and ornaments in virtually pictorial feats of demonstrative oratory. In such Jesuit school texts as Cyprien Soarez's *De arte rhetorica* of 1560 and Melchior de la Cerda's *Usus et exercitatio demonstrationis* of 1598, orators are encouraged to deploy a wide spectrum of image-based tropes in defense of the faith.[8] In particular, Soarez and De la Cerda, as Marc Fumaroli has convincingly shown, endorse the principle of *definitio per descriptionem*, the definition of concepts by resort to vividly descriptive tropes such as hypotyposis.

The various redactions of the *ratio studiorum* foreground Jesuit attitudes to allegorical imagery, both literary and pictorial, which may be discerned even more fully in the pedagogical institutes approved in 1625 by Father General Muzio Vitelleschi for the Flemish-Belgian Province.[9] Heavily rhetoricized and codified within the first pedagogical cycle of the *ratio studiorum*, Jesuit emblematics often focuses on the forms and functions of the pictorial *imago*: in Jakob Masen's theory of the figurative image, for example, the emblem is

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7   On the *Mariale*, also known as *De Maria Virgine incomparabili et Dei genitrice sacrosancta, libri quinque*, see Melion W.S., "'*Quae lecta Canisius offert et spectata diu*': The Pictorial Images in Petrus Canisius's *De Maria Virgine* of 1577", in Melion – Wandel L.P. (eds.), *Early Modern Eyes: Discourses of Vision, 1500–1800*, Intersections: Interdisciplinary Studies in Early Modern Culture 13 (Leiden – Boston: 2009) 207–266.

8   Soarez Cyprien, *De arte rhetorica libri tres, ex Aristotele, Cicerone, & Quinctiliano praecipue depromti* (Paris, Ex officina Thomas Brumen: 1565; reprint ed., Cologne, Apud Gosvinum Cholinum: 1591). Cerda Melchior de la, *Usus et exercitatio demonstrationis* (Seville, Rodericus Cabrera: 1598). On Soarez, De la Cerda, and their textbooks within the Jesuit rhetorical *cursus*, see Fumaroli M., "Définitio et description: scolastique et rhétorique chez les Jesuites des XVIe et XVIIe siècles", *Travaux de linguistique et de littérature* 18 (1980) 37–48.

9   On Vitelleschi's institutes, see Salviucci Insolera L., L'Imago primi saeculi (*1640*) *e il significato dell'immagine allegorica nella Compagnia di Gesù: Genesi e fortuna del libro* (Rome: 2004).

defined as a word-image construct displaying *argutia*, the quality of incisiveness that prompts the reader-viewer to interpret the emblem as a virtual syllogism, or more precisely enthymeme, in which the *res picta*, comprised by the picture and epigram together, constitutes the protasis, while the *res significata*, to be inferred by the inventive reader-viewer, supplies the apodosis that completes the enthymematic argument.[10] If like Antonio Possevino, Louis Richeome, Maximilianus Sandaeus, Silvestro Pietrasanta, Claude-François Ménestrier, and many other Jesuit emblematists, Masen privileges the emblem's visual component, thus underscoring the power of symbolic imagery to frame persuasive moral arguments, he does so to argue explicitly for a heightened argutial style.[11]

As will be evident from this summary account, the Jesuit investment in images, whether verbal or visual, virtual or actual, pictorial or poetic, rhetorical or exegetical, was strong and sustained, and may perhaps even be identified as one of the order's defining characteristics. Although this interest in images has been richly documented, by art historians such as Alexander Gauvin Bailey, Ralph Dekoninck, Christine Goettler, Mia Mochizuki, Jeffrey Chipps Smith, and Jeffrey Muller, by theatre historians such as Anne Piéjus, Fidel Rädle, Bernd Roling, Jean-Marie Valentin, and Christof Wolf, by scholars of the emblem such as Peter M. Daly, G. Richard Dimler, Rita Haub, Judi Loach, John Manning, Sabine Mödersheim, Lydia Salviucci Insolera, and Marc Van Vaeck, the question of Jesuit image theory has yet to be approached from a multidisciplinary perspective that examines how the image was defined, conceived, produced, and interpreted within the various fields of learning exercised by the Society: sacred oratory, pastoral instruction, scriptural exegesis, theology, collegiate pedagogy, poetry and poetics, et al. Amongst the issues such an approach might address—and there are many—is how and why the practitioner of the spiritual exercises was expected to move between different registers of image, making the transition from a stilled mental image, often circumscribed by the lineaments of place, to a moving image composed of sensate and animate protagonists, such as Mary, Jesus, and the votary himself. How did such transitions assist the exercitant to track his ascent from sensory perception to mental discernment, from corporeal to spiritual sight? Upon what psychology of soul are such operations of the image-making faculty premised? Co-organized by Karl Enenkel, Wietse de Boer, and Walter Melion, with the

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10   On Masen's theory of the *figura* as instrument of *argutia*, see Dimler R.R., S.J., *Studies in the Jesuit Emblem*, AMS Studies in the Emblem 18 (Brooklyn: 2007).

11   On Jesuit enhancements to the emblem's visual component, see Melion W.S., review of Peter M. Daly, *The Emblem in Early Modern Europe: Contributions to the Theory of the Emblem*, *Journal of Jesuit Studies* 2 (2015) 471–480.

invaluable assistance of Petra Korte and Christian Peters, the conference on Jesuit image theory held at the Westfälische Wilhelms-Universität Münster in October 2014, provided a forum in which such questions were discussed and debated from multiple vantage points by representatives of a wide array of disciplines. The papers selected and revised for publication in this volume examine some of the ways in which Jesuits reflected visually and verbally on the status and functions of the *imago*, between the foundation of the order in 1540 and its suppression in 1773.

Jan David, S.J.'s *Veridicus Christianus* as Epitome of Implicit Jesuit Image Theory

Jesuit Image Theory consists of two parts: the first seven chapters examine texts that deal explicitly with the form, function, and meaning of the *imago*—the visual image—as construed variously by the order's members; the next eight chapters examine paintings, prints, and illustrated texts produced for the order, in which the status of the visual image as a signifying or hermeneutic instrument is explored by means of these very images. A theoretical understanding of the *imago* permeates these texts and pictures, but the theory remains implicit, so to speak, in the sense that rather than being foregrounded, it must be deduced from the image-making practices themselves. The relevance of the material in part one will be immediately evident, but what we mean by 'implicit image theory' requires a bit of unpacking. No better example could be offered than that of the Flemish Jesuit apologist, preacher, pedagogue, and emblematist, Jan David, S.J. (1545–1613), many of whose publications center on printed images, generally designed and engraved under his guidance by members of Philip Galle's Antwerp workshop, most notably his sons Theodoor (1570/71–1633) and Cornelis I (1576–1650).[12] David, who ministered mainly within the Jesuit *Provincia Belgica,* served as rector of the Jesuit College in Ghent between 1594 and 1602. In addition to numerous anti-Lutheran, -Mennonite, and -Calvinist tracts and treatises, he composed four of the order's earliest emblem books: *Veridicus Christianus* (*The True Christian*) (ed. prin., 1601), *Occasio arrepta, neglecta* (*Occasion Seized, Shirked*) (ed. prin., 1605), *Paradisus sponsi et sponsae et Pancarpium Marianum* (*Paradise of the Bride and Bridegroom and Marian Garland*) (ed. prin., 1607), and *Duodecim specula* (*Twelve Mirrors*) (ed. prin., 1610). Both genres of text—apologetic and

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12   Walter Melion is currently writing a monograph on David's image theory, *Imago veridica: Image Theory in Joannes David, S.J.'s Four Latin Emblem Books',* to be published by Brill.

emblematic—contain extensive reflections on what an image is and what sorts of moral and spiritual effects it can produce. These thoughts can be taken for a kind of image-theory embedded in the visual language of David's polemical works and in the combined words and images of his emblem books.

David's apologetical publications, such as the *Christelijcken bie-corf der H. Roomscher kercke* (*Christian Beehive of the Holy Roman Church*) of 1600, written to confute Filips van Marnix van Sint Aldegonde's anti-Catholic *Den byencorf der H. Roomsche Kercke* of 1569, or the *Kettersche Spinnecoppe* (*Heretical Spider*) of 1596, almost always incorporate robust defenses of devotional and liturgical images [Figs. 1.5 & 1.6]. In the *Spinnecoppe*, for instance, Book IV, chapter 12, "Helschen aerdt der ketteren, int beeldestormen, etc." ("The Hellish Behavior of Heretics, as seen in the Iconoclasms, etc."), elaborates upon the basic analogy of a heretic to a spider, of heretical wiles to a spider web, enriching the arachnoid imagery developed cumulatively at every stage of the book [Fig. 1.7]. If the *Spinnecoppe* is a vast image-making machine that turns on a singular visual analogy, chapter 12 constitutes a defense of the probity and sanctity of sacred signs and images, argued from within the overarching dualistic image of the pro-image bee ('ghelijck de Catholijcke honich-bien') set against the anti-image spider ('kettersche spinnecoppen, wat en veel duvelsch hebben').[13] David's argument is that the representative function of sacred images remains operative, even when the principle of sacred image-making is contested or contravened. Just as the portrait of a king is referential, so damage inflicted upon it or contumely directed against it must perforce also be referential, irrespective of what the person attacking the image believes about it. To attack the one stands proxy for an attack on the other, because the mimetic link between them, premised as it is on the assumption of mutual reference, refers violence against the one toward the other; violence, then, is no less representative than the images against which it is perpetrated, since inflicting damage on the king's portrait represents the action of injuring the sovereign or, at least, the desire to commit such an act:

> Ende wie en weet niet, datmen den Coninck eert in zijn beelde, en ter contrarie in zijnen beelde oock versmaet. Alsmen yemants beelde hangt, onthooft oft verbrant, men weet wel dat al dat hem toecompt, wyens

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13   David Jan, *Kettersche Spinnecoppe, waer in, deur de natuere der Spinnecoppe, claerlijck bewesen wort, hoe deghelijck en orboorlijck een saecke dat een ketter is, en kettersche voere* (Brussels, Rutgeert Velpius: 1596) 162.

Kettersche ~~-----~~

SPINNECOPPE,

VVaer in, deur de natuere der Spin-
necoppe , claerlijck bewesen
wort, hoe deghelijck en orboor-
lijck een saecke dat een ketter is,
en kettersche voere.

**Ghemaeckt by M. Iason Petronius /
Doctoor in de vermaerde Vrije
Consten van Leyden.**

*Zy hebben der Spinne - vvebbe ghevreuen.
Hun vvercken zijn onnutte vvercken:
ende het vverck der boosheyt is in haerlieder
handen.* Isaiæ 59.

TOT BRVESSEL,
**By Rutgeert Velpius / inden gulden
Arent. Met Privilegie.** 1596.

FIGURE 1.5 *Jan David, Title-Page to* Kettersche Spinnecoppe, waer in, deur de
natuere der Spinnecoppe, claerlijck bewesen wort, hoe deghelijck en
orboorlijck een saecke dat een ketter is, en kettersche voere (*Brussels,
Rutgeert Velpius: 1596*). *Engraving, in-12*.
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UNIVERSITEIT LEIDEN.

FIGURE 1.6 *Jan David, Title-Page to* Christelijcken Bie-Corf der H. Roomscher Kercke
(*Antwerp, Martinus Nutius: 1600*). *Engraving, in-8.*
LEIDEN, BIJZONDERE COLLECTIES, UNIVERSITEITSBIBLIOTHEEK,
UNIVERSITEIT LEIDEN.

Spinnecoppe. 159

soomen oock in haren handel / en=
de manieren merckelijck beuint
ende siet. Ende dat ter contrarien /
die spinnecoppen / namentlijck
onse kettersche / wat duuels int
lijf / ende int bedzijf hebben. Waer
dooz zy alle die vooznoemde goe=
de / heylighe / ende Goddelijcke
dinghen der heyligher kercken /
met soo onspzekelijcken nijdt / en
vyandelijck herdtneckicheyt / zijn
hatende / vervolghende / ende be=
stozmende / twelck sonder helschen
aerdt anders niet doenelijck en
ware.

Duwels
aert der
ketterē /
int be=
vechten
der God=
delijcke
dingen.

CAPITTEL XII.

Helschen aerdt der ketteren, int
beeldtstormen, &c.

Ziet eens tastelijck desen hel=
schē aerdt der ketteren in dese
twee punctē / int cruys Chzisti / en=
de in het beeldt van Maria / zijn
ghebenedijde moeder. Ick neme
oft qualijck gedaen ware / (twelck
nochtās niet en is) het cruys teeckē
te maeckē / en te verheffen: het beelt
Chzisti /

Crucifix
bestoz=
mers / en
vyanden
vā Ma=
ria.

FIGURE 1.7   *Jan David, Book* IV*, chapter 12, "Helschen aerdt der ketteren, int*
beeldestormen, etc.", in Kettersche Spinnecoppe, waer in, deur de
natuere der Spinnecoppe, claerlijck bewesen wort, hoe deghelijck en
orboorlijck een saecke dat een ketter is, en kettersche voere (*Brussels,*
Rutgeert Velpius: 1596) 159.
LEIDEN, BIJZONDERE COLLECTIES, UNIVERSITEITSBIBLIOTHEEK,
UNIVERSITEIT LEIDEN.

beelde het is: en daerom doetment in sulcker vueghen, alsmen den per-
soon selve metten lijve niet crijghen en can.[14]

And who does not know that one honors the king in his image and, con-
versely, defames him in his image. One realizes full well that in hang-
ing, beheading, or burning an image, everything done to it also refers to
whomever the image portrays: and one proceeds in this way, whenever
the king's actual body is not to be had.

By the same token, the crucifix or an image of Jesus or Mary, simply because
it purports to represent them, and regardless of whether one believes such
images to be licit, cannot help but be referential: abuse and mockery of sacred
images therefore equates to abuse and mockery of whomever they depict—
Christ, the Virgin, or the saints. Indeed, David considers such mockery worse
than outright destruction since, by the logic of referentiality, it constitutes
blasphemy against God or contempt for his saints:

Waer sal een mensche nochtans in zijn herte vinden, van daerom ter con-
trarie het tecken der cruys, oft tbeelt Christi en Marie totten-eeren, te
beschimpen, als snootheyt aen te doen, en te bespotten? Ja al waert dat
yemant soo verre quame, dat hy, soo den Coninck Ezechias dat metalen
serpent brack, om datment aenbadt, nu oock soo tcruycifix, en tbeelt van
Maria breken wilde, om dat niet en soude aenbeden worden: nochtans ist
noch verre van daer, van de selve te bespotten, te beschimpen, ende alle
vileynie aen te doen. Want soo veel als yemant de beelden aenbiddende
als Goden, te vele doen soude tot eere int goet: soo vele doen dander te
vele int quaet.[15]

Wherefore such a man finds it in his heart to berate, contemn, and defile
the sign of the cross or the image of Christ and Mary, rather than honor-
ing them. Indeed, even if one were to go so far as King Ezechias, who tore
down the brazen serpent because people had worshiped it, and were to
wish that the crucifix and the images of Mary be torn down: yet would
mocking, berating, or vilifying them be to go still farther. For just as he
who worships images as gods, does them too great honor in goodness, so
these others do them too much [dishonor] in wickedness.

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14   Ibidem 160–161.
15   Ibidem 160.

These points are versions of the conciliar decree on sacred images, "On the Invocation, Veneration, and Relics of Saints, and on Sacred Images", formulated during the twenty-fifth session of the Council of Trent: '[…] the honour that is shown them is referred to the prototypes which those images represent; in such wise that by the images which we kiss, and before which we uncover the head, and prostrate ourselves, we adore Christ; and we venerate the saints, whose similitude they bear: as, by the decrees of Councils, and especially of the second Synod of Nicaea, has been defined against the opponents of images'.[16] What distinguishes David's account is his comparison of a sacred image to an image of state and his conviction that an image's referential function is so absolute that it proves impervious to any and all contingencies: not even the iconoclast's refusal to countenance such a function can sever the connection between the image and the prototype it represents.

David's pronouncements on sacred images betray a fascination with the power and scope of the representational relation that undergirds the process of mimetic image-making. In Book 7, chapter 8 of the *Bie-corf*, "De lustighe bloempotten der heyligher beelden, ende haerder eere" ("On the Joyful Bouquets of Saints' Images, and Doing Them Honor"), he focuses instead on the persuasive effect of images upon the heart, mind, and will, and also on the distinction between the allusive character of Mosaic imagery and the evidentiary and affective character of Christian imagery [Fig. 1.8]. With reference to *Exodus* 25 and 3 *Kings* 7, David observes that God licensed the production of sacred images even under the old dispensation, but he implies that these images worked more indirectly than Christian ones, in that they relied on analogy and metaphor to advert to the presence of God. The angels that Moses caused to be carved over the ark, for example, allude to the proximity of God and of his angelic mediators, the Cherubim. They admonish the faithful to become acquainted with the latter, to imitate them, and to transform themselves accordingly, as a method of approaching to God. Other images, such as the twelve oxen that supported the 'molten sea' in the Solomonic Temple, are even more connotative: they serve as reminders to the leaders of the people, that God holds them accountable for the purity and salvation of their subjects. And the lions that lined the throne of Solomon are to be seen as entirely metaphorical:

> Zoo heeft Godt int oude Testament Moysi bevolen, beelden te maken
> van Enghelen, ende andere dinghen. Ende Salomon heeft figuren van

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16   *The Canons and Decrees of the Sacred and Oecumenical Council of Trent*, ed. – trans.
      J. Waterworth (London: 1848) 235.
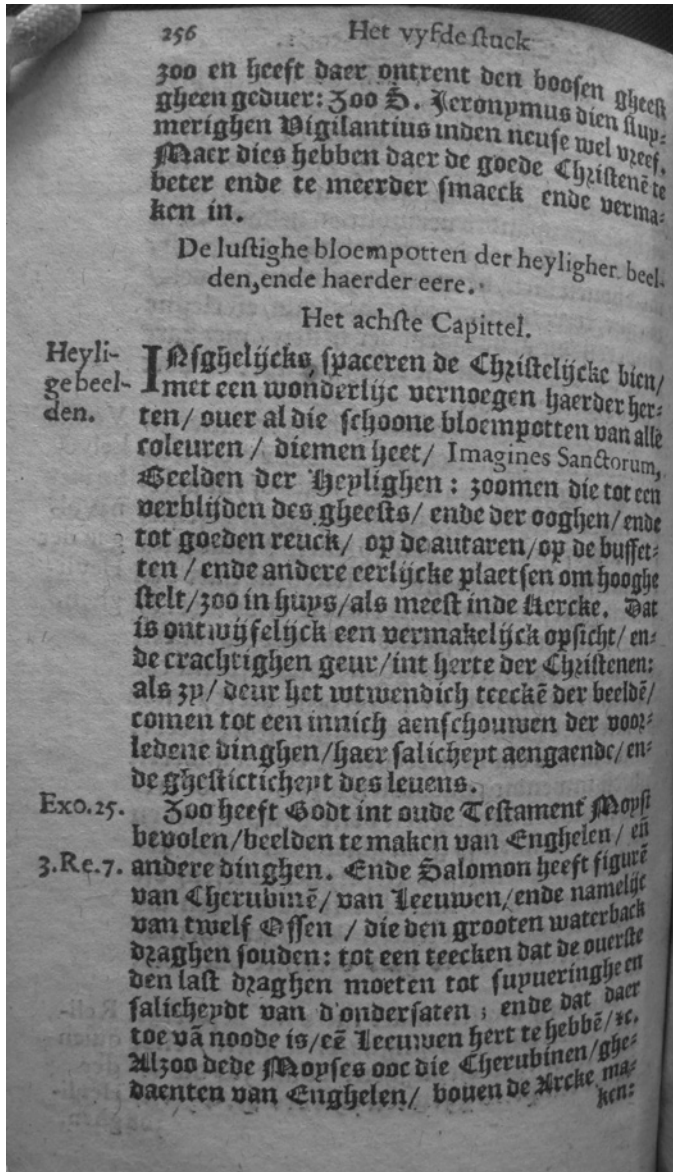
FIGURE 1.8 *Jan David, Book 7, chapter 8, "De lustighe bloempotten der heyligher beelden, ende haerder eere", in* Christelijcken Bie-Corf der H. Roomscher Kercke (*Antwerp, Martinus Nutius: 1600*) 256.
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Cherubinen, van Leeuwen, ende namelijc van twelf Ossen, die den grooten waterback draghen souden: tot een teecken dat de overste den last draghen moeten tot suyveringhe en salicheydt van d'ondersaten; ende dat daer toe van noode is, een Leeuwen hert te hebben, etc. Alzoo dede Moyses ooc die Cherubinen, ghedaenten van Enghelen, boven de Arcke maken; tot een teecken dat Godt daer tegenwoordich was boven de selve; ende datmen met de Enghelen beghinnen kennis te maken, haer na doende in heylicheyt, om eens met haerlieden te converseren, ende te regneren inden Hemel: want zy al tsamen als Enghelen Godts zijn sullen, die daer gheraken.[17]

So, in the Old Testament, God commanded Moses to fashion images of angels and other things. And Solomon made figures of Cherubim, lions, and the twelve oxen that carried the great water basin, for a sign that lords must ensure the purity and salvation of their subjects; and that to bring this to pass, they must be lion-hearted, etc. And Moses also fashioned Cherubim, in the form of angels, over the ark, for a sign that God was present above it, and that one must learn to know about them, following the angels in holiness, if we are to converse with them when we come to reign in heaven: for all shall become angels of God when they attain to heaven.

By contrast, Christian images are far more direct, for they allow us to see the Lord Christ as if he were actually with us, to attend his Passion as if we were there with him, and in addition, to bear witness to the lives and deeds of the saints, whose closeness to Christ thus becomes intensely memorable and, more importantly, imitable. The vividness of such images enables them deeply to penetrate the heart where they enkindle the passions, awakening our desire to emulate Christ and his closest imitators, the holy martyrs. Moreover, their outward appearance appeals not only to exterior but also to interior sense, conveying via these sensoria the sight and fragrance of Christ and the saints, stirring us to engage with them by means of image-based spiritual exercises ('oeffeninghe der H. Beelden'):

Insghelijcks, spaceren de Christelijcke bien, met een wonderlijc vernoegen haerder herten, over al die schoone bloempotten van alle coleuren, diemen heet, *imagines Sanctorum*, Beelden der Heylighen: zoomen die

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17   David Jan, *Christelijcken Bie-Corf der H. Roomscher Kercke* (Antwerp, Martinus Nutius: 1600) 256–257.

tot een verblijden des gheests, ende der ooghen, ende tot goeden reuck, op de autaren, op de buffeten, ende andere eerlijcke plaetsen om hooghe stelt, zoo in huys, als meest inde Kercke. Dat is ontwijfelijck een vermakelijck opsicht, ende crachtighen geur, int herte der Christenen: als zy, deur het wtwendich teecken der beelden, comen tot een innich aenschouwen der voorledene dinghen, haer salicheyt aengaende, ende ghesticticheyt des levens. [...]

Is het oock zoo niet een zeer beweghelijcke sake, deur de hulpe der H. Beelden zoo ontsteken te worden, tot aendachticheyt ende devotie, als oftmen by t'Cruys ons Heeren stonde, alsmen hem siet aent Cruyce hanghen? als oftmen met hem int hofken ware biddende, alsmen hem in sulcken figure, als ofmen zijn gheessel, zijn croone, ende swaren last zijns Cruyces self ghevoelde, int lijden, int verdriet, in alle tribulatie, alsmen zijnen Heer en Godt, in den voorseyden anxt, ende benautheyt, deur de beelden voor ooghen houdt.

Hoe goet ende smakelijck dat dese oeffeninghe der H. Beelden is, dat weten zy alle, die deur sulcke middelen, tot suchten, tot bidden, tot weenen, ontsteken worden. Ja, tot een vierighe begheerte van sulck oft sulck eenen Heylighen na te volghen, in het principale punct dat zijn leven aengaet. Ende oock desghelijcks van gheiren, om Christus naem, haer verdriet, siecte, en teghenspoedt te lijden, ia ooc, waert noodt, de doodt voor hem te onderstaen, als zy sien, dat hy voor ons, zoo vele, ende ten laetsten die schandichste ende swaerste doodt des Cruycen gheleden heeft. Hoe menighe vrome vechters, ende verwinders haers selfs, en der werelt, ende des vyandts zijnder opgeresen, wt het aenmercken van die vrome feyten der martelaren, ende der alder martelaren Coninc en Heere, Christus JESUS?[18]

Likewise, with marvelous and heartfelt rejoicing, the Christian bees fly amongst the beautiful, multi-colored bouquets that men call *imagines Sanctorum*, the images of the saints, which being placed high on altars, chests, and other honorable places at home and in church, bring joy to the spirit and eyes, and cast a good fragrance. Doubtless this sight is as pleasurable as the fragrance powerful to Christian hearts that interiorly see, signified by external images, the sanctity of the saints' past deeds and exemplary life.

Is it not deeply moving to be roused to attentive devotion by holy images, as if one were standing beside the Cross of our Lord, as if one

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18   Ibidem 256–258.

were to see him hanging there, as if one were seeing him at prayer in the garden and praying with him, as if one felt oneself his scourge, crown, and the heavy burden of his Cross, with him in suffering, sorrow, and tribulation—all this through images held before the eyes, of our Lord and God in his fear and anxiety, as aforesaid.

How good, how savory these [spiritual] exercises of holy images are, all know who have been stirred by such means to sigh, to pray, to weep; or have felt the stirring of fiery desire to imitate such or such a saint in their suffering, sorrow, and tribulation, in the principal point around which their lives turned. And like them, in the name of Christ to suffer grief, sickness, and calamity, and even, where necessary, to undergo death, when they see how much he suffered on our behalf, and finally, how ignominiously and burdensomely he died on the Cross. How many pious fighters and victors over themselves, the world, and the devil have arisen from observation of the pious deeds of the martyrs and of the King and Lord of martyrs, Christ Jesus?

This fulsome endorsement of images, put forth to combat the heresy of iconoclasm, concludes with an affirmation of the equivalent value of sacred images and texts ('schrijven en schilderen is zeer een dinck').[19] Although David is talking about saints' lives, his assertions that images, like texts, are God-given instruments, that texts, insofar as they facilitate visualization of the things they record, are construable as a species of image, and that the impulse to record the life of Christ, both in word and image, is Godly, make clear that 'texts' encompasses Scripture as well as hagiography. More particularly, he distinguishes on this basis between Jewish and Christian Scripture: the latter, in his view, stimulates memory and understanding newly to fashion a true image of the things recorded in writing. The many miraculous images whose truth is sanctioned by divine warrant demonstrate how fully God endorses sacred images as a medium of scriptural transmission, indeed as a kind of visual Scripture on par with holy texts:

> Dat de benijders onser salicheydt, ende onser Catholijcke Religie, de beelden niet luchten en mogen, maer die belasteren en scheynden [...]; Die en maken de zaken dies niet quaet, maer zy toonen, hoe groot quaet dat zy int herte draghen die zoo goede saken vervolghen. Want, alzoo goet en Goddelijck ist de gheschiedde dinghen, tzy tleven ons Heeren, tzy andere, te schilderen, alst is te schrijven: want, wat is het schrijven anders, dan een

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19   Ibidem 258. This rubric takes the form of a marginal gloss.

seker maniere van schilderen met der penne? Ende, dat meer is, het ghe-
schrifte ghelesen, maect in ons memorie en verstandt een nieu oprechte
[N. 'Deugdelijk, eerlijk'] verbeeldinghe, vant gheene dat wy lesen, eens
gheschiedt te zijne. Zoo dat die sake Goddelijck is; ende van Godts wege
[N. 'By God'], met zoo vele wonderlijcke clare mirakelen versekert [...].[20]

That men envious of our sanctity and Catholic religion cannot light
upon images without defaming or damaging them [...], this does noth-
ing to compromise the images and merely lays open the great ill-will
with which this sort of men prosecutes things as good as these. For it
is as good and Godly to paint such events as the life of Christ, as it is to
write about them: after all, what is writing, other than a certain manner
of painting with the pen? And what's more, to read something written
down generates in our memory and understanding a new, true image of
that which, according to what we read, once took place. Thus, the thing
[i.e., image-making] is Godly, and confirmed by God with many won-
drous, perspicuous miracles [...].

If the *Kettersche spinnecoppe* and *Christelijcken Bie-korf* provide the lineaments
of David's conception of sacred images and their efficacy as conveyors of
Christian exempla, his first emblem book, the *Veridicus Christianus*, addressed
to a sophisticated, Latinate audience, explores more fully, both in word and
image, the pivotal role that images played (and continue to play) in establish-
ing the covenant of Christ and promulgating the doctrine of salvation [Fig. 1.9].
Published by Jan Moretus, the book consists of one hundred emblems, each
comprising an engraved picture, motto, and epigrams—in Latin, Dutch, and
French—followed by an extensive commentary that explains the relation
amongst the emblem's three parts. David conceived it as a supplement to
the Tridentine Catechism: the sequence of emblems is meant inexpugnably
to impress the key principles of the Christian life and faith. As he puts it in
the dedicatory epistle to his good friend, the Right Reverend Petrus Simons,
Bishop of Ypres, the book's point of origin were the one hundred distichs he
had written in Brussels for the use of catechists; the engraved images will allow
their catechumens 'to apprehend what they have just read, as if they were see-
ing these points of doctrine placed before their eyes'.[21] Simons for his part, in

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20   Ibidem.

21   David Jan, *Veridicus Christianus* (Antwerp, Joannes Moretus: 1601), fol. +2r: 'Ea ipsa deinde
      scholiis quibusdam atque adeo centum in aes incisis iconibus illustrare visum est, ut qui
      lecta intelligerent, eadem quasi subiecta oculis viderent'.

FIGURE 1.9   *Theodoor Galle (engraver), Title-Page to Jan David,* Veridicus Christianus (*Antwerp,*
Officina Plantiniana apud Ioannem Moretum: 1601). Engraving, in-4.
CHICAGO, THE NEWBERRY LIBRARY.

a letter appended to the book's front matter, astutely compares the *Veridicus Christianus* to Horace's *Epistula* 1.1 (especially the claims made in verses 33–40 for the restorative properties of poetry): he animadverts that David's Christian *cultura*, in its ability to quell carnal passion and provide a lenitive to human misery, trumps the pagan poet's self-proclaimed power to civilize even the most savage and wayward of men.[22] In truth, David's hundred emblems narrate the clash between Christian *cultura* and the sinful passions, beginning with the opposition of *timor Dei* ('fear of God') to godless obstinacy and ending with the opposition between constancy of faith and inconstancy, in the face of the four last things (death, judgment, hell, and heaven). The emblems take the form of meditative exercises that assist the user to transform himself spiritually by reflecting on the virtues and implanting them as an antidote to the vice. Largely based on Scripture and the Fathers, the moral commentaries make their case exegetically, but David also includes extensive paraphrases taken from a wide range of sources, including Thomas à Kempis's *Imitatio Christi*, Marcus Antonius Sabellicus's *Liber nonus exemplorum*, and Laurentius Surius's *De probatis Sanctorum historiis*.

Emblem 1, "Initium sapientiae, timor Domini" ("Fear of the Lord, the Beginning of Wisdom"), displays in the *pictura* the meta-reflexive image of an open emblem book: the left folio verso depicts a scourge made up of bundled twigs crossed over a long-handled magnifying glass; the right folio recto repeats the words of the motto inscribed atop Emblem 1, 'Initium Sapientiae Timor Domini' [Fig. 1.10]. The book in the book—a mise en abyme—comments on the emblematic form and function of the *Veridicus Christianus*, which consists of precisely this sort of verbal-visual apparatus, designed to purify the votary: his vices are made visible, in this sense magnified (hence, the pictured lens); then they are penitentially eliminated (the scourge); and finally, the virtues that substitute for vice are themselves visualized and scrutinized (the lens, once again). The allusion to the cross evokes the Passion of Christ, which functions both explicitly and implicitly as the tertium comparationis that undergirds every moral analogy brought forward in the *Veridicus*. That 'Liber Sapientiae' is also the name of a biblical book underscores the scriptural derivation and exegetical character of David's method of argumentation. The open Book of Wisdom appears midway up the slope of Mount Sinai, where it mediates between the antitheses demarcated in Emblem 1: whereas Moses receiving the tablets of the law epitomizes reverential fear of the Lord, the purblind ass, impaled for having infringed the sacred precinct, epitomizes the failure humbly to uphold the will of God (the reference is to *Exodus* 19: 12–13).

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22   Ibidem, fol. ++1r–v.

The emblem book within the emblem or, better, image of an emblem book within the emblematic *pictura*, foretells that the *Veridicus Christianus*, held open by the reader-viewer, shall function as a source of wisdom and a hinge between the obstinate passion it admonishes us to eschew and the fearful faith it counsels us to embrace.

The emblem book in the emblem resembles the splayed tablets of the law, as if to announce that the one emanates from the other, in the sense that the *Veridicus* counsels reverence for God the lawgiver and for his commandments. But it also differs from the tablets, the conferral of which is reserved for Moses's eyes alone. On the contrary, the pictured emblem book communicates directly with the Christian reader-viewer, its pages propped open to enhance the visibility of the conjoined image and motto. The distinction between tablets and emblem book adumbrates the typological distinction between Mosaic and Christian images that constitutes one of the primary thematic threads woven into the fabric of the *Veridicus*. Three interrelated emblems—1, 20, and 60—dwell on this distinction [Figs. 1.10, 1.11, and 1.12].

Emblem 1 elucidates the nature of God-given images under the old dispensation, as exemplified by the sights and sounds that accompanied the promulgation of the Decalogue on Mount Sinai [Fig. 1.10]. The chief effect of these sensory devices was to instill fear of the Lord and his law, fixing *timor Dei* in the hearts and minds of the Israelites. They were thus devised to impose compliance with the rule set forth in the Latin epigram to Emblem 1: 'What principle does true Wisdom impose upon itself? Fear of the will of God, imprinted on a humble heart'.[23] There are three registers of fear, explains David in the commentary: servile fear of the Lord; filial fear of God the Father; and reverential fear of the beneficent God who superintends human affairs, providing for our welfare in this life and our salvation in the next. The first kind of fear engenders the second, the second the third, with *timor servilis* initiating the process that leads by way of *timor filialis* to *timor reverentialis*. Servile fear was endemic under the Old Law; under the New, however, fear is subsumed into charity, as John avows in 1 *John* 4: 18: 'Fear is not in charity: but perfect charity casteth out fear, because fear hath pain'.[24] Reverential fear, in David's view, is entirely compatible with John's conception of perfect charity: 'But reverential fear also abides with perfect charity, not only in the way, but also in the fatherland. Namely, amongst the sanctified in this life, which is the way to the life to come;

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23   Ibidem 1 and *pictura* 1: 'Quod sibi Principium posuit Sapientia vera? / Numinis infixum summisso in corde Timorem'.

24   Ibidem 2.
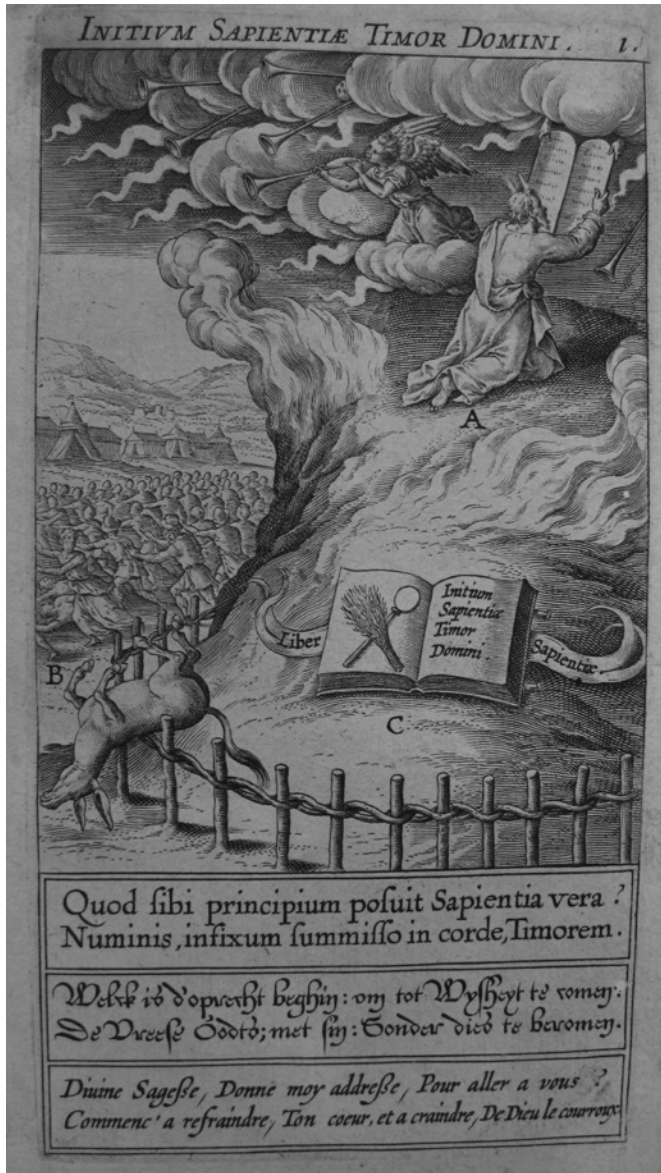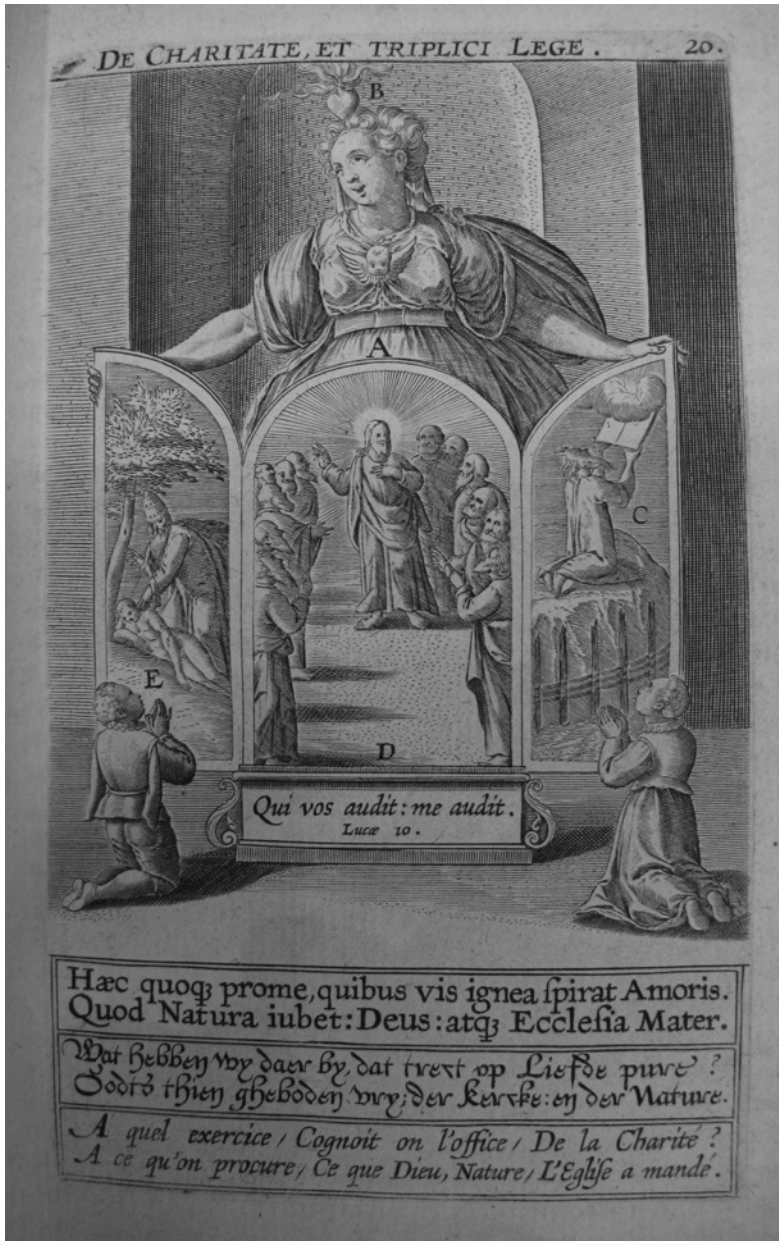
FIGURE 1.11   *Theodoor Galle (engraver), Emblem 20, "De Charitate, et Triplici Lege",*
in Jan David, Veridicus Christianus (*Antwerp, Officina Plantiniana*
apud Ioannem Moretum: 1601). Engraving, in-4.
CHICAGO, THE NEWBERRY LIBRARY.

FIGURE 1.12   *Theodoor Galle (engraver), Emblem 60, "Perfectum Patientiae*
exemplar, Christus passus", in Jan David, Veridicus Christianus
(Antwerp, Officina Plantiniana apud Ioannem Moretum: 1601).
Engraving, in-4.
CHICAGO, THE NEWBERRY LIBRARY.

and in the saints, the possessors of eternal life. The royal prophet indicates as much [*Psalm* 18: 10]: "Fear of the Lord is holy, enduring eternally".[25]

It was servile fear alone that was known and experienced under the Old Law, for God knew that only *terror Legis* ('terror of the Law') could ensure adherence to the Decalogue. Fearsome images, enhanced by dreadful sounds, were the chief means used to implant such fear in the recipients of the commandments, Moses included:

> In totius huis tractatus dilucidiorem explanationem referri potest, quod, dum olim Dominus populo suo Israëli per Moysem Decalogum daturus erat, primum curabat, ut in monte Sinae audirentur tonitrua, micarent fulgura nubesque eum densissima operiret et clangor buccinae vehementissime perstreperet ac mons omnis fumigaret adeo, ut populus universus, qui erat in castris, ingenti timore corriperetur. Ita enim initio necessarium erat, ut per timorem illum et Legi pronunciandae attentius aures praeberent eidemque observandae animum magis applicarent. Hinc nimirum Moyses idipsum illis indicavit, dum prae formidine extremum sibi vitae periculum imminere arbitrarentur. 'Ut probaret vos', inquit, 'venit Deus, et ut terror illius esset in vobis et non peccaretis' [*Exodus* 20: 20]. Huc siquidem spectabat illud, quo dominus antea Moysi praeceperat: 'Constitues terminos populo per circuitum et dices ad eos: "Cavete, ne ascendatis in montem nec tangatis fines illius. Omnis, qui tetigerit montem, morte morietur; sive iumentum fuerit, sive homo, non vivet"' [*Exodus* 19: 12–13]. Quo respiciens Apostolus idem dicit explicatius, in hanc sententiam: 'Non enim portabant quod dicebatur, "Et si bestia tetigerit montem, lapidabitur". Et ita terribile erat, quod videbatur' [*Hebrews* 12: 20–21].[26]

> What formerly the Lord caused to transpire before giving the Decalogue to his people Israel through Moses, can here be adduced for a clearer explanation of this whole treatise: thunderclaps were heard on Mount Sinai, lightning flashed, a very dense cloud covered it, the clamor of trumpets sounded loudly, the whole mountain was smoking, and so the people camped below were seized by great fear. For thus was it necessary at

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25   Ibidem 2–3: 'Timor autem reverentialis manet cum perfecta etiam charitate non solum viae, sed etiam patriae. Hoc est, in sanctis huius vitae, quae via est ad alteram; et in sanctis, vitae aeternae possessoribus. Id indicat Propheta Regius: "Timor Domini sanctus, permanens in saeculum saeculi"'.

26   Ibidem 3.

first that by fear they make their ears more attentive to the proclamation of the Law, and their spirit more observant. Hence truly, Moses declared the same thing to them when in terror they believed their lives to be in the greatest danger: 'For God', he said, 'is come to prove you, and that the dread of him might be in you, and you should not sin'. Inasmuch as this corresponds to what God had earlier instructed Moses: 'And thou shalt appoint certain limits to the people round about, and thou shalt say to them, "Take heed you go not up into the mount, and that ye touch not the borders thereof; every one that toucheth the mount dying he shall die; whether it be beast, or man, he shall not live"'. In view of which, the Apostle says the same more plainly in this sentence: 'For they did not endure that which was said: "And if so much as a beast shall touch the mount, it shall be stoned". And so terrible was that which was seen'.

Hebrews 12: 21, as the term 'ita' indicates, is the first half of a line that ends, 'Moses said, "I am frighted, and tremble"'. The implication is that no one under the Mosaic Law was immune from *timor servilis*, which, as the phrase 'quod videbatur' emphasizes, originated in response to sights seen and divinely orchestrated.

David, in the opening line of the passage quoted above, asks the reader to contextualize these sights within the overall argument of the *Veridicus*, wherein, as we shall see, they are compared to the very different kinds of images disseminated by Christ. He insists on their status as visual symbols when he goes on to liken them to the symbolic instruments prominently displayed in schoolrooms—the rod or switch—to enforce discipline, or to the gallows erected in public squares or at crossroads to instill fear of the law, or to the sword carried by effigies of Justice to represent the judicial right of punishment ('Iudice non sine causa gladium portante'). Their status as *imagines* is of course made apparent by their appearance within the emblematic *pictura*, where, marked by the letter 'A', they are seen to correlate with the description of fire, smoke, lighting, and storm clouds in the commentary, likewise marked 'A' [Fig. 1.10]. Here the textual analogy between these phenomena and the switch is fully pictorialized, since the open Book of Wisdom, just below, illustrates a related device, the scourge. The phenomena swirling around the mountain-top, identified as emblematic *imagines* ('A'), are thus connected to the *imago in imagine* pictured in the emblem book lying open on the mountainside ('C'), as if to say that these two elements differ not in kind, since both are species of *imago*, but rather in degree, since one consists of a set of descriptive images, the other of an image in an image. In the commentary, the letter 'C' attaches to the text passage describing the comparanda—rod, switch, gallows, effigy of

Justice with sword—that invite reflection on the visual character of the phe-nomena enumerated in text passage 'A'.[27]

Text passage 'B' comprises the citations from *Exodus* 19 and 20 that convey the terror felt by Moses and the Israelites when confronted by the visual evi-dence of the Lawgiver's power. This corresponds with scene 'B' in the *pictura*, which shows the terrorized Israelites fleeing from Mount Sinai; Galle has utilized more finely engraved lines than in 'A' or 'C', to indicate how distant the people are from the event transpiring at the summit. They body forth the symptoms of *timor servilis*: one woman apprehensively glances back at the mountain, but most have simply turned away, incapable of looking any longer, even from afar, at the dreadful portents. The *pictura* thus comments ironically on the effect of the Mosaic images generated to mark the founding of the Law: these images instigate the first kind of fear, but fail to engender the second, *timor filialis*, let alone the third, *timor reverentialis*.

Emblem 20, "De Charitate, et Triplici Lege" ("On Charity, and the Threefold Law"), supplies the way out of this impasse [Fig. 1.11]. The personification *Charitas* ('Charity') dominates the *pictura*: she holds open a triptych, the right wing of which incorporates a simplified version of *pictura* 1, Moses receiving the tablets of the Law atop Mount Sinai. Letter 'A' correlates to text passage 'A' that identifies her as a 'divinely infused virtue' ('virtus divinitus infusa'); the letter's placement on her womb invites the inference that charity must be held deep within its recipient's heart, in the manner of a mother's embryonic child.[28] Letter 'B' attaches to the flaming heart above Charity's brow: combined with her upturned face and eyes, the heart alludes to the Eucharistic prayer 'sursum corda', as text passage 'B' makes apparent. It describes Charity as the 'ardor of a heart set afire' ('ardor cordis inflammati') by divine love; 'sparked by God' in the man who 'believes and hopes', Charity impels him 'to love, honor, and wor-ship the good Lord', and enables him 'to anticipate whatsoever will be pleasing to God', including love of one's neighbor.[29] Charity, on this account, operates within the heart of the votary, and concomitantly, it is expressed by external works that give evidence of his longing for salvation, both of himself and of his fellow men ('sive nostram nostrique proximi salutem concernant'). Crucially, as the *pictura* and the emblematic epigram demonstrate in concert, one of the chief works of *ardor charitatis* is the internal production of sacred images having to do with God's love for humankind. This love is expressed by the so-called 'Triplex Lex' ('Triple Law')—comprising the 'Lex Dei per Moysem' ('Law

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27   Ibidem 3–4.
28   Ibidem 56.
29   Ibidem.

of God, conferred through Moses'), the 'Lex Naturae' ('Law of Nature'), the 'Lex Ecclesiae' ('Law of the Church')—that the picture in the picture, held open by Charity, invites us to visualize in the form of a triptych, in imitation of the boy and girl praying intently and staring at this image of the three laws: 'Bring forth these things also, by which the fiery power of loves breathes forth. What Nature, God, and Mother Church enjoin'.[30]

The command 'prome', 'bring forth' or, alternatively, 'bring into view', emphasizes that the things we must produce are meditative images. Unlike the Israelites pictured in Emblem 1, we can visualize for ourselves the act of lawgiving, seeing it as a Mosaic type for the fulfillment of the Law through Christ [Fig. 1.10]. The pictorial status of this repetition of *pictura* 1—like the emblem book pictured there, it is an *imago in imagine*, more precisely, a recollected *imago imaginis*—serves to accentuate its character as an image of Moses generated mnemonically, as part of the meditative process incubated by the *Veridicus* [Fig. 1.11]. The revisualization of *pictura* 1 within *pictura* 20 also signifies the process of internalization that converts exterior Law into interior impulse. David, in his commentary on the triptych's Mosaic wing, marked 'C', rehearses by way of comparision the many scriptural passages—*Jeremiah* 31: 33, *Ezechiel* 11: 19–20, and 2 *Corinthians* 3: 2–3, among others—that represent spiritual enlightenment as the conversion of the Law's hard, stony tablets into the malleable, tabular hearts made supple by the love of Christ:

> Dei Legem illam communiter vocamus, quam Moyses in monte Sinae in duabus tabulis lapideis a Deo accepit; quam Christus etiam postmodum in mundum veniens renovavit, confirmavit et perfecit. Dicebat enim: 'Non veni solvere Legem, sed adimplere' [*Matthew* 5: 17]. Venit, quod amplius est, scribere eam digito suo, hoc est, Spiritus Sancti gratia, in cordibus Fidelium, sicut per Prophetam promiserat: 'Dabo legem meam in visceribus eorum et in corde eorum scribam eam' [*Jeremiah* 31: 33]. Quod et D[ivus] Paulus enucleat pro rei dignitate, dum ait: 'Epistola estis Christi, scripta non atramento, sed spiritu Dei vivi non in tabulis lapideis, sed in tabulis cordis carnalibus' [2 *Corinthians* 3: 2–3]. Iuxta promissionem Dei olim per Ezechielem factam: 'Auferam cor lapideum de carne eorum et dabo eis cor carneum, ut in praeceptis meis ambulent' [*Ezechiel* 11: 19–20]. Per cor lapideum, durum et ad mandata Dei inflexibile intelligitur; per

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30 Ibidem 56 and *pictura* 20: 'Haec quoque prome, quibus vis ignea spirat Amoris. / Quod Natura iubet, Deus atque Ecclesia mater'.

carneum vero non carnale nec cereum in vitia flecti, sed ad nutum facile et obsequens in bonum.[31]

We commonly call the Law of God, that which Moses received from him on two stone tablets upon Mount Sinai: which Christ thereafter, upon coming into the world, renewed, confirmed, and perfected. For as he said: 'I am come not to destroy the Law, but to fulfill it'. He is come, moreover, to write it with his finger, that is, by grace of the Holy Spirit, upon faithful hearts, just as the prophet promised: 'I will give my law in their bowels, and in their hearts I shall write it'. Which Saint Paul explains according to the matter's worth, saying: 'You are the epistle of Christ, written not with ink, but with the spirit of the living God, not in tablets of stone, but in the fleshly tables of the heart'. According to the promise formerly made by God through Ezechiel: 'And I will take away the stony heart out of their flesh, and will give them a heart of flesh, that they may walk in my commandments'. By stony heart is meant a heart hard and resistant to the commandments of God; but by fleshly, neither carnal nor waxlike and easily moved to vice, but easy to command and compliant in doing good.

The imagery of stone become flesh, of the finger of God writing in 'tables of the heart', corresponds to the recasting of the image of Moses, who is now subsumed into Charity's triptych, as if he were an image issuing directly from the votary's 'fleshly heart', as an expression of loving compliance.

Moses's gesture of reception in 'C', his arms and hands raised, is mirrored and, in this sense, fulfilled by Christ in 'D', which portrays his appearance to the disciples in Jerusalem after the Resurrection, as recounted in *Matthew* 18: 17, *John* 20: 21, and especially *Luke* 10: 16, the text inscribed on the triptych's predella [Fig. 1.11]. David cites all three passages in his exposition of 'D': Jesus teaches the virtue of humility and counsels the disciples to flee the occasion of sin in *Matthew* 18: 17; he blesses them and bestows the spiritual gift of peace in *John* 20: 21; and he appoints 72 disciples to go into the world and preach, deputizing them to act as his representatives in *Luke* 10: 16. By enforcing their purity and modesty, reconciling them spiritually, and authorizing them to evangelize, he founds the *Lex Ecclesiae* ('Law of the Church'). This Law, states David, works in tandem with the ten commandments, the meaning of which it is the Church's right and privilege to elucidate ('praeceptis Ecclesiae elucidantur ex parte mandata Dei').[32] The radiance of Christ illuminates the disciples in 'D',

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31   Ibidem 56.

32   Ibidem.

thus showing that he casts his light upon the Church, and additionally, that this light shines brighter than that of the Mosaic Law. The position of 'D' at the heart of the altarpiece accentuates the centrality of the *Lex Ecclesiae* as mediator of the *Lex Dei.* Christ points at his heart, while turning to look across the frame at Moses, to demonstrate that the tablets received externally by his forebear must now be housed within the votary's loving and biddable heart. The open pathway leading to Christ, in contrast to the palissade blocking access to Sinai, invites the beholder to acknowledge that just as Jesus behaved toward his disciples like a loving father, so now, in them as in us, *timor servilis* must be supplanted by *timor filialis* or even *timor reverentialis*. It hardly needs repeating that these many analogies are transmitted visually, by means of verbal figures, such as the prophetic, evangelical image of hearts turned from stone to flesh, and by the pictorial image of Charity unfolding a tripartite allegory of the three laws.

The bulk of the commentary dwells not on 'C' or even 'D', however, but on 'E', the left wing of the triptych, which depicts the creation of Adam, more specifically, the infusion into Adam of the spirit of life. God raises his right hand in a benedictory gesture that echoes the similar gestures made by Moses and Christ. At the same time, God reaches down to touch Adam's head, presumably to enliven the future seat of his memory, imagination, and reason. The commentary to 'E' explains that God is conferring the *Lex Naturae* that consists in the capacity to distinguish right from wrong, along with the instinctive desire to pursue the former and eschew the latter:

> Lex Naturae, ut quae omnia comprehendit, quae tum homini fugienda tum facienda sunt, his paucis verbis continetur—'Declina a malo et fac bonum' [*Psalm* 36: 27]—ad quae omnia reliqua praecepta referuntur. De hac lege, ita ad Romanos Apostolus: 'Gentes, quae legem non habent, naturaliter ea, quae legis sunt, faciunt' [*Romans* 2: 14]. Exempli gratia hoc proferre possumus, quod D[ivus] Augustinus ait: Furtum punit lex tua, Domine, et lex scripta in cordibus hominum. Hoc est, Lex per Moysem a Deo data, et Lex Naturae, a Deo cordi humano naturaliter indita.[33]

> The Law of Nature, that which encompasses all things, what men must flee, what they must do, is contained in these few words—'Avoid the bad and do the good'—to which all other precepts are related. On this Law, the Apostle says to the Romans: 'The Gentiles who have not the Law, do by nature those things that are of the Law'. By way of example, we can

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33   Ibidem 57.

adduce what Saint Augustine says: 'Your Law, O Lord, punishes theft, as also does the Law written in human hearts'. Namely, the Law given by God through Moses, and the Law of Nature, implanted naturally into the human heart by God.

The Law of Nature, continues David, is manifest as a light bestowed interiorly ('interius infundendo lumen'), but equally, it is discernible in all created things, which are 'set before the eyes as the exterior signs, like unto traces, of divine wisdom' ('proponendo suae sapientiae signa exteriora velut quaedam Dei vestigia').[34] David insists that this Law, whether transfused by means of *lumen* or broadcast by means of *signa*, is conveyed neither by word, as in 'D', or by writing, as in 'C: 'Thus, from the start, this Natural Law was never at all delivered by verbal means, and nor was it mandated by written means, but rather, it is impressed in every human heart, where it may be ascertained'.[35] The point David broaches here and develops elsewhere in Emblem 20 is that the currency of the *Lex Naturae* is visual: it operates by means of images, such as the triptych analogizing the three *leges* in *pictura* 20, but with this difference—its lineaments are inherent rather than adventitious: neither voiced nor scripted externally, they are instead indelibly imbued or ingrained, and await discovery by anyone attentive to this Law. In every person, therefore, the Law of Nature exists as the precondition that facilitates reception of the Laws of God and the Church. As such, its mode of transmission, which is visual, prepares us to visualize the other two Laws.

To emphasize that the Law of Nature operates in and through images, David analogizes their internal production to various methods of pictorial execution. They may not actually be written, but they can be seen to partake of the appearance and visual force of scripted images, that is, of calligraphy. They can appear like something painted on panel, sealed in wax, or engraved in copper. They are comparable to that most iconic of divinely manufactured images— the Holy Face imprinted on the veil. In short, howsoever innate, they are to be visualized as images materially crafted by God the *Deus Artifex*. David prefaces these remarks by describing one of the most forceful such images to be derived from contemplation of the *Lex Naturae*—the image of a neighbor in need, upon whose situation we ought empathetically to project our own. The Law of Nature is likened to a mirror from out of which this image emerges assuredly:

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34   Ibidem.

35   Ibidem: 'Itaque neque usquam unquam ab initio vel verbo tradita vel scripto mandata fuit Lex ista Naturalis, sed ita in cuiusque corde impressa reperitur'.

Non possit propterea homo praesentius remedium et magis promtum speculum optare, in quo statim, quid sibi tali casu agendum sit, videat, praecipue erga proximum, hoc est, quemvis hominem, quam protinus cogitare, quid mihi, si tali sim loco, factum velim. [...] Sine dubio, laboranti succurri optem. Quare, sic faciam huic proximo, ut mihi cuperem fieri. Quod si ita actu ipso vere adimpleremus, id omne studium, omnem librorum lectionem, disputationem ac Philosophiam superaret. Nam quod legis, audis aut etiam theorice specularis, elabitur facile neque etiam volenti occurrit; at ista lex et lectio semper in corde scripta viget et conspicua est ad nutum volentis intueri, signatum est lumen istud super nos quasi inexterminabile [*Psalm* 4: 7] estque homini ad manum, instar tabellae ac pugillarium memoriam refricans. Quid ergo dicturi sumus, quod Lex ista ita a cordibus hominum videtur evanuisse aut erasa funditus, atque si nunquam eis tale quid inscriptum insculptumque fuisset?[36]

No man could wish for a prompter remedy or more ready mirror in which forthwith to see what he must do, particularly with regard to his fellow man, whoever he may be, than at once to think: 'What should I wish done for me, were I to find myself in such a situation'? [...] Without doubt, as one suffering, I should wish to be succored. Wherefore, I ought to do for this neighbor, whatsoever I wish done for myself. If we were truly to fulfill this in deed, that would surpass every kind of study, every reading of books, every disputation, and every philosophy. For the things you read or hear, and also whatever you speculate theoretically, easily slip away, and nor do they easily come to our mind, even if we are desirous of finding them: but this Law, written upon the heart, along with the perusal of it, thrives eternally; visible to whoever wishes to behold it, this light is sealed upon us, as if inextinguishably. Ready to hand, like a painted panel or writing tablet it refreshes a man's memory. What, then, shall I say about the fact that this Law seems to have vanished from the hearts of men, or to have been scratched out; as if it had never been inscribed or engraved within them?

These images of pictorial images correlate to *pictura* 20, which portrays the three *leges* as the conjoined wings and centerpiece of a triptych enclosed within an emblematic image. The reference to *Psalm* 4: 7, aligned with verb 'signatum' ('sealed, stamped, impressed'), clearly conjures up the image of the Holy Face, imprinted in blood, sweat, and sputum: 'The light of thy countenance, O Lord,

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36   Ibidem 58–59.

is signed upon us'. As the Law of Nature resembles an *imago manufacta*—indelibly scripted, painted, impressed, or engraved—so moral oblivion takes the form of material defacement.

The transition from Mosaic to Christian images concludes in Emblem 60, "Perfectum Patientiae exemplar, Christus passus" ("Image of perfect Patience, Christ outstretched", or, alternatively, "the suffering Christ") [Fig. 1.12]. David returns to the question of the relation between love and Christian image-making. In Emblem 20, as we have seen, the image of Moses on Sinai, introduced in Emblem 1, is reconfigured by Charity—pictured by love, as it were—and this implies that *timor servialis* has been displaced by *timor filialis* and/or *timor reverentialis*, in fulfilment of 1 *John* 4: 18 [Figs. 1.10 & 1.11]. Emblem 60 then asks how the love of Christ might itself be pictured, and concomitantly, how the power of this love to generate sacred images and transform the votary by means of them may best be shown. The *pictura* shares the format of *picturae* 1 and 20, thus indicating that it closely relates to these earlier emblems: the emblem book in the former and triptych in the latter become the large book ('D') embellished with images of the Holy Face and the Five Wounds. The kneeling boy and girl in *pictura* 20 are now accompanied by their pious parents ('B'), who stare at the *arma Christi* and the open book. The cross props up the book ('C'), respectively taking the place of Mount Sinai and of Charity.

The epigram admonishes the reader-viewer that he or she may become patient, in imitation of Christ, by reflecting on the instruments of the Passion and on the Holy Blood. Whereas the motto calls forth the image of Christ stretched out on the cross ('passus'), the epigram alludes to a different kind of image—abridged and compendious ('per compendia discam'), explicitly pictorialized ('hoc lege descriptum'), and more symbolic than mimetic, in the sense that instead of envisaging Christ crucified per se, we are urged to visualize images of the relics of his suffering ('Flagris, Cruce, Sanguine Christi'): 'Where may I shortly learn how not to be crushed by adversity? Peruse the scourges, cross, and blood of Christ, where this is described'.[37] The *pictura* diagrams this process of distillation, whereby the Passion resolves into component reliquary images. The vertical axis, read top to bottom, starts with the motto's reference to the image of Christ on the cross ('exemplar', lined up with the cross's postbeam); next comes a representative sampling of the *arma Christi*, more precisely, of images thereof ['C']; then an open book in which such relics as the crown of thorns, the sudarium, and the blood flowing from Christ's hands and side, are re-represented ('D'), as images of the images of the relics

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37   Ibidem 200 and *pictura* 60: 'Non frangi adversis, ubi per compendia discam? / Hoc lege descriptum Flagris, Cruce, Sanguine Christi'.

just above them. The book sits on an anvil ('A') that signifies how the many blows endured by Christ in the smithy of the Passion, forged the steel of salvation ('sic incus fert verbera ut ferrum cudatur'). But the anvil and hammers also circle back to the thematic of image-making: combined with the imprinted image of the Holy Face and the images of the punctured hands, feet, and heart, they can be seen to allude to the allied techniques that produce an engraved image—the pounding of copper and the stamping of the incised copperplate in a press. The trope of engraving resurfaces at several points in the commentary, most emphatically in David's closing statement, which compares fashioning a mental image of Christ crucified, to the process of engraving his image upon the heart: 'Whence Saint Augustine, rightly considering Christ crucified, says: "Meditate these things, how great they are; weigh them in the steelyard of your heart, that all of him who for us was wholly affixed to the cross, may by piercing be fixed in the heart ('figatur in corde')"'.[38]

The meditative exercise of dwelling on the wounds of Christ singly and sequentially is conceived as an expression of the votary's empathetic love, on the model of Bernard's *Sermo in Cantica canticorum 43*. His reading of *Canticle* 1: 12, 'A bundle of myrrh is my love to me, he shall abide between my breasts', is both exegetical and performative: he visualizes each of the instruments of the Passion, then gathers them into a bundle—the *fasciculus myrrhae*—holding them close in his arms.[39] The layering of different kinds and degrees of image in *pictura* 60—the conversion of 'Christus passus' as 'patientiae exemplar' into an assortment of reliquary images, which are then re-articulated into images of images and gathered into an open book—stages Bernard's stepwise dissection of the Passion into its component *arma* and subsequent reassembly of these parts into an aggregative meditative locus. David expressly invokes the pictorial iconography of Bernard's *fasciculus*:

> Tu quoque, si sapis, imitaberis sponsae prudentiam; atque hunc myrrhae fasciculum nec ad horam a pectore tuo patieris avelli, amara illa omnia, quae pro te pertulit, semper in memoria retinens et assidua meditatione

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38   Ibidem 203: 'Unde recte D. Augustinus, Christum crucifixum expendens, inquit; haec quanta sint, cogitate; haec in statera vestri cordis appendite; ut totus figatur in corde, qui totus pro nobis fixus fuit in cruce'.

39   Bernard of Clairvaux, "*Cantica Canticorum*: Eighty-Six Sermons on the Song of Solomon", in Mabillon J. (ed.) – Eales S.J. (trans.), *Life and Works of Saint Bernard, Abbot of Clairvaux. Vol. 4* (London: 1896) 266–270. Cf. *Sancti Bernardi Abbatis Clarae-Vallensis Sermones in Cantica Canticorum*, ed. H. Hurter, Sanctorum Patrum opuscula selecta, series altera 5 (Innsbruck: 1888) 362–366.

revolvens. Hoc pictura designat, qua S. Bernardus omnia Passionis Christi instrumenta in fascem collecta inter ulnas suas complectitur, hac sacrae Scripturae subiecta sententia: 'Fasciculus myrrhae dilectus meus mihi inter ubera mea commorabitur'. Quod nihil est aliud, quam Christi pro nobis passi assidue cum gratiarum actione recordari, animumque in afflictione constitutum vel stantem confirmare vel labascentem fulcire vel etiam lapsum erigere, tam salutari atque efficaci remedio, vel naribus tantum animae languentis applicito.[40]

If you have sense, you too shall imitate the prudence of the bride, not suffering this bundle of myrrh to be removed, not even for an hour, retaining in memory always all the bitter things he bore for you, meditating them assiduously. This is what that picture represents, in which Saint Bernard collects all the instruments of Christ's Passion into a bundle and cradles them in his arms, with this scriptural passage attached: 'A bundle of myrrh is my love to me, he shall abide between my breasts'. Which is nothing other than earnestly to recollect with due action of thanks the suffering of Christ, and to confirm our afflicted spirit when it stands firm, to uphold it when it wavers, to raise it up when it has fallen, by means of so salutary and efficacious a remedy applied, if you will, to the nostrils of our greatly languishing soul.

The layering of types of image also stands for the process whereby images become anchored in memory, whence they emerge to pervade the exercitant's mind, heart, and spirit. In the commentary, David identifies what it is the four votaries ('B')—man and boy, woman and girl—are observing with such care: they scrutinize the 'furnace of probation' in which the patience of Christ was 'baked', like potter's clay, as an example to all men, calling them to bear tribulations patiently.[41] David has in mind the metaphor of the kiln from *Ecclesiasticus* 27: 6: 'The furnace trieth the potter's vessels, and the trial of affliction just men'. In gazing, then, at the items assembled in 'C'—cross, nails, scourges, spear, sponge, and crown of thorns—they are completing a kind of exegetical operation, construing the *arma Passionis Christi* as fulfillments (in this sense, as antitypes) of the Old Testament type put forward by the voice of Wisdom. In other words, they are meditating images, as David points out in a

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40   David, *Veridicus Christianus* 202.

41   Ibidem 201: 'sed quando fictile nostrum vas fornaci tentationis imponitur, tunc vere apparet, quid sit in rei veritate; tunc testa nostra dissilit et in verba impotentis animi crepitu erumpit. At qui ignem tribulationis perfert, ut vas perfectum, usui bono cedit'.

paraphrase of Augustine's reading of this passage in *Confessiones* X 37: 60; the analogy of Passion to *fornax* must be kept ever in view: 'Since this is the case, who does not see that whatsoever the tribulation, we ought daily to exercise effort and care always to set before our eyes and keep at hand this furnace of probation'.[42] The votary must do more than this, however: he or she must ensure that the *tormenta Christi* are fixed in memory, in such a way that their motivating source, the boundless love of Christ, the true wellspring of his infinite patience, becomes durably evident. To help fix this crucial memory, David attaches it to another biblical *typus*, *Exodus* 15: 23–25, the sweetening of the bitter waters of Mara by Moses:[43]

> Dicit Responsio: 'Lege hoc descriptum in flagris, Cruce et Sanguine Christi. Hoc est, da operam Passioni Christi et morti eius intimo cordis amore meditandae et facile ac suaviter disces patientiam, quam alioqui duris asperisque praescriptionibus observandis sine patientia nunquam addisceres. Quando enim per memoriam passionis et tormentorum, quae Christus pro nobis sustinuit, ad tristia perferenda procedimus, tunc facilius sustinemus: quia patientia charitate fulcitur, omniaque ardua facit tolerabiliora. Huc figura illa spectabat, quando lignum dulcoravit aquas Marath, quae bibi non poterant. Sic lignum Crucis, hoc est Passio Christi in carne suscepta, et devote considerata dulcorat et facit potabiles amaras tribulationum aquas, quas alioqui difficile esset ebibere.[44]

> The response says: 'Peruse the scourges, cross, and blood of Christ, where this is described'. Namely, attend to the Passion of Christ and to his death fit to be meditated with the heart's deepest love, and then easily and sweetly you will learn patience, which otherwise through the impatient observance of harsh and austere precepts you shall never come to know. For when through memory of the Passion and torments endured by Christ on our behalf, you proceed to suffer sorrows, you will easily sustain them, since charity fortifies patience, making hardships bearable. That figure pertains here—the wood of the tree sweetening the undrinkable

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42   Ibidem: 'Quis non videat igitur, quandoquidem ita est, etiam quotidianam nostram curam et studium esse debere, hanc fornacem probationis per tribulationem quamcunque, semper ante oculos et ad manum habere et observare?'.

43   Two other such types of the Passion, David's patient suffering of Semei's rebukes (2 *Kings* 16: 5–10) and Job counseling his wife to patience (*Job* 2: 9–10) appear in the background, respectively labeled 'E' and 'F'.

44   David, *Veridicus Christianus* 201–202.

waters of Mara—for so the wood of the cross, that is, the Passion endured
by Christ in the flesh, if it is devoutly contemplated, sweetens and makes
potable the bitter waters of tribulation, which would otherwise be noi-
some to drink.

The charity of Christ shall fortify us, just as it fortified him, sweetening our
sorrows no less than the wood of the tree sweetened the bitter waters of Mara.
David enjoins the votary to see that love expressed in the mnemonic image
of Christ's suffering flesh ('in carne suscepta, & devote considerata'), and this
is what the images impressed in the open book ('D')—the Holy Face, heart,
hands, and feet—represent [Fig. 1.12]. The transition from 'C' to 'D' might thus
be parsed as the shift from the register of vision to that of visual memory; it
might be more accurate to claim, however, that it diagrams the shift from one
kind of mnemonic image, focusing on the relics the Passion or, better, its reli-
quary images, to a more deeply embedded and affective species of mnemonic
image, consisting of Christ's bloodsoaked face and wounds.

David amplifies upon the nature and meaning of *imago* 'D': it is not only the
images in the book, but the book itself, that represents Christ. The equivalence
of Jesus and the book was already implied by the motto's pun on 'passus' ('open,
outspread, outstretched', from 'pando', but also, 'having suffered', from 'patior'),
which David now revisits and more fully develops. In drawing this parallel, he
asks us to imagine that Christ is the true author of these images, as if our mem-
ory were subsumed into his, and our meditative image-making instrumental-
ized by him. Or alternatively, he encourages us to visualize the Crucifixion as
the opening of a book whose images not only portray the injured, outstretched
body of Christ, but also originate in and issue from it. Or yet again, he prompts
us to see the images in the book as imprinted upon the flesh of Christ:

> Possemus quasi librum ingentem, apertum, Christi passionem, immo
> Christum ipsum super pulpito crucis expansum, intus et foris scriptum
> oculis cordis intueri in eoque, praeter immensam sapientiam, potentiam,
> et bonitatem stupendam quoque legere charitatem, misericordiam infi-
> nitam, mansuetudinem inexplicabilem, incomparabilem humilitatem et
> obedientiam, et, quod modo urgemus, sole splendidiorem patientiam, ut
> in speculo omnibus Christianis unice imitandam. Hic liber, hic magister,
> haec lectio, haec methodus patientiam addiscendi compendiosissima.
> Perlustremus omnia quaecunque homini in hac vita possint obtingere
> adversa, in fama, bonis, corpore, amicis, et in omnibus corporis mem-
> bris ac sensibus animaeque facultatibus. Quid est, cuius non possit in

Passione Christi reperiri exemplum, quo, qui iam patitur, doceatur, excitetur et adiuvetur.[45]

> Would that we could see the Passion of Christ with the eyes of the heart, as if it were a giant book opened, nay rather, Christ himself spread out upon the scaffold of the cross, drawn both interiorly and exteriorly: and behold not only his immense wisdom, power, and goodness, but also his stupendous charity, infinite mercy, inexplicable clemency, incomparable humility, and obedience, and that which we now urge, his patience more splendid than the sun, fit to be imitated by all Christians especially, as if reflected in a mirror. This is the book, this the teacher, this the lesson, this the compendious method of learning patience. Let us examine every adversity that can befall a man in this life, whatsoever it may be, in reputation, property, personhood, or friends, in every part of his body and senses, in his powers of soul: what is there that cannot be found exemplified by the Passion of Christ, wherein he who suffers, is taught, comforted, and sustained.

The phrase 'intus et foris', as used in the opening sentence, can be interpreted to mean either, 'as if we were seeing the book with bodily eyes, when we see it with our interior sense', or, 'as if we were seeing represented in an image, the internal and external suffering of Christ'. Whichever meaning is selected, the emphasis falls on the intense visibility of the images of the Passion unveiled by the self-opening of *Christus Liber*. He reveals all of himself, both within and without, and conversely, we see what he uncovers with our corporeal and spiritual eyes, that is, with everything human vision can muster.

David's remarkable reading of the image of the book responds to *Apocalypse* 5: 1–5, as a marginal note clearly indicates: 'And I saw in the right hand of him that sat on the throne, a book written within and without, sealed with seven seals. [...] And I wept much, because no man was found worthy to open the book, nor to see it. And one of the ancients said to me: "Weep not; behold the lion of the tribe of Juda, the root of David, hath prevailed to open the book, and to loose the seven seals thereof"'. The reference to *Apocalypse* 5 brings to mind the different sort of image, closed to human eyes, that Emblem 1 elucidates, and that we saw reconfigured and pictorialized under the New Dispensation in Emblem 20 [Figs. 10 and 11]. In Emblem 60, the Christian image, unlike the Mosaic one, is thus construed as susceptible to a unitive process of

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45   Ibidem 202.

interiorization that subsumes the votary into Christ, to such an extent that his suffering becomes continuous with Christ's suffering, his image-making coincident with that of Christ [Fig. 1.12]. The Passion images illustrated in this book are to be appreciated as fashioned by Christ himself, who impresses them upon our memory and consciousness, thereby deepening our experience of his paradigmatic, patient love. The emblem book pictured in Emblem 1, as an instrument generative of the three *timores*—*servialis*, *filialis*, and *reverentialis*—and the triptych pictured in Emblem 20, as a meditative image of the three *leges*—*Lex Naturae*, *Lex Dei*, and *Lex Ecclesiae*—is transformed into the open book of Emblem 60, which represents the full participation of Christ in the 'true Christian's' efforts as image-maker.

David, as this analysis will have shown, was deeply invested in exploring the nature of sacred images and in defending and understanding their use. His favored means of expression—the apologetical, controversialist treatise and the illustrated emblem book—are not in any conventional sense art theoretical, but a rich discourse of the *imago*, of its forms and functions, its meaningful potentialities, permeates them. His treatment of the religious image—what it is, what it can do, how it has changed over time, whether it is divinely sanctioned—becomes particularly sustained and systematic in emblem books such as the *Veridicus Christianus*, undoubtedly because the genre, which David converted into a Jesuit specialty, turns on the relation between image (verbal or pictorial) and text (captions, mottos, epigrams, and commentaries). It would therefore be justifiable to characterize his books as epitomes of the phenomenon that this volume has designated 'Jesuit Image Theory'.

Part 1: Jesuit Image Theory—Rhetorical and Emblematic Treatises, and Theoretical Debates

Six of the fourteen chapters in this book examine texts that purport to theorize about the *imago* and to analyze its various forms and functions. Wietse de Boer seeks to reconstruct the context within which the first generation of Jesuits developed their ideas about the sacred image. In the mid-sixteenth century, as Europe was convulsed by doctrinal disputes, the cult of the saints and the uses of religious art gave rise to vivid criticism by reform-minded Christians, Protestant and Catholic alike. The issue was hotly debated both in France and Italy, where the early Jesuits spent their formative years. While we lack direct evidence of how their thinking on the subject evolved in these years, it was surely conditioned by two vital concerns: on the one hand, the wish to defend the veneration of images from charges of idolatry; on the other, the need to counteract suspicions that

Ignatius and his companions fostered forms of spirituality that smacked of mystical illumination. Two disputations by Dominicans with whom the early Jesuits maintained close relations may suggest how they navigated this treacherous passage. In his *De cultu imaginum* (1552) the French inquisitor Matthieu Ory offered a Neothomist theory of visual perception in which the veneration of physical images and the cultivation of mental images were analogous forms of spiritual practice. The Italian Ambrogio Catarino, in his *Disputatio* […] *de cultu et adoratione imaginum* (1552), rejected any view that did not expressly deny that divinity inhered in the graven image, but nonetheless came close to Ory's psychology of perception. On this basis he justified forms of veneration that, going well beyond didactic or mnemotechnic uses of the image, rendered honor to the represented. Both views, in explaining how the image mediated the apprehension of realities beyond itself, may have been critically important as the Jesuits developed practices of image-making that hinged on connections between texts and visual representations, between external and mental images.

Subsequent generations of Jesuits came to plumb the depths of these relationships theoretically, particularly to explore the processes of signification. Ralph Dekoninck traces the derivation of the symbolic category *imago figurata* ('figured image')—as used in the treatises of four Jesuit image theorists, Louis Richeome, Jacob Masen, Maximiliaan van der Sandt, and Claude-François Ménestrier—from Augustine's category *signum translatum* ('transferred sign', i.e., a sign that refers to something beyond itself, to a God-given meaning that is conferred or 'instituted'). The synonymous terms *figurata* ('figured') and *translatum* ('transferred') refer in all cases to the hermeneutic process that both produces and is produced by the signifying image, but the four Jesuit authors' accounts of what this process entails and the effects it brings about, vary dramatically. For Richeome, the term *signa translata* is medium-specific: it refers to visual images that represent sacred mysteries. For Van der Sandt, the *imago figurata* is subsumed into the operations of a *theologia symbolica* ('symbolic theology') that aims to decode the corporeal similitudes by which God may be known. For Masen, the *imago translata* or *figurata* is a visual or verbal metaphor that more closely resembles the symbolic usage of poets and rhetoricians than that of biblical exegetes. For Ménestrier, the *imago figurata*, now construed as a purely rhetorical instrument, dominates all forms of symbolic thought—mental, performative, imaginative, and enigmatic.

Agnès Guiderdoni demonstrates how central the *imago figurata* is to Maximilaan van der Sandt's overarching system of symbolic theology, as set forth in his trilogy of treatises, the *Theologia scholastica* (1624), *Theologia symbolica* (1626), and *Theologia mystica* (1627). For Van der Sandt, symbolic and mystical theology, unlike speculative theology (which forms part of scholastic

theology), rely on modalities of symbolisation—*allegoria in factis* ('symbolism of scriptural events') and *allegoria in verbis* ('symbolism of things imagined by means of verbal images')—based on a rhetorical understanding of figures of speech. In turn, the symbolic theology of things ('figuratio rei') and the symbolic theology of speech ('translatio verbi') are understood as complementary modes of allegorization, both of them anchored in the use of *imagines figuratae*, into which virtually all figures of speech can be subsumed. In practice, when Van der Sandt distinguishes between symbols that operate *in factis* (i.e., by means of things that function either hieroglyphically or emblematically as signs for other things) and symbols that operate *in verbis* (i.e., by means of words used to signify things either literally or tropically), he is really construing both symbolic types as *modi loquendi* that turn on an archetypal figure—the *imago figurata*—and its kinds: parabolic, proverbial, enigmatic, emblematic, fabulous, and hieroglyphic. Symbolic theology, states Guiderdoni, thus altogether relies upon the figurative image as a way of knowing God, and this is why, for Van der Sandt, the distinction between the symbolic (which focuses on signs of God) and the mystical (which focuses more directly on the mystery of Godhead) is more a question of degree than kind, or is even elided.

A case study allows Andrea Torre to show the enormous creativity, scope, and emotional power the lessons of symbolic theology could have when developed in sacred rhetoric. He examines the ways in which Emanuele Tesauro, the Jesuit-formed master of seventeenth-century poetics and author of *Il cannocchiale aristotelico* (1655), used the stigmata as an exegetical, mnemonic, and oratorical device. Christ's wounds, Torre argues, were a record both of his suffering and of the benefits he thereby bestowed—the *memoria beneficiorum*. The image thus allowed the faithful beholding it to reflect on the savior's past sacrifice on their behalf. Tesauro enriched this reflection with a form of associative etymology that, in conjuring up images of the Passion, intended not so much to offer a literal representation of Christ's final hours as to open up a diverse and potentially new range of allegorical meanings, moral lessons, and appeals to affective participation contained in the Christian myth of redemption. The knowledge thus disclosed was not historical or scientific, but claimed to uncover deeper layers of truth, perfectly rendered metaphorically by the image of Christ's gaping wounds. The Shroud of Turin, which Tesauro considered in a famous panegyric, demonstrated the full potential of this kind of forward-looking recollection. In it the divine had left a literal imprint of his own sacrifice: at once a relic, a self-portrait, and an emblem, it revealed itself for contemplation, exegesis, and emulation.

David Graham takes the discussion of the Jesuits' theoretical engagement with images to the seminal emblem scholar, influenced by Tesauro,

Claude-François Ménestrier (1631–1705). To what extent can the extensive taxonomy the Jesuit undertook in the two treatises entitled *L'Art des Emblêmes,* published in 1662 and 1684, be called works of theory, when scholars have noted Ménestrier's penchant for infinite distinctions and his apparent inability to develop a systematic approach? What is more, how are we to consider his significance in an age that saw both the peak and crisis of early modern emblematics? Graham not only reconsiders the theoretical significance of Ménestrier's thought but, more importantly, argues for its modernity. He makes this original case by positing an evolutionary development between the two treatises. *L'Art des Emblêmes* of 1662, rather than presenting its own theory of the image, rested on the collective wisdom of the ancient and modern authors it assembled. Further, the work reflected the author's interests in rhetoric and practical emblematics, deriving its compendium of images less from emblem books than festival culture and applied arts. In contrast, the much expanded 1684 version was reconfigured by an Aristotelian-Thomist framework and engaged more deeply with the printed emblem, as evidenced by the inclusion of numerous woodcut illustrations. These novelties, Graham suggests, may reflect the author's increased interest in anchoring image theory in visual and related textual sources rather than the received opinions of established authorities. This tendency, the author suggests, seems to anticipate modern 'grounded theory' developed in recent sociology, in that it derives theory from the analysis of primary data rather than axiomatic positions. This innovative stance grew out of Ménestrier's attempt, genuine if perhaps unsuccessful, to come to terms with the astonishing profusion of image forms that, by this time, had come to characterize the field of emblematics.

Karl Enenkel attempts to shed light on Jesuit image theory in a school context, by analyzing the important rhetorical treatise *Idea Rhetoricae* of the German Jesuit Franciscus Neumayr (1697–1765), especially the chapters on *enargeia* or *evidentia*. Neumayr, who primarily composed his rhetoric as a manual for Jesuit priests, attached the highest value to *evidentia*, and he elaborated upon the devices and tools he regarded as especially useful in creating *evidentia*. In this respect, he went much further than the rhetorical works formerly utilized in Jesuit schools: Erasmus's *De duplici copia, verborum ac rerum*, Andreas Frusius, S.J.'s metrical *De utraque copia verborum ac rerum praecepta*, and above all, Cyprian Soarez, S.J.'s *De arte rhetorica*, and even Erasmus's and Soarez's main sources, Quintilian and Cicero. Among other things, Neumayr theorizes about what he calls 'spectacula', that is, the demonstration of visual objects as instruments for creating *evidentia*, objects such as skullcaps, burning torches, statues of saints, or paintings, and he also provides detailed practical advice on how to use them in sermons. Interestingly, he identifies

theatrical performances of religious rites, *tableaux vivants*, and even *Deus ex machina* installations as instruments of persuasion. Particularly illuminating is Neumayr's chapter on church architecture: he analyzes how it functions to persuade the believer by means of visual effects, and to create religious feelings through *evidentia*. His discussion of St. Michael in Munich may be seen to operate as the nucleus for an advanced stage of Jesuit image theory. For Neumayr, who was himself a compelling and influential preacher, *evidentia* functioned within controversialist sermons and elsewhere as a pivotal argument for the superiority of Catholicism. In conclusion, Enenkel analyzes some of the ways in which Neumayr, who served as director of the Munich Jesuit theatre, created and instrumentalized *evidentia* in his Jesuit school plays.

Part 11: Embedded Image Theory

The next seven chapters examine what one might call expressions of embedded image theory, that is, various instances where Jesuit authors and artists use images to explore the status and functions of such images and of image-making. Walter Melion discusses the early Jesuit manuscript prayerbook mentioned at the start of this introduction—the *Libellus piarum precum*—which consists of a carefully ordered sequence of Eucharistic images that anchors clusters of meditative prayers to be recited *in solitudine*, as codicils to the liturgy of the Mass. Throughout the *Libellus*, pasted-in woodcuts and engravings of the Virgin and Child, Christ the Man of Sorrows, and scenes from the Passion, richly colored in gouache and watercolor, are juxtaposed to brightly illuminated versions of the Jesuit impresa—IHS with cross, nails, and sacred heart— superimposed on images of the host. Whereas the printed images are mimetic, in this sense representational, the host images tend to be abstracted—highly patterned, geometrical, and diagrammatic. They repeat in abstract what the first pictorial statement narrates more explicitly. Melion construes these juxtaposed images as pictorial registers that variously convey complementary aspects of the sacramental presence of Christ in the Eucharist.

The imaginative deployment of meditative images, albeit without the support of material images, is also at the center of Hilmar M. Pabel's contribution on Peter Canisius's *Notae evangelicae* (1591–1593). Building on his earlier work on this important set of meditative directives for priests, Pabel analyzes the Dutch Jesuit's comments on the gospel pericopes for Advent, the first part of the liturgical year. Canisius's methodology, obviously drawing its inspiration from Ignatius's *Spiritual Exercises*, included the engagement of the five senses in contemplation. Already as a young man, Canisius is known to have meditated on Christ's ascension, drawing on vision, hearing, and smell. Distinctive in his

writings is the emphasis on hearing: speech and music were as instrumental in spiritual practice as they were in the external applications of preaching, teaching, and apologetic argument. Central to Pabel's analysis, however, is the prominent role played by sight in Canisius's pursuit of inner piety, on the model of sight's centrality in Ignatius's *Exercises.* In the contemplation of Advent, for example, sight facilitates the processes of mental elaboration and affective connection with scriptural places (from the site of Christ's birth to the scene of Hell), persons (John the Baptist, Christ, the Holy Family), and narratives (Jesus's entry into Jerusalem, the beheading of John the Baptist). The purpose of such contemplative exercises consisted, as Pabel puts it, in 'fostering spiritual dispositions' worth cultivating, from the fear of punishment for sin to the love of God. The ultimate goal was a wholesale redirection of the self, a spiritual transformation.

James Clifton utilizes an image within which numerous other images proliferate, Antoon Sallaert's *Glorification of the Name of Jesus* of ca. 1635, to call attention to the reflexiveness of much Jesuit devotional imagery. Image-tropes abound in pictures such as Sallaert's that visualize the Holy Name as a source of further *imagines Christi.* In the *Glorification,* Jesus holds one kind of symbolic image, the reliquary *arma Christi,* and points upward at a wheel of seven narrative scenes from the Passion—the so-called seven bleedings of Christ—which emerge from his name, more specifically, from the abstracted cross the name subtends, like the mimetic spokes of a narrative wheel. One kind of image appears to beget another, and all these images are seen to originate from the blessing gesture of the infant Jesus, whose infancy and tender flesh allude to the mystery of the Incarnation, and whose pose and divine radiance allude to the mystery of the Resurrection. It is as if Sallaert were arguing that these mysteries, expressed in the form of a synoptic image, license the propagation of corollary images, such as the *imagines Passionis Christi.* Moreover, as Clifton points out, Sallaert takes full advantage of the capacity of pictorial images to engender new kinds of devotional practice: the *Glorification of the Name of Jesus* is exceptional in its accommodation of so many devotions—to the infant Christ, the *arma Christi,* the Holy Name, the Seven Bleedings, and the Eucharist. The composite format that he devised highlights the potentialities of image-based devotion, since he relies on no textual precedents.

Anna Knaap discusses the innovative paintings on marble that the painter Hendrick van Balen embedded within the stone predella, altar frame, and revetments of the Marian Chapel in the Jesuit Church of Antwerp. Van Balen was the first northern master to take such paintings on stone out of the *constcamer* ('art cabinet'), the private, secular setting in which they were proudly displayed as specimens of natural artifice, and resituate them in the sacred

space of a church, where they function as allusions to the Deus Artifex and, most notably, to the mystery of the Incarnation. The patterns in the veined yellow marble slabs of the predella, for instance, variously depict landscapes, light-infused cloud banks, and ephemeral effects such as billowing smoke, greatly ornamenting the pendant *Adoration of the Shepherds* and *Adoration of the Magi* painted upon them. The artist's capacity to produce these effects, making a single material—stone—so protean that it serves equally to represent inert rocky matter, fugitive phenomena, and the ineffable appearance of divine light, stands proxy for God the Creator's power to bring forth images from raw nature and, by analogy, for his bringing forth of the supreme image of himself—Christ Jesus, the *imago Dei*—in and through the mystery of the Incarnation. Moreover, Knaap explains how these paintings on marble signified the Virgin's participation in this process of divine image-making: as instrument and co-agent of this mystery, she was compared to a marble slab, her conception of Christ to the veining ingrained within the slab's crystalline structure.

Pierre Antoine Fabre expounds Louis Richeome, S.J.'s illustrated meditative treatise, *La peinture spirituelle* of 1611, more particularly its title-page and two of its engravings, *The Gardens of the Jesuit Novitiate in Rome* and *Ignacio de Azevedo, S.J., and the Thirty-Nine Jesuit Martyrs of Brazil*. These printed images, as he shows, in their relation to the book's other images—verbal, visual, pictorial, and mnemonic—give evidence of Richeome's pluriform and multifarious conception of the *imago* and of its sometimes ambivalent relation to his deeply rhetoricized text. This text, in turn, centers on the ekphrastic production of *tableaux* purporting to describe paintings on display in the Jesuit's Roman house of Sant' Andrea al Quirinale. What, asks Fabre, is the nature of the relation between these verbal *tableaux* and the other kinds of image generated by Richeome within the *Peinture spirituelle*, and what does this relation tell use about the process of spiritual image-making? How and why, in the *Peinture*, is the mutual relation amongst pictorial image, ekphrastic text, imagined *tableau*, and mnemonic image, text, and *tableau*, so vexed, so fraught with contingency? Fabre demonstrates how the book's image-text apparatus makes it possible to identify various permutations of the *imago* as different in kind—he identifies at least eight—and yet complementary, and then again, as intensely contradictory. The *Peinture spirituelle* can be seen as symptomatic of the competing authorities of word and image, *écrit* and *image*, within Jesuit spiritual and exegetical theory and practice at the turn of the seventeenth century.

Aline Smeesters deals with a famous scene in Book 6 of the *Aeneid* (VI, 756–887), in which Vergil allowed his readers to visualize, together with Aeneas and his father Anchises, the whole line of Roman rulers down to Marcellus,

the nephew of Augustus. This masterpiece of *enargeia*, underpinned by the ancient (and, from a Christian point of view, problematic) theory of the preexistence of souls, was adapted in a number of interesting ways by Jesuit authors within a very precise generic frame: the genethliac allegorical poem in Latin hexameters written to celebrate the birth of a child. Smeesters discusses two such poems by the Jesuits Jacobus Wallius and Ubertino Carrara, dated 1652 and 1678 respectively, that provide striking examples of how Jesuit poetical *imitatio* could operate in conjunction with philosophical and theological conceptions of the generative power of divine ideas, and with art theoretical notions of inventive agency.

Steffen Zierholz explores the myriad ways in which theoretical premises underlying the *Spiritual Exercises* can likewise be discerned in Jesuit church construction and decoration. Specifically, he identifies the classical rhetorical concept of *enargeia*—the rendition of past events in a manner so vivid and lively that they are made to seem visibly present—as crucially important, not only to early modern theories of artistic production and meditative image-making, but also to the devotional form and function of sacred spaces. The attempt to integrate spatial and pictorial design with meditative practice antedates Andrea Pozzo's celebrated *Apotheosis of St. Ignatius* in Sant'Ignazio, Rome. It was already fully evident in the Jesuits' first major architectural commission in the papal city, the Gesù. Zierholz closely examines the church's Cappella della Natività, whose carefully coordinated decorative program—in particular, Niccolò Circignani's cupola fresco depicting the *Heavenly Host*—turns the chapel into a unified sacred space that envelops the beholder, inciting a participatory, imaginative, and contemplative engagement with the pictorial narrative. Convincing effects of space, volume, light, and color enhance the devotee's involvement in the depicted action. Ideally, the perception of pictorial artifice dissolves into a veritable sense of celestial presence.

In the final essay, Jeffrey Muller invites the reader to consider this volume's central theme within the context of a much debated question—the strategy of accommodation developed by the Jesuits as they established their ministry and missions in far-flung corners of the world. Muller outlines an approach to this critical issue that eschews anachronism, bridges internal (Jesuit) and external perspectives, and acknowledges both religious and political motivations. In the eyes of a missionary like Roberto De Nobili, adopting foreign customs could be defended as a way to facilitate access to and conversion of local populations, as long as this compromise was limited to 'accidental' cultural features, not essential elements of the faith. But the deep suspicions that accompanied the order for centuries, and that erupted during controversies such as those over the Chinese and Malabar rites, demonstrates just how tenuous this justifi-

cation could seem to others, and how easily it could be politicized. The image question was very much involved in the forms of cultural interaction, translation, and accommodation at the heart of the Jesuit enterprise. In Europe and beyond, illustrated catechisms could bridge language and educational divides. Buddhist (and other) images could profitably be cast as demonic opposites of the statues of Catholic saints, if not outright proof of the idolatrous nature of native religions. In other ways, too, the Jesuits did not hesitate to use images, material culture, and other culture-specific appeals to the senses—ranging from luxurious art to local dress to popular fragrances—to draw in potential converts. This approach reflected Ignatius' oft-quoted suggestion that religious persuasion be facilitated by 'going in by their door in order to come out by ours'. Sometimes, however, one is struck by glimmers of cross-cultural awareness, for example when the missionary Luis Frois came close to describing the temple of the Japanese god Amida as a suitable locus of meditation. The numerous statues of Amida's son Kanon, Frois noted, 'would make a good composition of place for a meditation on the ranks and hierarchies of the angels'. The point provides striking proof, if any was needed, of how deeply embedded Jesuit image theory had become within decades of the order's founding.

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Vita beati patris Ignatii Loyolae religionis Societatis Iesu fundatoris ad vivum expressa ex ea quam P. Petrus Ribadeneyra eiusdem Societatis theologus ad Dei gloriam et piorum hominum usum ac utilitatem olim scripsit; deinde Madriti pingi, postea in aes incidi et nunc demum typis excudi curavit (Antwerp, Theodoor Galle: 1610).

PART 1

Jesuit Image Theory—Rhetorical and Emblematic Treatises, and Theoretical Debates

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The Early Jesuits and the Catholic Debate about Sacred Images

Wietse de Boer

In a volume on Jesuit image theory a discussion of origins is in order. It is a complex issue. This is not so in the general sense that a phenomenon's historical origins can often be rolled back indefinitely—after all, Jesuit history has precise beginnings in the middle decades of the sixteenth century.[1] Rather, reconstructing the roots of Jesuit ideas in this matter is difficult because a distinctive understanding of images and their spiritual uses we may associate with the Jesuits did not crystallize until the later sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries.[2] At that point we see a concept and methodical employment of the meditative image in which external and internal representations—the physical image and the mental *similitudo*—are closely connected. Thus, according to the Jesuit controversialist Frans de Costere, those of us 'who kneel and pray before a painted or sculpted image, do the same as those who, lying prostrate on the ground without an image, form an image of the crucified Christ in their mind and thought, and adore Christ in this highest form of veneration. For what to the latter is the internal image produced in thought is for us the external image adumbrated in the statue or picture'. In either case, the endeavor was at once cognitive and affective, moral and spiritual. It was grounded in the intimate pleasure the faithful derived from resemblance and imitation.[3]

This integrated understanding, scholars have justly emphasized, is at the heart of early-modern Jesuit image theory. But how did it come about? On the one hand, we need to be aware of the medieval theological hinterland

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1 On the problem of origins, see Mongini G., "Per un profilo dell'eresia gesuitica", *Rivista Storica Italiana* 120 (1999) 26–63, at 32–33, n. 22.

2 For a recent historiographical overview, see Levy E., "Early Modern Jesuit Arts and Jesuit Visual Culture: A View from the Twenty-First Century", *Journal of Jesuit Studies* 1 (2014) 66–87.

3 I draw here on the excellent synthesis offered in Dekoninck R., *Ad imaginem. Statuts, fonctions et usages de l'image dans la littérature spirituelle jésuite du XVIIe siècle* (Geneva: 2005) 129–207; the quote, from Costerus Franciscus (Frans De Costere), *Enchiridion controversiarum praecipuarum nostri temporis de religione* (Coloniae Agrippinae: 1587) 370, is cited ibidem 129. Of this work I have consulted the edition Coloniae Agrippinae, in Officina Birckmannica: 1586 (quote at 366).

consisting of theories of perception that had both Aristotelian-scholastic and Neoplatonic mystical roots. On the other hand, Jesuit ideas about the image took shape in the midst of Reformation-era doctrinal battles, particularly those about idolatry.[4] Yet exactly how the mature Jesuit positions emerged out of pre-Jesuit traditions, the experiences and inclinations of Ignatius and his companions, and the sixteenth-century controversies about sacred images— all this remains to a large extent to be explored. In this contribution I intend to examine two aspects of the problem. The first has to do with the genesis of the order itself: as recent scholars have confirmed, the Society was formed amidst ongoing suspicions of heresy and the strategies of self-defense the order developed in response.[5] This leads us to ask: was the image—both as a meditative device and an object of devotional practice—at stake in this process of scrutiny, justification, and identity formation? If so, how did it affect the ways in which Ignatius and his early companions developed their ideas in this matter? The second aspect concerns the connection of these ideas to contemporary controversies about idolatry, the cult of the saints, and the legitimacy of sacred images.[6] The question here is the following: how was the later visual culture of the Jesuits conditioned by mid-sixteenth-century Catholic efforts to salvage the sacred image from the attacks of Protestants? That this connection was critically important is suggested by Frans de Costere's just-cited remark about the dual nature of images. In fact, his ensuing argument made the point explicit: 'Furthermore, since no idolatry is committed in the internal veneration of images, which develops in the imagination or cogitation, similarly there is no idolatry if we venerate the external image, which we behold with the corporeal eyes, because in the image we do not honor anything but its prototype'.[7] This apologetic point was in keeping with the larger goal of De Costere's work, in which the Jesuit systematically rebutted an array of heretical attacks on the doctrinal and devotional foundations of the Catholic Church, including the cult of the saints and the veneration of relics and images.

A study of the precedents of this controversialist endeavor obviously needs to include the famous Tridentine decree on saints, relics, and images, but is not limited to it. In the following pages I concentrate on an earlier discussion

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4   Dekoninck, *Ad imaginem* 25.

5   See the studies cited below, n. 43.

6   For general studies, see Eire C.M.N., *War Against the Idols: The Reformation of Worship From Erasmus to Calvin* (Cambridge: 1986); Scavizzi G., *The Controversy on Images From Calvin to Baronius* (New York: 1992); and Niccoli O., *Vedere con gli occhi del cuore: alle origini del potere delle immagini* (Rome: 2011).

7   Costerus, *Enchiridion controversiarum praecipuarum* (ed. 1586) 366–367.

among Catholic theologians, especially Matthieu Ory, the Sorbonne theologian and Inquisitor General of France, and the Catholic polemicist Ambrogio Catarino Politi.[8] Why these authors? The main reason is that Ignatius and his companions were close to them in the formative period of their movement. Hence the hypothesis I propose for exploration here: the early Jesuits' conception of sacred images, if not their image theory, was conditioned both by their own brushes with the Inquisition and by the efforts of several mid-century Catholic apologists to articulate an orthodox position in this matter.

A Roman Debate

Let us begin with a theological disputation that took place in Rome in early 1552. Subject of this disputation—held midway through the brief pontificate of Julius III, and while the Council of Trent was gathered in its second phase—was the status of sacred images. Our knowledge of the event is limited to a brief remark by Matthieu Ory: 'After we wrote the disputation about images held here in Rome [...]', he noted in introducing another text on images, dated Rome, March 8, 1552.[9] We do not know who else, if anyone, was involved, except for the Archdeacon Bernardo del Bene, referendary of the Signatura. After Ory wrote his disputation, Del Bene handed him Martín Pérez de Ayala's *De divinis et apostolicis traditionibus* (1548); and it was to this book that Ory's new tract—dedicated to Cardinal Marcello Cervini and the only one to survive—responded critically.

We know enough, however, to suggest that the disputation sought to address widespread controversies about sacred images in this period. Moreover, it coincided with a larger course correction undertaken by the new pontiff. From 1550 onwards, Julius III had charged several committees with the development of

8   On Ory, see Bernard-Maître H., "L'inquisiteur dominicain Mathieu Ory et son *Alexipharmacon* contre les hérétiques (1544)", *Revue des Sciences Religieuses* 30, 3 (1956) 241–260, and Tallon A., "Ory, Matthieu", in *Dizionario storico dell'Inquisizione*, 4 vols. (Pisa: 2010), II, 1148–1149; on Catarino, see Schweizer J., *Ambrosius Catharinus Politus (1484–1553). Sein Leiben und seine Schriften* (Münster: 1909); Caravale G., *Sulle traccie dell'eresia: Ambrogio Catarino Politi (1484–1553)* (Florence: 2007).

9   Ory Matthieu, *De cultu imaginum liber secundus,* Archivio Segreto Vaticano, *Conc. Trid.*, vol. 7, fols. 279r–305v, at 286r ('Posteaquam scripsimus disputationem de imaginibus hic Romae habitam...'); the document is discussed in Jedin H., "Entstehung und Tragweite des Trienter Dekrets über die Bilderverehrung [1935]", in Idem, *Kirche des Glaubens, Kirche der Geschichte. Ausgewählte Aufsätze und Vorträge*, 2 vols. (Freiburg – Basel – Vienna: 1966), II, 460–498, at 469–470.

reform plans. In September of 1552—by which time the Tridentine council had disbanded—a comprehensive project was announced, which was to be led by Marcello Cervini, the cardinal to whom Ory had dedicated his treatise. Several years later this reform effort resulted in a draft bull, *Varietas temporum*, which, however, was never promulgated. It contained proposals for institutional reforms, the confirmation of conciliar decrees (on justification, on original sin), and also a set of instructions for preaching. Among the latter we find the confirmation of the ancient customs and laws governing the cult of the saints.[10]

Initiatives like these suggest that Pope Julius III was aware of, and interested in resolving, existing differences over sacred images. In this context, presumably, the 1552 disputation about their status and function is to be understood. Hubert Jedin, in his well-known article on the origins of Trent's 1563 decree on saints, relics, and images, assumed that there was a connection with the council's proceedings of the moment; and he suggested that the group's agenda was to respond to the growing threat of French Calvinism, referring of course to the movement's iconoclastic bent.[11] The involvement of the Inquisitor General of France, namely Matthieu Ory, appears to point in the same direction.[12]

Yet, as I have suggested elsewhere, there was no doubt also an Italian backdrop to the discussion.[13] Not only did notable circles of *spirituali*—that of Marcantonio Flaminio in Capodistria and the Neapolitan group around the Spaniard Juan Valdés—voice Erasmian criticisms of the cult of the saints, but from the late 1530s a distinct number of reform-minded bishops, particularly in the Veneto, either tolerated or even promoted such attitudes in their dioceses, leading to consternation and scandal among their own clergy and flock. These

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10   For the draft of the bull, see *Concilium Tridentinum*, Societas Goerresiana, XIII, 1, *Concilii Tridentini Tractatus*, ed. H. Jedin (Freiburg: 1967), 261–290; context is provided in Tallon A., *La France et le Concile de Trente (1518–1563)* (Rome: 1997) 249 and n. 2. For more detail, see my essay, "Trent, Saints, and Images: A Prehistory", forthcoming from Brepols (Turnhout) in the proceedings of the conference, "Trento e dintorni: il Concilio, altri poteri, altre culture", Trent, 3–5 October 2013.

11   Jedin, "Entstehung und Tragweite" 470. In 1544–1545, a French committee of theologians assembled in Melun drafted a conciliar agenda in which the issues at stake here—the cult of the saints, relics, and images—were explicitly listed: see Tallon, *La France et le Concile de Trente*, 131–137.

12   It is worthy of note that in 1544 Ory had published an anti-heretical tract entitled, *Ad haeresum redivivas affectiones Alexipharmacon* (Paris: Apud Joannem André, 1544). The work was reprinted in Italy at the time of the debates under discussion here: Venetiis: apud Petrum Bosellum, 1551, 1588. On this treatise, see Bernard-Maître, "L'inquisiteur dominicain Mathieu Ory".

13   De Boer, "Trent, Saints, and Images".

prelates, some of them highly placed, included Gian Matteo Giberti of Verona, Giovanni Morone of Modena, Pier Paolo Vergerio, along with others like Vittore Soranzo of Bergamo and Iacopo Nacchianti of Chioggia. All except Giberti (who died in 1543) were to be tried by the newly instituted Holy Office of the Roman Inquisition over the course of the 1540s and 1550s. These controversies were accompanied by the publication of several tracts defending the cult of the saints.[14] Most prominent among the authors was no doubt the Dominican polemicist Ambrogio Catarino Politi. Already in 1542, during a stay in Lyon, he had published a pamphlet in defense of the cult of the saints. He had probably written the text in the late 1530s, possibly in response to discussions held in Naples (where he frequented the group of Valdés) or in Rome (where he was famously involved with Vittoria Colonna's intellectual circle).[15] More important for our purposes is a disputation on images he published ten years later. This *Disputatio* […] *de cultu et adoratione imaginum* is regularly cited by art historians.[16] But the context in which it was written and published deserves further attention. Three points are worth making here. First, Catarino presented the work not as another anti-Protestant tract but as a proposal to resolve discussions 'among Catholics'. Specifically, he noted: 'For while no Catholic does not approve the use of images as an aid to memory, doctrine, and the *animi excitatio*, some nevertheless doubt that such images are owed any worship (*cultus*) and veneration, and of which kind and in what manner'.[17] Second, this remark appears to refer to differences within the Catholic establishment we have just discussed, including those involving reform-minded Italian bishops. In fact, there is no question that Catarino—a Roman insider and confidant of Pope Julius III—was intimately familiar with these controversies.[18] Third,

14   Prosperi A., "Intorno ad un catechismo figurato del tardo '500", in Ullmann E. (ed.), *Von der Macht der Bilder. Beiträge des C.I.H.A.-Kolloquiums "Kunst und Reformation"* (Leipzig: 1983), now in Id., *America e Apocalisse* (Pisa: 1999) 113–126.

15   Politi Ambrogio Catarino, *De certa gloria, invocatione ac veneratione sanctorum disputationes atque assertiones catholicae adversus impios*, in Idem, *Opuscula . . . magna ex parte iam aedita, et ab eodem recognita ac repurgata . . .* (Lugduni, apud Matiam Bonhomme: 1542). On the circumstances of its writing, see Caravale G., *Sulle traccie dell'eresia. Ambrogio Catarino Politi (1484–1553)* (Florence: 2007) 110–111.

16   Politi Ambrogio Catarino, *Disputatio . . . de cultu et adoratione imaginum*, in Idem, *Enarrationes . . . in quinque priora capita libri Geneseos* (Romae, apud Antonium Bladum: 1552), 121–144 (part of a set of treatises appended to the main text; see below, n. 19).

17   Catarino, *Disputatio* 121.

18   Catarino's ties with Julius III have been confirmed by recent scholarship, which has stressed their opposition to the harsh tactics of the Holy Office: see Caravale, *Sulle traccie* 276–281.

under the circumstances it can hardly be coincidental that Catarino wrote his work precisely at the time of Ory's disputation about images, most likely between November 1551 and April 1552.[19] Considering that Catarino was living in the papal city during this period, these three points suggest that his published text represented his personal intervention in the Roman debate about images. If this is so, we know of two treatises reflecting high-level Roman discussions on images in the early 1550s, one of which was possibly inflected by the French religious situation, the other by Italian conditions. We will consider both treatises successively.

Ory on Perception and Representation

Of Ory's work we have, unfortunately, only the second book. It was dedicated, as noted, to Cardinal Marcello Cervini. The connection is significant, since Cervini had been a papal legate in the first phase of the Council of Trent with Cardinal Giovanni Maria Del Monte, at this time Pope Julius III; and the latter, as we have seen, was about to charge him with the reform efforts that were to lead to the bull *Varietas temporum.* Ory's text responded to Pérez de Ayala's *De ecclesiasticis traditionibus*, published in Augsburg in 1548.[20] Pérez had largely limited the use of images to their didactic function, warning against the illusions of simple folk who believed that the representations of saints contained 'something numinous' (*aliquid numinis*). He thus rejected the Thomist view that equated the veneration of the representation and the represented. For him veneration had merely a relative character: it was practiced 'in the presence' of images; the latter were therefore to be understood only as signs. According to Jedin, whose still pertinent interpretation I follow here, Pérez may have had two related goals in advancing this distinction: first, to allow an easier rebuttal of Erasmian or other charges of idolatry; and second, to respond

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19   My dating of Catarino's tract is based on an analysis of the volume of miscellanea in which it was published. As noted above, it was among a group of short treatises bound together with the text of Catarino's *Enarrationes*. However, as the printer explains (ibidem, coll. 403/404) most of these shorter works had been printed separately (and with separate page, column or folio numbering) beforehand, since they were deemed 'mature' enough to be sent to the Council of Trent. Analysis of the volume suggests that a first batch was published in November 1551 and a second in April 1552. The *Disputatio* on images is among the latter, suggesting that it was of recent composition.

20   Peresius Aiala Martinus, *De divinis, apostolicis, atque ecclesiasticis traditionibus, deque authoritate ac vi earum sacrosancta, adsertiones ceu libri decem … elucidatur* (Parisiis, apud Audoenum Parvum: 1549; orig. ed. Augsburg, 1548), fols. 152r–162v.

to materialist notions of sacred images and sculptures he may have known from popular religious practice.[21]

Ory sharply rejected this position in his *De cultu imaginum*. The French Dominican was clearly annoyed by the critique of Thomism: he prefaced his treatise with an impassioned defense of scholastic theology. He rejected Perez's ideas point-by-point to argue that 'images and the things signified by them should be venerated with the same adoration'.[22] Scholastic doctrine, he claimed, was based on the Aristotelian distinction between two forms of attention (*motus animi*): one was directed to the image qua (generic) thing; the other, to the image as 'sign or representative [thing]'. The latter *motus animi* was the same as that directed to the thing represented (the *res repraesentata*). This defined the veneration of sacred images. Since sign and signified were closely linked, the act of observation did not end in the thing to which it was directed—as in a material object one beholds or desires—but went beyond it to some 'good or truth'. In other words, the image, understood as a 'representative' thing, mediated the perception rather than being its sole or final object.[23]

Ory complemented this point with an argument about the physiology of perception. The two kinds of *motus animi* he distinguished operated on several levels—that of corporeal perception and that of intellectual apprehension. Thus the corporeal vision of color (and colored things) or shape (*figura*; and of things having *figura*) corresponded with the intellectual vision of a *phantasma* (and the thing it signified) or a word for or concept of the object of understanding (and that object itself). This meant that the intellect produced images and concepts to conceive its objects of understanding just as the physical eye perceived its own objects as having color and *figura*. In short, 'the image in both visible and intellective matters is the medium through which a thing is seen and understood', not the end point of the act of seeing and understanding.[24] What is more, as Ory went on to argue later, the two forms of beholding were linked in the act of perception: for any instance of corporeal

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21   Jedin, "Entstehung und Tragweite" 467–468.

22   Ory, *De cultu imaginum*, fol. 286v: '[…] imagines et res per eas significatas eadem adoratione esse adorandas'.

23   Ory, *De cultu imaginum*, fol. 286v–287r.

24   Ory, *De cultu imaginum*, fol. 287v–288r: 'Ideo sicut eodem actu visionis corporalis videtur color et res colorata, figura et res figurata, sic eodem actu visionis intellectualis videmus phantasma et rem significatam, verbum cordis sive conceptum ultimatum rei intellectae, et ipsam rem intellectam. […] Nam imago sive in rebus visibilibus, sive intellectualibus, est id mediante quo res videtur aut intelligitur, et sic non terminat actum videndi aut intelligendi'.

vision was incomplete until it was processed in the intellective operation.[25]
The philosophy of perception and intellection thus denied any materialist
understanding of sacred images. Pérez's fundamental mistake was to confuse
the critical distinction between the image-qua-thing and the image-qua-sign.[26]
In rejecting the veneration of sacred images beyond its didactic purposes, he
threw out the baby with the bath water.

Nevertheless, Ory conceded to his opponent that the subject was at risk of
popular misunderstanding.

> For if the image is adored in the same way as God, or in the assumption
> that God is similar to the image or that a divine power inheres in the
> image in its thing-ness (*aliquid numinis esse in imagine in esse reali*), or if
> the design (*figura*) of the image is worshipped, then the creature is served
> and not the Creator: for then the cult terminates in the image-qua-thing.

However, Ory was not overly worried about the intellectual shortcomings of
'the simple and uneducated', as long as they pursued the proper devotional
goal:

> it suffices that they know that the image represents sacred things, and
> that they are taught to worship through these images that which the lat-
> ter represent by transferring their understanding and affect to the things
> signified, and not remaining stuck (*sistendo*) in these images. This is the
> true doctrine of the Church, which we need to transmit to the unedu-
> cated without intellectual disquisitions on [such questions as] whether
> the image is a quality or a relation, of the genus of the sign, or what kind
> of sign. On this point the author of this book and the scholastics largely
> agree.[27]

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25   Ory, *De cultu imaginum*, fol. 292r: 'Et sicut concurrit phantasma ad actum intelligendi, sic
      etiam exterior rerum similitudo concurrit ad intelligendum res significatas. Utraque enim
      concurrit ad productionem eiusdem speciei intelligibilis, quae producitur in mente ab
      obiecto vel eius exteriori imagine, mediante interiori similitudine quae est phantasma'.

26   Ory, *De cultu imaginum*, fol. 303v: 'Hic manifeste aequivocat [Pérez] ab imagine quatenus
      est imago, ad imaginem quatenus est res'.

27   Ory, *De cultu imaginum*, fol. 303v–304r: 'Nam si adoraretur imago perinde atque Deus,
      aut putando Deum esse tali imagini similem, aut aliquid numinis esse in imagine in esse
      reali, aut si figura imaginis coleretur, tunc serviretur creaturae et non Creatori, quia cultus
      terminaretur ad imaginem tanquam ad rem quandam. Nullum est tamen periculum si
      simplices et idiotae nesciant definire imaginem, aut speculative distinguere imaginem
      a substantia ipsius, perinde atque logici et philosophi distinguunt figuram a re figurata,

Why then did the theoretical disagreement Ory stressed matter so much? He was disturbed by the fact that Pérez, in his eagerness to avoid any materialist, idolatrous suggestions, had implied that the adoration essentially bypassed the image: it merely happened 'in its presence'. This, for Ory, ignored the complex intellective and affective process of perception in which the representation and the represented were inextricably intertwined. 'For the image itself contributes (*concurrit*) to the act of apprehending (*intelligendi*) and adoring (*adorandi*) the thing signified: it contributes qua object to the production of the concept that represents it [the thing signified]'. This required an act of the intellect followed by one of the will: the will would respond if the intellect presented it with 'an excellent thing', and the image, by virtue of its subject, presented just such 'an excellent thing'.[28] The affective response of adoration thus involved much more than something that happened in the presence of the image.

As the last example implied, this response could work for good or ill: like other signs (but more powerfully than words and texts) images had the power not only to move to the good and love of the good, but also to corrupt sound and holy mores. From this power arose the need to remove lecherous images and seek edifying alternatives. Here Ory detected a final problem in Pérez's arguments, namely his failure to distinguish between local presence and objective presence. Observation of a thing whose presence was merely local ended there, without leading to acts of the intellect and affect. A thing whose presence was 'objective', in contrast, moved the intellect towards the recognition

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sed sufficit quod sciant imaginem esse repraesentationem rerum sanctarum, et ut per eas imagines doceantur colere id quod repraesentatur per illas transferendo intelligentiam et affectum ad res significatas, et in ipsis imaginibus non sistendo. Haec est vera Ecclesiae doctrina, quam tradere debemus simplicibus sine disceptationibus cogitationum, an scilicet imago sit qualitas vel relatio, vel in genere signi, et quae huius generis. In hac quidem conclusione satis inter scholasticos et autorem libri convenit'. See also Jedin, "Entstehung und Tragweite" 469, n. 45.

28   Ory, *De cultu imaginum*, fol. 304v: 'Falsum est denique quod adorare rem significatam per imaginem sit solum in praesentia imaginis adorare rem significatam. Nam ipsa imago tunc concurrit ad actum intelligendi et adorandi rem significatam. Concurrit enim tanquam obiectum ad productionem conceptus eam repraesentantis, cum ipse conceptus sit idem realiter cum ipso actu intelligendi. [...] sed actus intellectus concurrit ad actum voluntatis. Nam voluntas fertur in suum obiectum secundum quod praesentatur ei per intellectum. Si ergo praesentetur ei res excellens, movebitur voluntas ad ipsam adorandam. Imago autem concurrit tanquam obiectum ad praesentandum voluntati rem excellentem per imaginem significatam. Ergo quemadmodum concurrit ad actum cognitionis, sic quoque et ad actum adorationis'.

of truth, and the will towards the acknowledgement of the good. For this reason scripture commanded that we avert the eyes from vain things or images, and instead turn them to decent and holy things that would move the spirit to the love of virtue.[29] The point invites three comments. First, it is indicative of Ory's understanding of how representation and perception were related: if representation—as understood in the medieval tradition—involved the substitution of an absence (of Christ, a saint, a king, or anybody or anything else) by its likeness, it was clear that the nature of perception differed depending on its object: all perception might be referential, but one kind was self-contained, whereas another transcended the transaction between viewer and object by referring, in form and/or content, to higher truths or values. Second, Ory's distinction hinges on a moral argument—that is, the notion that the images of things or persons had a particular moral charge, necessitating that some be censored and others privileged for the greater spiritual good. Third, the role of this last, sacred image in the devotional process—'ipsa [imagine] concurrente et movente'—was critical regardless of whether it was a physical image or a mental one. For the 'knowledge [of a thing] can be produced by the vision of the thing itself and by the vision of the likeness (*similitudo*) of the thing'. The outcome was the same in both cases: the image relayed the thing represented to the faculty of memory or transported the mind to it for purposes of understanding and adoration.[30] This, Ory concluded, was the true purpose of sacred images.

29　Ory, *De cultu imaginum*, fol. 305r: 'Et idem dicendum est de verbis et scripturis ac caeteris signis quae movent animos, sive corrumpendo bonos et sanctos mores, sive movendo ad bonum et ad ipsius virtutis amorem. Et hac ratione merito improbantur et depingi prohibentur impudicae imagines, quandoquidem imagines et exempla plus solent movere quam verba. Quamobrem libri autor errare deprehenditur, dum nullam posuit differentiam inter praesentiam localem et obiectivam. Nam res quae est tantummodo praesens localiter, non concurrit ad actum intelligendi vel adorandi, quia neque monstrat rem adorandam neque movet ad colendum eam'.

30　Ory, *De cultu imaginum*, fol. 305r–v: 'Et per consequens talis adoratio non solummodo fit in praesentia imaginis, sed etiam ipsa concurrente et movente ad intelligendum et ad adorandum rem significatam. […] Ideo eadem notitia potest produci ex visione rei in se et ex visione rei in sua similitudine. […] Etenim proprium imaginis officium […] est in memoriam reducere rem repraesentatam sive mentem transferre in rem significatam sive intelligendo sive adorando' [end of ms.].

Catarino on Veneration and Honor

A second voice participating in the Roman debate was that of Ambrogio Catarino, in the already mentioned *Disputatio* published contemporaneously, in April 1552. As noted, Catarino pitched his argument as an attempt to settle internal differences among Catholics. But he did not say explicitly whom he had in mind. The first part of his text was devoted to a rejection of Erasmian and other arguments that cited Old Testament prohibitions against the making of images—'Non faciatis vobis idolum et sculptile'—to argue that all sacred images were pagan. Such prohibitions, Catarino said, were either irrelevant (since Christian images were obviously not representing pagan deities) or, to the extent that they sought to represent the divine, superseded by Christ's incarnation (which allowed representation of his human body). Catarino cited several patristic and scholastic sources to make these points.[31] Later on, when he returned to the contemporary Catholic debate, he continued to rely on older sources: the most recent authors he cited were the likes of Erasmus and Cardinal Cajetan.[32] Yet there is some implicit evidence to suggest that Catarino was responding directly to Ory's arguments and, possibly, indirectly to Pérez. For one thing, his text argued emphatically that the use of images went well beyond their didactic application as memory devices—the central point of Pérez's discourse. For another, and more significantly, the disputation engaged extensively with the arguments made by Ory. Sacred images, Catarino noted, should never be watched for enjoyment or out of admiration for the artist's skill or accomplishment. They were not meant for 'solace and pleasure of the eyes', because the Church 'does not want us to *remain stuck in the image*, but rather continuously to reach for that which is represented by the image'.[33] The wording was identical to that used by Ory. In fact, a little later Catarino went on to discuss the Aristotelian theory of the *motus animi* toward an object and the object represented. Yet he did so strongly to disagree with it—and hence with Ory. The point was that, whereas Catholics agreed on the didactic and devotional utility of images, they had a dispute about the *cultus* of images. Catarino relied on an old distinction to argue that veneration was legitimate, but *latria* was not. Some, he continued, made the latter claim for images of Christ based on the Aristotelian argument that the two kinds of *motus animi*

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31   Politi, *Disputatio* 121–128.

32   Politi, *Disputatio* 129–134 (references to Cajetan and Erasmus at 133).

33   Politi, *Disputatio* 128: 'non vult nos *sistere in imagine*, sed ad id maxime quod imagine repraesentatur continuo evolare…' (emphasis added).

were one and the same. An image of the crucifix was owed the same venera-
tion as the crucified; since the crucified was owed *latria*, so was the crucifix.
'The means by which this conclusion can be proven is that (as Aristotle says)
the *motus* toward the image qua image and toward that of which it is an image,
is one and the same'.[34] This was at the heart of Ory's argument. Yet, Catarino
protested, this argument was fundamentally wrong and had been disproved
long ago. *Latria* was owed only to God, 'but the image, however considered, is
not God; and if *latria* were permitted in this case, it is also allowed in the case
of other objects'. Here, for the Italian Dominican, the psychological argument
that the *motus animi* united the representation and the represented was irrel-
evant, for it could never mean 'that what is not God is God, nor that we owe
latria to what is not owed *latria*'.[35]

Catarino ended up carving out a middle position. He supported the venera-
tion of images as something more than a didactic tool or a memory aid but less
than a cultic practice (*latria*). Thus he accepted the formulation that the faith-
ful 'adore Christ in the image'. He even went a step further: 'in a certain way'
(*aliquo modo*) one could agree with Thomas Aquinas that they

> adore the image itself, and owe it *latria* and adoration, not as a generic
> thing—that is, not considered as matter, for thus considered it is not wor-
> thy of any honor, unless there were some form of contact, as we say of the
> cross on which Christ has hung [. . .]—but as an image, that is, in the way
> in which it serves as an image, that is, represents the *imaginatum* [that
> of which it is an image] in such a way that the image itself ascends for us
> to the *imaginatum*, which we behold and venerate as if it were present in
> it [the image]; and that the words we internally direct to it [the *imagina-
> tum*], we direct externally to the image of it *as if* it were there or *as if* the
> image were the *imaginatum*.[36]

This double "as if" was as close as Catarino got to the scholastic position, and to
Ory's point of view. But the fundamental issue for the pragmatic Catarino was
this: veneration was a form of reverence, or rendering honor, that was justi-
fied for two reasons. First, this reverence was directed to the image's archetype
or prototype (Catarino appears to use the terms interchangeably). When the

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34   Politi, *Disputatio* 131: 'Medium quo haec conclusio probatur, est quoniam (ut ait
      Aristoteles) motus in imaginem ut est imago, et in illud cuius imago est, unus motus est.
      At vero haec positio et prima facie falsa videtur, et fundamento inniti valde infirmo'.

35   Ibidem.

36   Politi, *Disputatio* 135–136 (emphasis added).

faithful greeted or kissed a statue, they did so not 'with respect to the matter or colors, but the archetype'. Hence the need to render more honor to an image of Christ than one of the Madonna, and venerate the Madonna more than the other saints.[37] Second, these objects had obtained a special status by the very fact of being made objects of veneration by the Church, just like other things 'disposed to such sacred uses'. The effect was the same as the consecration and blessing of churches, shrines, and altars, even though images needed no ceremony to acquire this sacred status. In other words, they were not worthy of veneration while still for sale in the painter's workshop, but they became so only when installed in a place meant for this purpose. At that point they helped the faithful encounter 'that peculiar presence of God, which we also experience in sensory ways (*sensibiliter*)'.[38]

The flipside of this argument was that anything that might dishonor the saint—the representation as well as the represented—should be corrected. Hence the strong invective against the numerous forms of abuse of sacred images with which Catarino ended his treatise. These included the representation of false, fictive, or apocryphal subject matters; the placement of pictures or crucifixes in indecorous or indecent places; the shameful (*turpis*) or inexpert representation of the archetypes of images; and their negligent care, or improper or superstitious use.[39] His attack against lecherous images, sacred as well as profane, echoes Ory's objections, even though Catarino did not explain it in the same theological terms.

Jesuit Connections

Why do Ory's and Catarino's positions matter as we seek to reconstruct the ways in which the early Jesuits may have considered the image question? As already noted, the companions of the first generation had long had close connections with these two figures. In the 1530s Ory was prior of the Dominican convent of Saint Jacques in Paris, consultant of the Faculty of Theology at the Sorbonne, and advocate of a strong anti-Lutheran response. His career as inquisitor, begun in 1534, was crowned with his appointment by papal bull as Inquisitor General of France in 1539. On May 17, 1552, around the time of his intervention in the image debate, Julius III was to confirm and increase his powers. But long before that time, in 1530, he had been put in charge of an investigation into

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37   Politi, *Disputatio* 138.

38   Politi, *Disputatio* 140–141.

39   Politi, *Disputatio* 142–144.

Ignatius's alleged heterodoxy, only to clear the Spaniard's name and become a supporter. In turn, by 1534 we find Ignatius and his Spanish companions Diego Laínez and Alfonso Salmerón following Ory's lectures in Thomist theology at Saint Jacques. The impression these left was deep: as is well known, Thomism was to characterize their theological stance at the Council of Trent and beyond. The personal connection, too, remained important in subsequent years, for instance when Salmerón and Paschase Broët relied on the help of Ory's ally Cardinal François de Tournon to escape suspicions of heresy in Lyon; and it is possible that some of these Jesuits assisted Ory in the repression of heresy in Paris.[40]

It was also in France that Catarino met both Ory and some of the early Jesuits, starting in 1534, when he frequented the convent of Saint Jacques. To these contacts—specifically with Laínez, Salmerón, and Broët—he was to refer later, in Rome in 1538, when Ignatius and his followers had been subjected to yet another trial—a trial, incidentally, in which Matthieu Ory (who was in Rome at the time) testified in favor of Ignatius. In Italy Catarino strengthened his relations with Ignatius's companions. In the 1540s he became particularly close with Salmerón, whose side he took when the latter's anti-Lutheran preaching in Modena brought him in conflict with the civic community, alienated Bishop Giovanni Morone, and even raised suspicions about his own (Salmerón's) orthodoxy. The controversy, on issues including predestination, grace, and free will, suggested a theological affinity between Catarino and Salmerón that was to prove lasting.[41] In the 1540s, as well, the collaboration between Catarino and the Jesuits came to focus on a common strategy to convince prominent heretics, such as Giovanni Battista Scotti, to recant their beliefs, and to absolve them, bypassing the newly formed Holy Office. After Paul III's death this strategy found favor with the new pope Julius III, who on May 6, 1551 granted the Jesuits permission to absolve heretics *in foro conscientiae*.[42]

In short, there is no doubt that Ignatius and his companions shared significant affinities—personal, theological, and political—with Ory and Catarino. The two Dominicans' written work may therefore contain precious clues about the parameters within which the Jesuits came to define their position in the controversial matter of sacred images. This position, probably still fluid by mid-century, was not an obvious one. Recent scholarship on the early Jesuits has emphasized the peculiar if not unprecedented paradox that an order

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40   Caravale G., "Ambrogio Catarino Politi e i primi gesuiti", *Rivista storica italiana* 117, 1 (2005) 80–109.

41   Caravale, "Ambrogio Catarino Politi" 93.

42   Caravale, "Ambrogio Catarino Politi" 103.

dedicated from its founding to the defense of Catholic orthodoxy emerged from many years of suspicions and multiple inquisitorial proceedings in Spain, France, and Italy.[43] The resulting defensiveness, as scholars have stressed, led to a prudential avoidance of controversial doctrinal identifications. 'Where there are different factions and sects', Ignatius famously warned, 'members of the Society will not oppose either party but show love for both'.[44] Likewise, a characteristic insistence on their own 'way of proceeding', which carefully guarded against precise, potentially risky, public commitments, came to be part of the new order's genetic code.

At the heart of the contestation facing the early Jesuits was the notion that their spirituality, as practiced through the *Spiritual Exercises*, retained traces of *Alumbrado* mysticism—hence the decades of controversy over how to formalize and regulate the practice. But from the beginning, and even before the book came out in a printed edition—published in Rome, with Pope Paul III's approval, in 1548 (on the eve of the image debate with which we are concerned here)—precautionary checks were built in to control the practice. Most importantly, the spiritual director was to ensure that the exercitant adhere closely to the prescribed method and order; and access to the full course of exercises was limited to the advanced few. The uneducated, young, and female typically did not go beyond the exercises of the First Week. Even so, as recent studies have argued, the practice retained a radical core in its insistence that exercitants develop their own, direct and personal connection with God, which even the director was to leave alone.[45] It was this emphasis that powerfully contributed to ongoing suspicions as well as the open, virulent opposition of such critics as Melchor Cano.

For Cano, this opposition started with his antipathy towards Ignatius himself, whose indulgence in recounting his divine revelations the Spanish Dominican abhorred.[46] These 'revelations' or visions—Ignatius referred in this context to the 'eyes of intelligence'—were of course a central component of

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43   See, among recent studies, Mongini G., *"Ad Christi similitudinem": Ignazio di Loyola e i primi gesuiti tra eresia e ortodossia: studi sulle origini della Compagnia di Gesù* (Alessandria: 2011); Pastore S., "Ignatius Loyola and the Years of Alcalá de Henares", in Maryks R.A., *A Companion to Ignatius of Loyola* (Leiden: 2014) 25–43; Pavone S., "A Saint Under Trial: Ignatius of Loyola Between Alcalá and Rome", ibidem, 45–65.

44   O'Malley J.W., *The First Jesuits* (Cambridge, MA: 1993) 285; also cited in Caravale, "Ambrogio Catarino Politi" 95.

45   See, besides the studies by Mongini cited above, Sluhovsky M., "St. Ignatius of Loyola's *Spiritual Exercises* and Their Contribution to Modern Introspective Subjectivity", *Catholic Historical Review* 99, 4 (2013) 649–674.

46   O'Malley, *The First Jesuits* 292–293.

his spirituality. Joseph de Guibert already spoke of an 'imaginative meditation' whose use of images—of things past as well as future—was fundamental.[47] But precisely this form of meditation had been at the center of several inquisitorial proceedings against Ignatius, because it raised suspicions of an *Alumbrado* brand of mystical illumination. This may have contributed to the circumscribed use of images in the *Exercises*, where they were largely limited to representations of physical objects—to images, as De Guibert emphasized, of sensory scenes set in naturalistic places—most of them biblical in subject matter, rather than symbolic objects.[48] The fear of straying into uncharted territory inspired a cautionary attitude that was to prove enduring. Decades later Cardinal Roberto Bellarmino could still warn, heralding numerous later inquisitorial proceedings against mystical phenomena: 'all interior joys, the most sublime of sentiments, all visions that do not lead one to embrace in faith the mysteries of which the visible Church—the Roman Church—is the guardian, are suspect and lead to error and to Satan'.[49] No doubt this fundamental attitude was also an important factor—one among several—in a trend that was to grow as the Society became more established—that is, the ever more frequent choice to anchor visual meditations theoretically as well as practically in physical images. This occurred both at the elementary level of catechetical instruction (one thinks of Giovanni Battista Eliano's illustrated *Doctrina christiana* of 1587) and in the sophisticated form of works like Jerónimo Nadal's *Adnotationes et meditationes in Evangelia* (1594).

A Provisional Conclusion

What were the effects of the anti-idolatry debate on this emerging set of assumptions and practices related to the sacred image? Two general observations may serve as a starting point for an answer to this question. First, the Jesuits' early forays into image-making concerned by and large the representation of biblical scenes, especially of the Passion. In fact, as has been noted, Jesuit devotions—like those of many other reform groups of the early sixteenth century, orthodox or not—were predominantly Christocentric, which no doubt reflected, at least in part, the deep, very much Erasmian, concerns

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47   De Guibert J., *La spiritualité de la Compagnie de Jésus; esquisse historique* (Rome: 1953) 14.

48   For further analysis, see Fabre P.A., *Ignace de Loyola. Le lieu de l'image* (Paris: 1992).

49   Cit. in Dekoninck, *Ad imaginem* 26.

that the cult of the saints might veer into idolatry.[50] The only exception was the Virgin Mary, whose veneration led to a major work like the *Opus Mariale*; and much of this devotion was Christ-centered as well.[51] But early Jesuit concerns about the representation of the human person—even, or perhaps especially, of figures considered saintly—are perhaps best evidenced by Ignatius' adamant refusal to have himself portrayed during his lifetime.[52] Of course, that veto was to be reversed permanently after his death, and especially after his canonization.

At the same time—and this is my second observation—it is evident that the original group of Ignatius's companions came to favor a strong defense of orthodoxy in the matter of images. If in his early Parisian days Ignatius could still be close with a figure like Martial Mazurier—a disciple of Lefèvre D'Etaples accused of rejecting the cult of the saints and images—in later periods he and his companions stayed clear of such dangerous liaisons. In the debate about images that took place in Rome in the early 1550s, it is likely that they aligned themselves with Ory and Catarino rather than the more accommodationist Pérez de Ayala. Their close personal relations with these Dominicans would suggest such a choice. But is it possible to indicate specific influences the two Dominicans may have had on early Jesuit ideas about sacred images? Their treatises on the subject suggest a few plausible scenarios.

Ory's scholastic theory of perception is a likely area of influence or agreement, not only because of the Jesuits' more general grounding in Thomist theology, but also, specifically, because this philosophy of perception offered a compelling explanation for the close connections between physical and mental images in meditative practice—a key aspect of Jesuit spirituality. What is more, Ory's discussion of the moral power of images—especially the distinction between spiritually beneficial and detrimental images—is particularly relevant for understanding Jesuit image theory. As I have argued elsewhere, the use of visualization in the *Spiritual Exercises* was differentiated depending on its object: it was to be applied very differently to the life of Christ—that is, the meditation on the paragon of virtue—than to the penitential components

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50   Mongini, "Per un profilo"; see also Prosperi A., "Teologi e pittura: la questione delle immagini nel Cinquecento italiano", in Briganti G. (ed.), *La pittura in Italia. Il Cinquecento*, 2 vols. (Milan: 1988), II, 581–592.

51   Melion W., "'*Quae lecta Canisius offert et spectata diu*': The Pictorial Images in Petrus Canisius's *De Maria Virgine* of 1577/1583", in Melion W.S. – Wandel L.P. (eds.), *Early Modern Eyes* (Leiden: 2010) 207–265.

52   Cf. Dekoninck R., "L'invention de l'image de la Compagnie de Jésus", in Dacos N. – Dulière C. (eds.), *Italia Belgica* (Turnhout: 2005) 163–187, at 167.

of the *Exercises*—that is, the meditation on sin.[53] The former invited a direct, affective, and participatory visualization of biblical persons and places. The latter, however, ran grave risks if it followed the same avenue, for the vivid re-imagining of the sin might induce a desire to repeat it. Hence, in this circum-stance, the application of an indirect, metaphorical imagination that would focus on the consequences of sin rather than the sin itself. Ory's theory of local versus objective presence offered a convincing explanation of this dif-ference. Whereas a *motus animi* directed towards local—self-contained and material—objects might lead to temptation, a focus on the objective presence of the prescribed objects of meditation (whether sinful or virtuous) would offer an avenue beyond these objects themselves towards the good and the truth they represented.

Catarino's disputation, too, may provide helpful context to understand the emerging Jesuit image practices of the following decades. Despite his vocif-erous disagreements about the philosophy of perception—a reflection of his combative polemics with some Neothomists, particularly Cardinal Cajetan—Catarino's as-if theory of perceiving sacred images and their subjects effectively came quite close to the position embraced by Ory, and may have provided an acceptable alternative to explain the crucial role of images in meditative prac-tice. In Catarino's thought, furthermore, the distinction between positive and negative exposures to images was equally important, if expressed in a more practical manner. Noteworthy are also the Christological as well as the Marian emphasis in Catarino's theology.[54]

But the significance of Catarino's work—for Jesuit ideas about images and more generally—likely goes well beyond the debates of the early 1550s. For his definition of the function of sacred images, his diagnosis of the abuses in their application, and his prescriptions for correcting these abuses come remark-ably close to the Tridentine decree of December 1563. That decree, a reform decree, largely refrained from theological definitions. Yet besides its reaffirma-tion of the didactic role of images, it is remarkable to see their use defined, as Catarino had done, in terms of the relationship between image and prototype, and in terms of the honor owed to both. Practically speaking, the Tridentine

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53   De Boer W., "Invisible Contemplation: A Paradox in the Spiritual Exercises", in Enenkel K. – Melion W. (eds.), *Meditatio—Refashioning the Self. Theory and Practice in Late Medieval and Early Modern Intellectual Culture* (Leiden: 2011) 235–256.

54   See, e.g., Politi Ambrogio Catarino, *De eximia praedestinatione Christi libri duo, Disputationis pro immaculata divae Virginis conceptione libri tres*, and *De consummata gloria solius Christi et divae Virginis liber unus*, all in idem, *Opuscula*.

decree, like Catarino, charged bishops with the supervision of sacred art; and its list of abuses came quite close to that of the Dominican polemicist.

This observation raises more questions—about the historical connections and intellectual filiations that may explain these similarities—than we can answer here. But it certainly creates a conundrum, for it flies in the face of the accepted explanation of the background of the Tridentine decree. This explanation was first advanced in a compelling analysis by Hubert Jedin in 1935, recently reaffirmed by John W. O'Malley, and enriched with particulars by Alain Tallon's magnum opus on the French at the Council of Trent and Pierre Antoine Fabre's recent analysis of the image decree.[55] It holds that the decree on the cult and invocation of the saints, on relics, and on the veneration of sacred images owed its existence to the last-minute initiative and efforts of the French delegation led by Cardinal Charles De Guise. The text itself, as Jedin demonstrated long ago, shows strong resemblances to a *Sententia* of Sorbonne theologians crafted at the occasion of the Colloquy of St. Germain-en-Laye (1562); and the latter, it has been argued, was itself inspired by the anti-iconoclastic legislation promulgated by the Council of Sens in 1527. But is it possible that the wording of the 1562 *Sententia*, as well as the 1563 Tridentine decree, was also shaped by Catarino's 1552 disputation? It is too soon to answer this question definitively. But it is noteworthy that one person close to Catarino, and no doubt familiar with his treatise on images, was also directly involved in the formulation of the 1562 and 1563 texts. That person was Diego Laínez—the acquaintance of Ory and Catarino, the long-time participant in the Council of Trent (along with Alfonso Salmerón), and from 1558 general of the Jesuit order. In fact, according to Jedin's reconstruction, Laínez was involved in drafting the *Sententia*; and he was also part of the small committee responsible for preparing the text of the Tridentine decree in the Council's final days (November 29–December 1).[56] A further examination of the Jesuit general's papers may help us gauge his influence more precisely.[57] Regardless, his role is a significant indicator of the early Jesuits' involvement in settling the controversies over sacred art in the formative years of the new order.

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55 O'Malley J.W., "Art, Trent, and Michelangelo's 'Last Judgment'", *Religions* 3 (2012) 344–356, esp. 349–353; idem, "Trent, Sacred Images, and Catholics' Senses of the Sensuous", in Hall M.B. – Cooper T.E. (eds.), *The Sensuous in the Counter-Reformation Church* (Cambridge: 2013) 28–48, at 28–38; Tallon, *La France et le Concile de Trente*, *passim*; and Fabre P.A., *Décréter l'image? La XXVᵉ Session du Concile de Trente* (Paris: 2013) esp. 45–77.

56 Jedin, "Entstehung und Tragweite" 479–480 and 491–492.

57 I intend to pursue the analysis of this documentation in a different venue.

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The Jesuit *Ars* and *Scientia Symbolica*: From Richeome and Sandaeus to Masen and Ménestrier

Ralph Dekoninck

Does there exist what we might call an early modern Jesuit semiotics, that is, a theory of the sign from which the Jesuits' iconology—their theory of the image—would follow? This might seem a rather incongruous question, given that in the seventeenth century there were no works devoted exclusively to the issue of the sign in general. Nevertheless, I would like to show that through the major surveys by Jesuits in the field of the symbolic image, from Louis Richeome (1544–1625) and Maximilian van der Sandt (1578–1656) to Jacob Masen (1606–1681) and Claude-François Ménestrier (1631–1705), it is possible to discern a number of developments in thinking about the figure—'the figure' (*figura*) being the term I will use to subsume the concepts of sign, image and symbol that we shall encounter.

It is worth emphasizing, with regard to the development of Jesuit iconology, that the order's theorists, just like their precursors and contemporaries, continued to base themselves on a semiotic system that was largely inherited from Augustine. This system was taken up, annotated, shaped and transformed throughout the Middle Ages[1] and underlay the understanding of the figure in the fields of both rhetoric and of biblical exegesis. What then is the typology of signs that Augustine offers in his *De doctrina christiana*?[2] He differentiates

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1   Especially through Thomas Aquinas' oeuvre, an essential layer that I can not examine here. On the medieval theory of the symbol, see Chydenius J., *The Theory of Medieval Symbolism* (Helsinki: 1960); idem, "La théorie du symbolisme médiéval", *Poétique* 23 (1975) 322–341; and Delègue Y., *Les Machines du sens. Fragments d'une sémiologie médiévale* (Paris: 1987). Faupel-Drevs K., *Vom rechten Gebrauch der Bilder im liturgischen Raum. Mittelalterliche Funktionsbestimmungen bildender Kunst im 'Rationale Divinorum officiorum' des Durandus von Mende (1230/1–1296)* (Leiden – Boston – Cologne: 2000), in particular the second part, "Das Verhältnis von *signum* und *res* oder die Sprache der Dinge. Hermeneutische Voraussetzungen" 65–134.

2   See Darrell Jackson B., "The Theory of Signs in St Augustine's *De Doctrina Christiana*", in Markus R.A. (ed.), *Augustine: A Collection of Critical Essays* (New York: 1972) 92–147. For a general overview of ancient theories of the sign, see Manetti G., *Theories of the Sign in Classical Antiquity*, trans. C. Richardson (Bloomington: 1993).

three categories of signs: first, *signa naturalia*, natural signs, which 'without any intention or desire of signifying, make us aware of something beyond themselves, such as smoke which signifies fire'.[3] Alongside these *signa naturalia*, conceived as being involuntary, one also needs to take account of *signa data*, 'instituted' or intentionally given signs, 'those which living creatures show to one another for the purpose of conveying, in so far as they are able, the motions of their spirits or something which they have sensed or understood'.[4] Within this category Augustine distinguishes between signs created by man (*signa propria*) and those bequeathed by God (*signa translata*), the former signifying by convention (for example, the word 'ox' designating the animal), the latter signifying by a divinely inspired cause—signs where the quality of the thing is as important as that of sign (the ox may figure, for example, the evangelist Luke). And it was in reference to this last category of 'transferred' signs that the medieval *theologia symbolica*[5] and also, to a certain extent, the Renaissance *ars symbolica* would conceive of a world composed of so-called 'figured images', *imagines figuratae*.[6] The adjective 'figured' must not, of course, be understood as designating the visual nature of the image, its quality of being figurative, but instead as signifying the hermeneutic process which the image produces and by which it is produced.[7] The idea of *signa translata* or of *imagines translatae*, a synonym of *figuratae*, underscores the importance of the displacement of meaning that characterises the work of inventing and interpretating the image. More precisely, it is at the heart of the semiotic triangulation between *signa naturalia*, *signa propria* and *signa translata* that informs the process of figurability, permanently displacing, 'transferring', meaning, making it circulate in a movement that is, in principle, potentially limitless. This movement is all the more dynamic since the three points of this triangle constantly change position, depending on the referent, the speaker and the

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3   Augustine, *On Christian Doctrine*, II, 1, 2, trans. D.W. Robertson, Jr. (New York: 1958) 34.

4   Ibidem 34–35.

5   Boulnois O., "La théologie symbolique face à la théologie comme science", *Revue des sciences philosophiques et théologiques* 95 (2011) 217–250.

6   Gombrich E.H., "Icones symbolicae: The Visual Image in Neo-Platonic Thought", *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 11 (1948) 163–192; Spica A.-E., *Symbolique humaniste et emblématique. L'évolution et les genres (1580–1700)* (Paris: 1996); Vuilleumier Laurens F., *La raison des figures symboliques à la Renaissance et à l'âge classique. Études sur les fondements philosophiques, théologiques et rhétoriques de l'image* (Geneva: 2000). And Demonet M.-L., *Les voix du signe: nature et origine du langage à la Renaissance (1480–1580)* (Paris: 1992).

7   On the concept of *figura,* see Auerbach E., "Figura", in *Scenes from the Drama of European Literature*, trans. R. Manheim (Minneapolis: 1984); and Didi-Huberman G., *Fra Angelico: Dissemblance and Figuration*, trans. J.M. Todd (Chicago: 1995).

receiver (the *signa naturalia* may, for example, become *translata* when the Creation is seen as referring to the Creator). To borrow from other categories theorised in the Middle Ages, we might say that the figure or *imago figurata* oscillates between two modes of allegory: *allegoria in factis* designating the symbolism of events recounted in Holy Scripture; *allegoria in verbis* referring to the domain of images born in the human imagination as vehicles that give an account of the invisible.[8] As will be evident, the idea of transfer/translation (*translatio*) written into the very etymology of the word 'allegory' applies not only to the hermeneutic work of using biblical figures, but also to the invention of rhetorical and plastic figures that feeds this hermeneutic process.

Let us look now at the re-use and transformations that the Augustinian system underwent at the hands of Jesuit authors,[9] beginning with the work of Louis Richeome. The French Jesuit took over Augustine's semiotic system while subjecting it to fine but nevertheless fundamental alterations. In his *Tableaux sacrez* of 1601, he distinguishes three categories of figures, immediately casting out of his model natural figures, which here become the simple external appearance of beings and things, and which are returned to the science of the 'naturalists': '[…] first of all, we will note that figure, taken in the natural sense according to its name, signifies the manner and external form of some body; thus the external form, the lineaments, and the proportion of the parts of a plant, of a beast, of a man, this is figure, but natural figure, of which we shall not speak [further] here, [for] this subject is the field of the Naturalists'.[10] In retaining only artificial images, Richeome sets himself apart from the tradition of universal symbolism; meaning is now largely reinvested in the domain of *signa data* that are of human or divine inspiration.[11] These

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8   See Strubel A., "*Allegoria in factis* et *Allegoria in verbis*", *Poétique* 23 (1975) 342–357.

9   See Dekoninck R., *Ad Imaginem. Statuts, fonctions et usages de l'image dans la littérature spirituelle jésuite du XVII*e *siècle* (Geneva: 2005) 19–101.

10   Richeome L., *Tableaux sacrez des figures mystiques du tres auguste sacrifice et sacrement de l'Eucharistie* (Paris, L. Sonnius: 1609) 3: '[…] pour le premier, nous noterons que figure, prise à la naturelle selon son nom, signifie la façon & le traict exterieur de quelque corps; ainsi la forme exterieure, les lineamens, & la proportion des parties d'une plante, d'une beste, d'un homme, c'est la figure, mais figure naturelle de laquelle nous ne parlons pas icy, étant ce sujet du ressort des Naturalistes'. On the *Tableaux sacrez*, see Siguret F., "La triple peinture des *Tableaux sacrés* du Père Richeome", in Martel J. – Melançon R. (eds.), *Inventaire, lecture, invention. Mélanges de critique et d'histoire littéraires offerts à Bernard Beugnot* (Montréal: 1999) 195–208.

11   However, this disenchantment is to be put in perspective, as what Richeome says in his *Tableaux sacrez*, devoted to Biblical figuralism, differs from what he says in his *Peinture spirituelle* (Lyon: 1611), a spiritual book in which the world still refers to its Creator. On the

types of signs or figures are divided into the 'mute', the 'speaking' and the 'mystical'. Whereas the 'mute' address the eyes of the body and signify 'without uttering a word',[12] as with, for example, 'images of the virtues and vices or other imaginary pieces', 'speaking figures' refer to all 'verbal descriptions or fictions', such as the *Imagines* by Philostratus.[13] We are thus dealing with two categories that allow themselves to be assimilated to Augustine's *signa propria*. The third type, 'mystical figures', refers to things and actions established in order to represent a mystery, such as Egyptian hieroglyphics, in terms of profane figures, or such as manna, 'which was a sacred painting, not of colours or words, but of signification'. In the same typological interpretation of sacred figures, he gives the example of the Circumcision, which was an action signifying and figuring Baptism'.[14] Here we find once again the Augustinian category of

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Peinture spirituelle, see Fabre P.-A., "Lieu de mémoire et paysage spirituel", in Mosser M. – Nys P. (eds.), *Le Jardin, art et lieu de mémoire* (Besançon: 1995) 135–148; and Dekoninck R., "*Chercher et trouver Dieu en toutes choses*: méditation et contemplation florale jésuite", in Choné P. – Gaulard B. (eds.), *Flore au paradis. Emblématique et vie religieuse aux XVIe et XVIIe siècles* (Glasgow: 2004) 97–110.

12 Richeome, *Tableaux sacrez* 3–4: 'La premiere est celle qui donne aux yeux du corps, & representant par lineamens & couleurs, quelque chose sans sonner mot, qui pource est appellee par les anciens painture muete. Telles sont les images tant de bosse que de tableau, tel fut le Serpent d'airin ietté en fonte par Moyse, les Cherubins les Palmiers, & autres images pourtraicts au temple de Salomon. Item les peintures des saisons, des vices, des vertus, & autres pieces imaginaires representees ou par le ciseau en relief, ou par le pinceau en platte peinture. A ceste sorte se rapportent les visions qui se font en l'imagination: car encor qu'elles soient aucunement spirituelles, elles se font neantmoins à guise de corps obiectez à la veüe des sens interieurs'.

13 Ibidem 4: 'La seconde sorte est celle qui donne à l'oreille, que par contraire qualité nous pouvons dire parlante, telles sont les descriptions ou fictions verbales qui se font par les Poëtes, ou historiens d'un arbre, d'une riviere, d'un animal, d'une tempeste, d'une vertu, d'un vice, ou d'autre chose vraye ou imaginaire. Ceste sorte comprend les narrations qui se font pour expliquer quelque figure artificielle, soit elle presente ou feinte comme presente. Tels sont les tableaux de Philostrate: car en iceux il ny a ny couleur ny peinture, mais la seule parole qui feint les images & figures, & dechifre les fantasies de l'autheur comme ayant la peinture devant ses yeux'.

14 Ibidem 4–5: 'La troisième sorte de figures est une chose ou une action instituée pour representer un mystere, & si c'est un mystere civil ou profane, c'est une figure civile ou profane, comme estoient les hieroglifes des vieux Ægyptiens, consistant en certaines figures de bestes ou d'instrumens, mises pour signifier quelque chose de cachee: ainsi un Crocodile estoit la figure d'un trahistre, l'aigle la figure de l'ame. Si c'est un mystère de religion, c'est une figure sacree. Ainsi la manne estoit une sacree painture, non de couleurs ou de paroles, mais de signification. Ainsi la circoncision estoit une action signifiant & figurant la baptesme. Ceste figure est autrement nommee allegorie, painture &

signa translata, 'containing in themselves which a spiritual meaning'. Whether these *signa translata* are instituted by man or by God matters little; what does matter is their mission to figure the spiritual. As we can see, Richeome's typology is less based on the status of the referent or the identity of the transmitter (man or God) than on the nature or the identity of the medium: image, word, thing or action. In addition, it clearly appears that a hierarchy is being sketched out, placing at its summit the mystical figure that combines past and present time, just as it does image, word and action, so as to deliver a spiritual meaning, and to reveal/conceal a mystery—we must not forget that the ultimate referent of the *Tableaux sacrés* is the mystery of the Eucharist.

Some twenty years later, in 1626, Maximilan van der Sandt, alias Sandaeus, published his *Theologia symbolica*[15] in a context and with aims that were very different from those of Richeome. After considering theology's major areas of application, Sandaeus presents its two main modes of expression: he distinguishes between *theologia propria* or *litteralis* and *theologia symbolica* or *translata*. In truth, this is simply taking up a division made by Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite, who discerned two modes of transmission of theological knowledge: 'Theological tradition has a dual aspect, the ineffable and mysterious on the one hand, the open and more evident on the other. The one resorts to symbolism and involves initiation. The other is philosophical and employs the method of demonstration'.[16]

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exposition mystique, contenant en soy un sens spirituel, cogneu aux gens spirituels, & caché aux grossiers'.

15   Van der Sandt Maximilian, *Symbolica, ex omni antiquitate sacra ac profana, in artis formam redacta, oratoribus, poetis et universe philologis, ad omnem commoditatem amoenae eruditionis concinnata* (Mainz, I.T. Schönwetteri: 1626). On the *Symbolica*, see Vuilleumier Laurens, *La Raison des figures symboliques* 187–208; Spica, *Symbolique humaniste et emblématique* 262–264; Dekoninck, *Ad imaginem* 44–48; Belin C., "La métaphore iconoclaste chez Sandaeus", in Dekoninck R. – Guiderdoni A. (eds.), *Emblemata sacra. Rhétorique et herméneutique du discours sacré en images. The Rhetoric and Hermeneutics of Illustrated Sacred Discourse* (Turnhout: 2007) 268–275; and Dekoninck R., "Sandaeus (1578–1656), théoricien de l'image mystique et symbolique", in Campa P. – Daly P.M. (eds.), *Emblematic Images and Religious Texts. Studies in Honor of G. Richard Dimler, S.J.* (Philadelphia: 2010) 171–181.

16   Pseudo-Dionysius, *The Complete Works*, Letter IX, 1105d, trans. C. Luibheid (New York: 1987) 283.

In his *Theologia mystica* of 1627,[17] Sandaeus returns to this distinction by defining clearly the field of *theologia propria*, also known as speculative theology: it concerns, among other things, the study of divine persons, of the articles of the faith, of the heavenly and ecclesiastical hierarchies. As for *theologia symbolica*, this partly merges with mystical theology, which does not work on affirmative lines but through self-denial and *excessus mentales*, resulting in a contemplation of the divine wisdom which remains obscure or mystical, in the etymological sense of 'hidden'.[18] More precisely, the specific feature of *theologia symbolica* is that it deals with corporeal similarities that lead to God (e.g., the lion, the light, the lamb, etc.). In this sense it is close to mystical theology, since this also considers the knowledge of God *in caligine*, that is to say by means of the obscurity of symbols.[19] So we return here to the category of

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17   Van der Sandt Maximilian, *Theologia mystica, seu contemplatio diuina religiosorum a calumniis uindicata* (Mainz, I.T. Schönwetteri: 1626).

18   Ibidem 3: 'Ferunt Dionysium Areopagitum a Gentium Doctore in Theologicis eruditum de quadruplici Theologia commentationes edidisse. Earum primam fuisse PROPRIAM, nempe de divinis Characteribus ac Personis, nostraeque fidei Articulis, quae adfirmatione exponuntur atque illustrantur, ut de Incarnatione Verbi ac similibus, quam non superesse dolendum est. Alteram de Nominibus divinis secundum essentiam Divinitatis, quae ad Posteros, scripta pervenit. Sub Theologia Propria autem contineri illam partem, quae agit de spiritualibus substantiis, seu, de Hierarchia caelesti, & aliam de Ecclesiastica. Tertiam vero SYMBOLICAM, quae etiam à Dionysio conscripta desideretur. Nisi quod plurimis in locis tangat non pauca de Symbolis, hoc est similitudinibus, translatis ad DEUM. Quartam tandem MYSTICAM, quae sit disciplina inveniendi DEUM, per abnegationes, & excessus mentales: tanquam in caligine quadam videatur Deus, id est in occulto vel abscondito'. 'It is said that Dionysius the Areopagite, instructed by a doctor of the Gentiles in theological matters, produced commentaries on the subject of the quadruple theology. The first of these commentaries was theology proper, namely the commentary on "characters" and on divine persons, as well on the articles of our faith, which explain and illustrate by affirmation, as with the subject of the incarnation of the Word and of similar things; we may deplore the fact that it has not survived. The second theology is devoted to divine names, according to the essence of divinity, and this has come down to posterity in written form. Theology proper includes this part which deals with spiritual substances or with the celestial hierarchy, as well as the other part which deals with the ecclesiastical hierarchy. The third theology is the symbolic, also written by Dionysius—would that we had it, if only for the many places where it deals greatly with symbols, that is to say, similarities transferred to God. Finally, the fourth theology is the mystical, which is a method for finding God through negations and "mental excesses", as if God were seen in darkness, that is to say, in the shade and in secret'.

19   Ibidem 4 (quoting J. Gerson, *Theologia mystica*, I, 1): 'Aliqua est THEOLOGIA MYSTICA, ultra eam, quae vel SYMBOLICA vel PROPRIA denominatur. Ita enim separatim

mystical figures in the sense that Richeome understood it, and to the category of *signa translata* in Augustine's sense; and indeed, the other term for symbolic theology is *theologia translata*, which Sandaeus subdivides into *in figuratio- nem rei* and *in translationem verbi*. The first category designates all visible and audible symbols, such as manna as symbol of the Eucharist, while the second category refers to spiritual—that is, invisible—symbols, such as the drunken- ness of God. This distinction recalls Richeome's differentiation among 'mute figure', 'speaking figure' and 'mystical figure'.[20]

What happens to this system of classification in the work which Jacob Masen devoted to the *ars symbolica* (also called *iconomystica*), under the title *Speculum imaginum veritatis occultae* (1650),[21] a treatise whose importance is

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tractavit de ea sub proprio titulo B. Dionysius, a conscio Divinorum secretorum Paulo doctus. Cum enim scripsisset de *Theologia Symbolica,* quae utitur corporeis similitudini- bus translatis ad DEUM, vt, quod sit *Leo, Lux, Agnus,* & similia, secundum quam dicitur OMNINOMIUS […]. Atque haec *Theologia* dicitur *Mystica*: Mysticum enim interpre- tatur *Absconditum,* vel *occultum*'. 'There exists a mystical theology, superior to that which we call symbolic and to that which we call proper. Thus the blessed Dionysius, instructed by Paul who knew the divine secrets, dealt with it separately. In fact, at the same time as he wrote on the subject of symbolic theology, which uses corporeal images brought close to God (such as the lion, the light, the lamb, stone and other similar things), according to which we say of God that He is omni-nominate […]. And it is this theology that we call mystical: "mystical" is in fact to be understood in the sense of "hidden" or "secret"'.

20   *Theologia symbolica*, p. 13: 'Exercitatio II: Divisio Symbolicae ex sensuum diversitate. Prima Disquisitio: Quotuplex, facta sensuum distributione, quibus percipiuntur figurae, sit Theologia Symbolica? Respondet Cyparissiotus, Esse triplicem. *Prima* complectitur formationem rei cadentis sub sensum visus. *Secunda,* formationem rei cadentis sub sen- sum aurium. *Tertia,* translationem verbi significantis aliquid spirituale, ut Ebrietas Dei, somnus, vigilia, & alia huius generis'. 'Exercise II: the division of the symbolical on the basis of the diversity of meanings. First enquiry: of how many parts is symbolic theology composed, once one has separated the meanings thanks to which the figures are under- stood? Cyparissiote answers that there are three. The first includes the formation of a thing which "falls under the sense of sight". The second includes the formation of a thing which falls under the sense of hearing. The third includes the transfer of a word meaning something spiritual, such as the drunkenness of God, sleep, wakefulness and other things of this kind'.

21   Masen Jacob, *Speculum imaginum veritatis occultae, exhibens symbola, emblemata, hier- oglyphica, aenigmata, omni tam materiae, quam formae varietate, exemplis simul ac praeceptis illustratum* (Cologne, I.A. Kinchius, 1650). On Masen, see Spica, *Symbolique humaniste* 265–269; Vuilleumier Laurens, *La Raison des figures symboliques* 249–265; Bauer B., *Jesuitische 'ars rhetorica' im Zeitalter der Glaubenskämpfe* (Frankfurt: 1985) 461–545; and Dimler R.G., 'Jakob Masen's *Imago Figurata*: From Theory to Practice', *Emblematica* 6 (1992) 283–306.

due to its widespread distribution in all Jesuit colleges? In the *Index doctrinae totius iconomysticae*, he lays out in a few pages the major lines of his conception of the *imago figurata*. Using vocabulary that gives clear evidence of his debt to Augustine, he announces at the very start that 'the image, like speech, is sometimes literal, sometimes metaphorical or figured'. And he points out that 'this latter signifies either by convention, or by nature (*ex instituto, vel ex natura*), or by both'.[22] The *imago propria* is necessarily excluded from his project: 'Hence therefore in this poetics we condemn the proper images of bodies and of things, because they contribute nothing to the rhetorical art of persuasion. We accept only all figured or metaphorical images (*figuratas sive translatas*)'.[23] Thus the *imago translata* or *figurata* alone retains his attention, for it is there where the painter becomes poet or rhetorician. For this is Masen's aim: to propose not a theological summa but a poetical or rhetorical art. His project thus differs from those of Richeome and Sandaeus in the sense that he distances himself from the biblical symbolism of the *allegoria in factis* in order fully to engage with the *allegoria in verbis*, the *imago translata* here corresponding to the narrow domain of the visual or verbal metaphor.

A further step in this direction was taken by Claude-François Ménestrier. In his *Recherches du blason* of 1673,[24] he adopts, like Richeome, a classification by medium. He describes four kinds of figured images, designating them 'savantes' (learned); these are easily assimilated to Masen's category of *imagines translatae* or *figuratae*, with only a few differences. First, there are what one might

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22   Masen, *Speculum imaginum veritatis occultae*, n.p.: 'Imago, vti sermo est, alia propria, alia translata, seu figurata. Et hoc vel significant ex instituto, vel ex natura, vel ex vtroque'.

23   Ibidem 6: 'Priores igitur corporum & rerum imagines in hac poësi imprimis damnamus, quod artis Rhetoricae nihil ad persuasionem adferant. Figuratas, sive translates solas, atque omnes expendimus'.

24   Ménestrier Claude-François, *Les Recherches du blason. Seconde partie: de l'Usage des armoiries* (Paris, E. Michallet: 1673), *Avertissement*, n.p. On Ménestrier, see Groulier J.-F., "Monde symbolique et crise de la figure hiéroglyphique dans l'œuvre du P. Ménestrier", *XVIIe Siècle* 158 (1988) 93–108; idem, "Présupposés théologiques et philosophiques dans l'enseignement de l'énigme chez les jésuites au XVIIe siècle", in Dujardin P. (ed.), *Le Secret* (Lyon: 1991) 107–134; Loach J., "Menestrier's Emblem Theory", *Emblematica* 2 (1987) 317–336; Scholz B.F., *Emblem und Emblempoetik* (Berlin: 2002) 111–143; Spica, *Symbolique humaniste* 136–138, 293–302; Vuilleumier Laurens, *La Raison des figures symboliques* 297–315; Dekoninck R., "La *Philosophie des images*. D'une ontologie à une pragmatique de l'image", in Sabatier G. (ed.), *Claude-François Ménestrier, les jésuites et le monde des images* (Grenoble: 2009) 103–113; and Dekoninck R., "Entre *logica* et *caligo*. La *Philosophie des images* de Claude-François Ménestrier", in Cousinié F. – Nau C. (ed.), *L'artiste et le philosophe. L'histoire de l'art à l'épreuve de la philosophie au XVIIe siècle* (Paris: 2011) 199–211.

call images derived from 'operations of the senses, judgement, memory, mind, will, passions and ideas, which naturally make images of themselves, and of the expressions of things'.[25] Mental images are thus promoted as an entirely separate category.[26] In the second category he places 'learned images for the instruction and the enjoyment of the eyes',[27] which correspond to the 'decorations of churches for extraordinary feasts, paintings in galleries, public places and palaces, spectacles, tragedies, comedies, ballets, Princes' receptions, machines, carousels, and other similar things'.[28] We are a long way here from the essentially biblical examples used by Richeome in his second category, that of 'mute paintings'. In Ménestrier we find, rather, a culture of the spectacle where everything becomes an image in the *theatrum mundi*, the art of performance combining with the plastic arts.

Third come 'images which are peculiar to the imagination',[29] the imagination here conceived as a creative faculty producing 'the figures and ingenious turns of the art of persuasion, and poetic fictions'.[30] In short, what Richeome called 'speaking paintings' to designate all those fictive images born of the powers of eloquent speech and of an ekphrastic rhetoric. Finally, the fourth and last type is composed of 'symbolic images that are already fixed and linked to certain rules',[31] such as 'enigmas, emblems, mottos, figures, coats of arms, hieroglyphics and other similar things'.[32] Unlike the mystical figures of Richeome, which are still largely anchored in the field of exegesis, the images which belong to this category now also belong fully to the field defined by Masen as being that of the *imago figurata*. However, as we can see, in Ménestrier the symbolic image wins out over all other fields, or even characterises all the activities of

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25   Ménestrier, *Les Recherches du blason*, n.p.: '[…] toutes les opérations des sens, du jugement, de la mémoire, de l'esprit, de la volonté, des passions & des idées, qui naturellement font d'elles-mesmes des images, & des expressions des choses'.

26   Richeome placed this type of images within the category of the 'mute figures'. See note 12.

27   Ménestrier, *Les Recherches du blason*, n.p.: '[…] Images Sçavantes pour l'Instruction et le divertissement des yeux'. Ménestrier, *Les Recherches du blason* n.p.

28   Ibidem: '[…] décorations d'églises pour les festes extraordinaires, les peintures des galeries, des lieux publics & des palais, les spectacles, les tragédies, les comédies, les ballets, les réceptions des Princes, les machines, les carrousels, et autres pareilles choses'.

29   Ibidem: '[…] Images qui sont le propre de l'Imagination'.

30   Ibidem: '[…] les figures et les tours ingénieux de l'art de persuader, & les fictions poëtiques'.

31   Ibidem: '[…] images symboliques déjà fixées, et liées à certaines règles'.

32   Ibidem: '[…] énigmes, emblemes, devises, chiffres, blasons, hiéroglyphiques, et autres semblables choses'.

thought. In contrast to Richeome, who still sought to identify the essential qualities of the sign, Ménestrier took care to distinguish sacred mysteries from the ingenious inventions of the iconographer, the former referring to a reality enigmatic in itself, while the latter designates only creations that desire to be enigmatic: 'That is why I have put in the definition *mystere ingenieux*, to make it understood that it is the spirit that makes mystery where there is none, while the other does not pertain to the spirit, but is close to the very nature of the thing'.[33] All the ontological mystery of the symbol cedes pride of place to an ingenious art that hides a truth for the entertainment of the mind, which will seek to penetrate the secret, thus making revealed knowledge sharper and fuller of meaning. Of the original hermeneutic mission of the *imago figurata*— to decipher the *liber naturae* or the *speculum mundi*—there remains nothing more than 'a *jeu d'esprit*, which seeks to give pleasure by giving pain', that is by eliciting an effort on the part of the reader/spectator.[34]

In adopting such a view of the *imago figurata*, Ménestrier is well and truly a man of his time. And all the more so since he promotes two categories which until then had been somewhat delimited in the theories of his precursors: namely, mental images, as we have already seen, and what he calls images of action ('image d'action'). The mental imagery is no longer conceived as the product of a progressive distillation of the perceptual and sensible given, but as a site of phantasmal or even oneiric elaboration which is then projected on to the world, a world transformed by this imaging power.[35] Thus, when Ménestrier maintains that the world is like a 'shop of paintings, where one sees

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33   Ménestrier Claude-François, *La Philosophie des images enigmatiques* (Lyon, H. Baritel: 1694) 107: 'C'est pour cela que j'ai mis dans la définition *mystere ingenieux*, pour faire entendre que c'est l'esprit qui fait du mystere où il n'y en a pas, au lieu que l'autre ne dépend pas de l'esprit, mais se tient du côté de la nature même de la chose'.

34   Ibidem 103: '[…] un jeu d'esprit, qui cherche à donner du plaisir en donnant de la peine'.

35   Ménestrier Claude-François, *L'Art des emblèmes où s'enseigne la morale par les figures de la fable, de l'histoire, & de la nature* (Lyon: B. Coral, 1662) 2–3: 'Le ciel est plein de figures et de crotesques, depuis que nos Poètes et nos Astrologues y ont attaché des images de fantaisie […]. Il n'est pas jusques aux nuës quelques grossieres qu'elles soient, qui ne servent de table d'attente au soleil. Ce grand ouvrier y fait de la pointe de ses rayons des armées et des combats; il y mêle les jours & les ombres avec tant de succez qu'il s'y fait des couronnes et des arcs de triomphe […]. Si nous descendons du ciel en terre, qu'y verrons-nous que des images? […]. Les fleurs & les plumes des oiseaux sont des pieces, qui valent mieux que les figures correctes du Guide et les caprices de Firens. Et les songes mesmes sont des peintures qui representent en ombres toutes les beautez de la nature'.

AUGUSTINE

Signa naturalia

NATURE

Signa data

Signa propria

MAN

Signa translata

GOD

RICHEOME
(1601)

Figures naturelles

Figures muettes

Painting-sculpture
(vices & virtues)

Figures parlantes

'verbal fictions'
(*Imagines* by
Philostratus)

Figures mystiques

'things and actions
that contain in
themselves a spiritual
meaning' (Manna,
Circumcision)

SANDAEUS (1626)

Theologia propria
/ litteralis

'study of divine persons,
of the articles of the faith,
of the heavenly and
ecclesiastical hierarchies'

Theologia translata
/ symbolica (mystica)

'corporeal similarities that
lead to God' (lion, lamb)

In figurationem rei

Visible / corporeal
symbols

In translationem verbi

Invisible / spiritual

MASEN (1650)

Imago propria

Imago figurata/translata

Ex instituto   Ex natura

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                    ┌─────────────────────────┐
                    │   MÉNESTRIER (1673)     │
                    └─────────────────────────┘
                      ┌─────────────────────┐
                      │   Learned images    │
                      └─────────────────────┘
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Mental images	Images for the eyes	Images of the imagination	Symbolic images
'operations of the senses, judgement, memory, mind, will, passions and ideas'	'decorations of churches for extraordinary feasts, paintings in galleries, public places and palaces, spectacles, tragedies, comedies, ballets […]'	'the figures and ingenious turns of the art of persuasion, and poetic fictions'	'enigmas, emblems, mottos, figures, coats of arms, hieroglyphics'

canvases of every kind',[36] it is no longer the old universe of the *liber* or of the *imago mundi* that he is invoking. Natural paintings are in effect no more than images projected by the human imagination, presenting so many 'paintings in movement' ('tableaux en mouvement'), which are no longer the work of God but the products of human fantasy.

These 'paintings in movement' can be linked to what he elsewhere describes as the 'image of action'. And this is the other original feature of his thought, since one finds no equivalent in predecessors such as Richeome. Now, Richeome had already classified in his category of mystical paintings those actions instituted in order to represent a mystery, referring in this way to the sacred universe of rituals and ceremonies, but he was certainly not referring to the more profane universe of spectacles and entertainments of every kind, of which Ménestrier was to make himself the theoretician and even more the practitioner. Here we find once again the ideal of the resemblance in actuality, of the *imago agens* in the most literal sense of the expression, that is to say, a living image inscribed in a spectacular apparatus where everything is image, right up to the spectator himself, who is invited to become actor so as to fulfil the mimetic process consisting of the bodying forth, the 'incarnating' the image. In this new context, the meaning of the figure depends on the place and the time of its display, for it is the context of the space and the events in which the figure is located that will determine its meanings.

What conclusions can we draw from this rapid journey through the thought of the main Jesuit theorists of the image? The works of the four authors brought together here testify to the major transformations that thinking about

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36　　Ibidem 2: '[…] boutique de Peinture, où l'on voit des tableaux de toutes les montres'.

the figure underwent between the beginning and the end of the seventeenth century. What we can see, in effect, are progressive and successive uncouplings from the ancient and medieval heritage as well as reconfigurations of the connections between the sacred and the profane. More precisely, there is a shift from hermetic reflections on the divine language of origins toward a consideration of the eloquence of the symbolic image, which no longer has more than a tenuous connection with the *Prisca Theologia*, that is to say, the primordial knowledge bequeathed by God to man and transmitted in an obscure manner after the Fall. Incorporated into figures of speech, the *imago figurata* steadily leaves the field of theology and exegesis of the *figura* and arrives instead at the field of rhetorical persuasion. Whatever form the 'figure of similitude' takes—symbol, enigma, emblem, parable, apologia, hieroglyphics, etc.—it constitutes the touchstone of eloquence. The symbol is no longer anything more than an ornament set in speech to highlight the splendour of eloquence, which now offers itself not as the distant reflection of the divine Word but as the mark of human inventiveness seeking to dress the truth rather than to unveil it, in such a way as to make it as agreeable as possible and therefore as persuasive as it can be. To put this another way, the symbol is no longer a mode of existence based in truth, but rather, a pleasant means of revealing it. The symbolic image calls on the imaginative power of the spectator-reader, his freely exercised 'penetration of mind', inviting him to read the world in a way that is no longer metaphysical but poetic. The aim of this reading remains fundamentally moral, an aim that no longer has much in common with the esotericism and the gnosticism of the *sapientia hieroglyphica*. It has become a means and not an end. It acts on the senses to deliver Sense more effectively. We are thus moving away from a neo-Platonic conception that valorises intuitive knowledge of revealed truth through the image, and instead coming closer to a conception that is logical and rhetorical. If there is a *theoria* of the symbol, then it is no longer in the etymological sense of the contemplation of Truth, but in the sense of a construction of knowledge not so much anchored in the image as discovered through it.

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The Theory of Figurative Language in Maximilian van der Sandt's Writings

Agnès Guiderdoni

Within the field of image theory, the œuvre of the Jesuit Maximilian van der Sandt (Sandaeus) certainly stands out as an original attempt to build a comprehensive theory of figurative language. Sandaeus was active in the Jesuit German province in the first decades of the seventeenth century.[1] Born in Amsterdam in 1578, he joined the Society of Jesus in 1597; he died in Cologne in 1656. Sandaeus is the author of a copious œuvre that pertains to the fields of controversy, theology and devotional literature (mainly Marian devotion), including several emblem books. In this study, I shall pay particular attention to his *Theologia symbolica* (1626) and his *Theologia mystica* (1627), which form a trilogy with his *Scholastic Theology* (1624).[2]

Approaching a possible image theory in his work means tackling the position of the image in the context of an all-encompassing theological system, and thus a system based on the reading of the Bible and biblical exegesis. This theological system comprises a great variety of so-called 'theologies', from positive theology to mystical theology, and also medical, architectural, legal and other theologies.[3] Although all these texts adopt the form of traditional scholastic argumentation, and some of them contain the expected theological content, a large number are more intriguing, as they are based on the figurative or metaphorical exploration of a theme (medicine, law, architecture, etc.). These

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1 De Backer A. – Sommervogel C., *Bibliothèque de la Compagnie de Jésus*, 12 vols. (Brussels – Paris: 1890–1960), vol. VII 555–567.

2 *Theologiae pars prima. Theologia varia ad primam partem Summae D. Thomae* (Mainz, Johann Theobald Schönwetter: 1624); *Theologia symbolica ex omni antiquitate sacra, ac profana in Artis formam redacta, Oratoribus, Poëtis, et universe Philologis, ad omnem commoditatem amoenae eruditionis concinnata* (Mainz, Johann Theobald Schönwetter: 1626); *Theologia mystica seu contemplatio divina religiosorum a calumniis vindicata* (Mainz, Johann Theobald Schönwetter: 1627).

3 For example: *Theologia juridica* (or *Iurisconsultus christianus*) (Mainz, Johann Theobald Schönwetter: 1629); *Theologia medica* (or *Medicus christianus*) (Cologne, Stephanus Breyelius: 1635); and *Architectura christiana* (or *Theologia architectonica*) (Cologne, Wilhelm Friess: 1653).

undertakings demonstrate the central position of the image in the thought of our Jesuit, and more specifically, the range of images that emerge from the deployment of the *figura*; Sandaeus explores the various levels of the figure, from the literal to the allegorical and the mystical.

Sandaeus's image theory is based on the processing of the theological *figura* by way of rhetorical means. He is thus a key character in the evolution of early modern Christian allegory, inherited from the Middle Ages, which becomes increasingly rhetoricized, that is, elaborated as a rhetorical language applied to the Creation and no longer extracted from the contemplation of the Creation.[4] This language revolves around the concept of *imago figurata*, formally defined by another Jesuit, Jacob Masen, a few years after Sandaeus, in 1650,[5] as an image animated, informed and made meaningful through a figurative process. In other words, his image theory actually pertains both to semiotics and rhetoric, conceiving the image as a variant or a by-product of the treatment of the *figura*. From this perspective, he finalises the metamorphosis of both the poetic and the Christian *figura*, which had started at the beginning of the previous century.

This has already been established mainly through the study of his *Theologia symbolica*, and only partially of his *Theologia mystica*.[6] However, the consistency

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4   On this topic, see, among others, Fumaroli M., *L'Age de l'éloquence* (Geneva: 1980); Delègue Y., *La perte des mots. Essai sur la naissance de la 'littérature' aux XVI e et XVII e siècles* (Strasbourg: 1990); and Spica A.-E., *Symbolique humaniste et emblématique. L'évolution et les genres* (Paris: 1996).

5   See Masen Jacob, *Speculum imaginum veritatis occultae, exhibens symbola, emblemata, hieroglyphica, aenigmata, omni tam materiae quam formae varietate, exemplis simul, ac praeceptis illustratum* (Cologne, Johann Anton Kinchius [Kinckius]: 1650).

6   See Belin Chr., "La métaphore iconoclaste chez Sandaeus", in Dekoninck R. – Guiderdoni A. (eds.), *Emblemata sacra. Rhétorique et herméneutique du discours sacré dans la littérature en images* (Turnhout: 2007) 267–275; Certeau M. de, *La Fable mystique, 1. XVI e–XVII e siècle* (Paris: 1982) 103–215; Dekoninck R., *Ad Imaginem. Statuts, fonctions et usages de l'image dans la littérature spirituelle jésuite du XVII e siècle* (Geneva: 2005) *passim*; Guiderdoni A., "Discours mystique et 'désimagination' (*Entbildung*) au début du dix–septième siècle", in Van Vaeck M. – Brems H. – Claassens G.H.M. (eds.), *The Stone of Alciato: Literature and Visual Culture in the Low Countries. Essays in Honour of Karel Porteman* (Leuven: 2003) 961–978; Guiderdoni A., *La figure emblématique: emblèmes, herméneutique et spiritualité (1540–1740)* (Paris: 2016); Houdard S., *Les invasions mystiques. Spiritualités, hétérodoxies et censures au début de l'époque moderne* (Paris: 2008) *passim*; Le Brun J., *La jouissance et le trouble. Recherches sur la littérature chrétienne à l'âge classique* (Geneva: 2004) 43–66; Spica A.-E., *Symbolique humaniste et emblématique. L'évolution et les genres* (Paris: 1996), *passim*; Spica A.-E., "S'assurer du latin pour mieux défendre la mystique: Maximilian van der Sandt 'grammairien'", in *Sermo mysticus. Mystique et language entre Moyen Âge et époque moderne*, Revue d'histoire des religions

of his writings and the organic quality of his entire œuvre, which presents itself like a jigsaw puzzle waiting to be assembled, still need more fully to be studied and articulated. Therefore, our interest lies in the connection between his symbolical and his mystical theology, from both of which a fascinating theory of representation emerges. As Sandaeus conflates symbolical and mystical theology in the same definition at the beginning of his *Theologia mystica*, he partly deduces mysticism from symbolism by way of a rhetorical understanding of the latter. In so doing, he cross-fertilizes mysticism and rhetoric, calling upon symbolism to effect this operation. It is the place of these different fields (that is, symbolical theology, mystical theology and rhetoric) as they relate to one another, all constitutive of his theory of *imago figurata*, that I would like to explore in this paper.

Sandaeus' *Theologia symbolica* is the starting point of his theoretical work, and more precisely, one of the divisions that he makes in his comprehensive system of symbolism, which he names 'emblematic theology'. Observing a strict argumentative scholastic format, the *Theologia symbolica* focuses on defining the theological field of the symbol in order to attain the knowledge of God. This theology can also be named 'hidden' (*arcana*) or 'mystical'. It is interesting already to find here the partial overlap of mysticism and symbolism, which takes place in this first definition in the prologue, even though two clearly distinguished books deal with each of these theologies respectively. Sandaeus defines them by means of a distinction he makes in his *Theologia symbolica*. Symbolical theology deals with the deciphering of the symbols, signs and images that enable the discovery of God. Mystical theology focuses on the ways to know God through abnegation and ecstasy. However, symbols must be used in both theologies, though according to different governing systems, as we shall see further on.[7] Sandaeus moreover specifies that there is sometimes confusion between symbolical theology and mystical theology, although they

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230 (2013) 629–651; Spica A.-E., "La *Pro Theologia mystica clavis* de Maximilian van der Sandt: un inventaire lexical à valeur encyclopédique?", in Trémolières F. (ed.), *Pour un vocabulaire mystique au XVIIᵉ siècle*, séminaire du professeur Carlo Ossola (Turin: 2004) 23–41; and Vuilleumier-Laurens F., *La raison des figures symboliques à la Renaissance et à l'âge classique* (Geneva: 2000) 187–208.

7   Van der Sandt (Sandaeus), *Theologia mystica* 3–4: 'Tertiam vero Symbolicam [Theologiam], quae etiam a Dionysio conscripta desideretur. Nisi quod plurimis in locis, tangat non pauca de Symbolis hoc est similitudinis, translatis ad Deum. Quartam tandem Mysticam, quae sit disciplina inveniendi Deum, per abnegationes et excessus mentales: tanquam in caligine quadam videatur Deus, id est, in occulto vel abscondito. […] Mysticam Theologiam bifariam sumi: Primo, generice, atque ita, omnis arcani sensus et significatus de Deo sermocinatio Mystica dicitur, atque Symbolica, quia arcana est mystica: sicque loquuntur Auctores

can be distinguished according to whether one aims to explain the symbolic (or typological) elements of the Holy Scriptures or the mystery of God (what is hidden). Whereas symbolism deciphers the mystery indirectly given to mankind by mediation of the holy text, mysticism concerns the direct knowledge of God.

Mysticism and symbolism are in any event tightly linked in radical opposition to 'demonstration', to 'discursive reasoning', as pseudo-Dionysius would put it. Sandaeus considers speculative theology as 'proper' (*propria*), whereas symbolical and mystical theology, considered as a whole, are designated as 'transferred' (*translata*), which implicitly brings us back to the semiotic division of theological matter. Indeed, qualifying symbolical and mystical theology as 'transferred' refers to the Augustinian conception of language and the categories of signs, in which the '*signa translata*' are signs that are equally things (*res*) and signs (*signum*) as opposed to the '*signa propria*', which are only signs such as words for example. It therefore means that mystical and symbolical theologies are the result of a figurative process in which the realities (*res*) are construed as figures, in the same way as in language. The rest of the book confirms this orientation: theology is restructured in light of a rhetorical order because the two modalities of symbolisation conceived by theology (*allegoria in factis* and *allegoria in verbis*) are both reliant upon figures of speech.

After having given twenty entries for the *symbolon*, all drawn from Achille Bocchi's opening poem to the *Symbolicis quaestionibus* that Sandaeus entirely reproduces, our Jesuit more precisely defines his symbolic object.[8] Symbols are the signs of a hidden signified, either as verbal marks or as things. Making use of symbols in theology therefore enables the revelation of God's mystery.[9] As everything is brought down to rhetorical criteria, sacred symbols can be considered as *modi dicendi*. Then Sandaeus divides his subject matter according to a further series of criteria. First, and expectedly, symbolical theology concerns either things (*figuratio rei*) or words (*translatio verbi*). Yet he does not define them as two ontologically different levels of symbolisation, but more simply as

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nominati. Secundo specifice et presse. Ita autem Mystica constituit speciem distinctam, à Theologia Symbolica'.

8   Rolet A., *Les questions symboliques d'Achille Bocchi:* Symbolicae quaestiones*, 1555* (Tours: 2015) 245–246.

9   Ibidem 10 (L. I, c. I, ex. III): '[…] Symbola sunt Notae latentis arcanique significati: et occultae rei signa, sive verbalia, sive realia. Itaque, dum istiusmodi signis Sacra scientia perfectiones Dei, ac religionis mysteria involuit, aut explicat, appellatur Symbolica. Ad quam spectant formulae omnes loquendi figuratae maxime obscuriores: et, qui his connexi, dicendi modi, sive in verbis simplicibus, sive compositis: sive intricatis involutisque propositionum ambagibus'.

two modes. Furthermore, the examples cited do not bring out any essential difference between the two modes, whereas we know that allegories about things substantially differ in nature from allegories about words. In fact, in Sandaeus's definitions, it is always a matter of tropes, the first (*figuratio rei*) being associated with images, whilst the second (*translatio verbi*) corresponds to an interpretation '*tropice*' of words.[10] Moreover, both these modes of symbolisation depend on different powers of the soul, as the figuration of things relies on the senses (visible things) and the metaphor of words relies on understanding (invisible things).

Sandaeus then proceeds to another division that only partially overlaps with the preceding one, between spiritual symbols associated with understanding and will, and bodily symbols, associated with the external and internal senses (*sensus communis, phantasia, imaginatio, aestimativa*).[11] Finally, he introduces a last major division between the symbols that concern speech and those that concern facts (*ex dictis et factis*). The whole significantly derives from the question of the distinctions among the different *modi loquendi*. As far as words are concerned, it is their literal (as in the functioning of metaphors), or transferred or tropic use that enables symbolisation; as for things, it is their 'hieroglyphic' or emblematic use that enables them to become the signs of other things. This forms the basis for a division that establishes the genres of theological symbolism, by linking Sandaeus's distinction between words and facts to literary forms, in the very precise and explicit context of Christian hermeneutics.[12]

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10   Ibidem 12 (L. I, c. II, ex. I): 'Ad *Figurationem rei* spectant imagines personarum et rerum quarumcumque sensibus subdi solitae, ut *Tres-viri* ab Abraham hospitio excepti: *Scala* a coelo ad terram pertingens [...] et alios secundum sensum formata. Ad *translationem verbi* secundum intellectum, pertinent figurata quaelibet, tam adfectus quam membra exprimentia, quae Deo nonnisi tropice convenire [...] demonstravimus'. Sandaeus then explains that metaphors and tropes have already been studied at length in one of his another books, that is, the *Commentationes academicae I.: Grammaticus profanus: in quo de controversiis fidei ac S. scriptura, deque vitiis et virtutibus, novo modo ac varie disputatur* [...] (Würzburg, Johann Volmar: 1621).

11   Ibidem 16 (L. I, c. II, ex. II, d. II): 'Distribuas licet, *Symbolicam* universe, in duo membra, quorum *Unum* consideret *Symbola Spiritualia*: At vero, *Alterum*, respiciat *corporalia*. Disseces *Spiritualia*, in ea quae spectant ad Intellectum, et ea, quae ad voluntatem. Corporalium facias duo genera: *Prius*, contineat *Symbola*, quae sensibus externis observantur: *Posterius*, ea quae perspiciuntur internis, sensu communi, Phantasia, Imaginatione, Aestimativa'.

12   Ibidem 23 (L. I, c. II, ex. IV): 'Prior constat *verbis*, quae dicuntur lingua, iisque vel propriis vel translatis et tropicis, sensa mentis exprimentibus. Posterior, *Rebus*, quae fiunt, seu *operationibus* (facta idcirco recte dixeris) quae sensuum animi rerumque aliarum sunt signa. Docent hoc, qui de Scripturae sacrae diversis interpretationibus disputant'.

If the symbolism of things is subsumed into that of words, and particularly into a *modus loquendi* whose aim is to decipher God's mystery—according to the general definition of symbolism—then everything has become *allegoria in verbis*. This constitutes a major shift in the traditional hierarchy between the two symbolisation modes of the Church since the *allegoria in factis* solely was supposed to contain the spiritual meaning of the holy text, while the *allegoria in verbis*, however essential it was to elaborate that spiritual meaning, pertains only to poetics and fiction. Sandaeus exemplifies as much when he conceptualises this reversal of the levels of meanings in sacred texts. However, to understand fully the role of the *imago figurata* in this shift, we should turn to his definition of the different genres of symbolical theology, formulated on the basis of this new levelling of the Christian allegory. There are six such genres: parabolic, proverbial, enigmatic, emblematic, fabulous and hieroglyphic theology.[13] Theological discourse has thus been transfigured into rhetorical genres of symbolism, and the *imago figurata* supplies a model for reading the divine mystery of Godhead.[14] This transformation brings about the juncture between symbolical and mystical theology, in which the pivotal element is the image, oscillating, as we shall see, between analogy and dissemblance.

Symbolic theology uses the image (the visible) in the broadest sense of the word, in order to access knowledge of divine truths (the intelligible). As Creation bears the mark of its Creator by means of analogy, it is evident how the possibility of the symbol, of the meaningful image, emerges. This notion of the genesis of the symbolic image has been much studied. Symbolical theology means to deliver knowledge, and as such, it still belongs to the fields of memory and understanding. By contrast, mystical theology aims to account for experience. Mystical theology denies the possibility of analogy, stressing the non-relation, the incompatibility, the dissemblance, but also the assimilation, or the appropriation of things by words, insofar as there is nothing behind the word and the un-signifying image eventually amounts to the unintelligible. However, this approach always consists of an attempt or an approximation. Whilst mystical theology exists in a static condition, symbolical theology is dynamic. Dialectics belongs to speculative theology, analogy to symbolical theology and dissemblance to mystical theology.

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13   Ibidem 717: "Theologiae symbolicae species sunt I. Parabolica. II. Paroemialis. Proverbialis. Adagialis III. Aenigmatica. IV. Emblematica. V. Fabularis. VI. Hieroglyphica". This subtitle forms part of the concluding subsection, entitled "Idea totius disciplinae".

14   Ibidem 168: "Theologica emblematica est pars symbolicae, qua divinorum Notitia, Emblematis, et id genus Symbolis promovetur" (title of book IV).

Both in form and in content, the *imago figurata*, used in the field of spirituality and belonging to the rhetorical genres of symbolism that Sandaeus has defined, is situated at the crossroads between both theologies. By virtue of its origins, the *imago figurata* belongs to symbolical theology, being one of its modes of expression, the one constitutive of 'the symbolical technique'. Its aim and message, however, pertain to mystical theology, whose application and practice it tries to express. The meeting point is always the metaphor, as this trope is common to both theologies. Whilst symbolism uses it as an heuristic device, mysticism identifies it with the sought-after thing, that is, with what the metaphor conceals and then 'reveals' in the symbolic order. In symbolical theology, the metaphor marks the path that leads to God, being a 'sign' of him. In mystical theology, by contrast, God is assimilated to the metaphor and is God himself, as unlikely as this may at first seem.[15]

In support of this argument, one can refer to what Sandaeus says about the use of the symbol and images in mystical theology. After having first defined the broad and then the narrower meaning of both symbolical and mystical theologies, and after having established the existence of a 'mystical symbolical theology' and of a mystical theology proper, he clarifies, in his *Theologia mystica*, the use of the symbol that the latter category licenses:

> Theologiam Mysticam specifice acceptam usurpare quidam vocabula et loquendi formulas minus usitatas, notasque in scholis: tamen haud necessarium illi esse usum *Symbolorum*, quatenus Symbola, distinguuntur a vocabulis quae sunt rerum signa, et notae propriae: *Ratio*. Quia *Theologia Mystica*, sive habitum spectes, sive actum, obit munus suum perfectissime, quamvis imagines, quibus utitur, sint rerum propriae, absque ulla figurata translatione. Imo, quatenus sunt magis propriae, eo melius, expeditiusque negocium suum perficit. Et si posset circa objectum suum versari, absque formarum intellectualium, ullarumque imaginum alienarum interventu, etiam has sperneret [...].[16]

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15   This is aptly expressed by Jean Baruzi in *Saint Jean de la Croix et le problème de l'expérience mystique*, introd. E. Poulat (Paris: 1924; reprint Paris: 1999) 377: 'Un symbole mystique, qui n'arrive pas à nous faire percevoir, même dans le rythme des images, la profondeur de l'expérience, n'est qu'un pseudo-symbole. Le vrai symbole adhère directement à l'expérience. Il n'est pas figure d'une expérience. Et c'est bien ainsi, en dernière analyse, que le symbolisme se distingue de l'allégorisme'.

16   Van der Sandt (Sandaeus), *Theologia mystica* 5. My italics.

In its restricted sense, mystical theology uses terms and phrases that are less practiced and known in the schools. However, the use of symbols is not necessary to it, insofar as symbols can be distinguished from the proper terms and signs owned by things. This is the reason why mystical theology—be it understood in its state or its action—accomplishes its work perfectly without any figurative translation, inasmuch as the images used, whatever their degree, are the proper [qualities] of things. Moreover, the more the images are proper, the better and more easily mysticism achieves its work. If mysticism could operate without the intervention of intellectual forms and other foreign images, it would dismiss them as well [...].

Sandaeus alludes here to the necessary mystical 'disimagination' ('Entbildung' in Meister Eckhart's terminology), in which the purgation of images is a precondition of union with God. Yet a key point to highlight concerns the conditions that Sandaeus imposes upon these images. Implicitly acknowledging that it is almost impossible to get rid of images altogether, he defines some of them as better suited than others to the purpose of facilitating the soul's access to the higher registers of spiritual experience. The determining criterion is precisely the abolition of their symbolical depth, and thus the preeminence of their literal nature. Images have to be 'without any figurative translation' and as 'proper' as possible.

From a functional perspective, on the premise that the basis of the formation of the *imago figurata* always consists of a play on a metaphor, or at least on a trope, we must thus speak of a literalisation of the metaphor, whose metaphorised ('tenor') and metaphoriser ('vehicle') are integrated to one another, until they eventually lose their distinctive metaphorical qualities. As all images have to be erased to make room for God's image, the metaphor as image or figurative discursive device is itself ultimately erased, keeping only the literalness of its expression. Furthermore, the metaphor that bears on an object, or *res* as symbolical theology construes it (an animal, the Cross, a heart) and that calls upon the *res* as *signa translata*, pertains in mystical theology to a condition or an experience, in the sense outlined above. We could therefore argue that Sandaeus, in the process of shifting the metaphor from symbolical to mystical theology, conforms to the evolution of the metaphor as a whole, as described by Paul Ricœur.[17] Insofar as symbolical theology isolates elements to circumscribe them as signs, turning them into 'signs of God', it makes use

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17   See Ricœur P., *La Métaphore vive* (Paris: 1975).

of metaphors on words, which function like words comprised by a text; in mystical theology, however, the emphasis falls not on verbal metaphors, but on metaphorical statements, bearing on the whole discourse. Mystical theology thus transforms the metaphor into a way of being with God. It treats the figure as a place of relation, and no longer as the means to an end. In this context, the literal and figurative senses entirely lose their relevance, because metaphorisation no longer collocates with signified items, but rather, connects a *modus loquendi*—the so-called 'mystic speech'—to a way of being, viz., being with God.

Therefore, if the starting point of the *imago figurata* rather strictly corresponds to the analogy, the ultimate literalisation of the figure's signifiers corresponds to this paradoxical phase of the abolition of the figure, or signifying image. The figure then attempts to become a place that is transparent to discourse and mediation, a space void of any sign, like the vacant soul when achieving its union with God. The connection between symbolical and mystical theology is here carried through by means of the same images that circulate from one theology to the other as they change their hermeneutical status from figured to proper or literal.

Sandaeus does not have any image theory, strictly speaking. What he offers is a theory of the figure, from which he draws a whole range of figurative languages in order to serve the various purposes of Christian spirituality. This theoretical edification is founded on a series of shifts between a proper and a figurative interpretation and then on the use of textual and mental images. In the end, it leads to the conversion of Christian allegory into rhetorical allegory. One cannot help, however, being surprised at this massive rhetoricisation of theological or Christian allegory on the part of a Jesuit who was everything but frivolous. Indeed, if one looks at another of his books, entitled the *Grammaticus Profanus* (1621), in which Sandaeus violently attacks the Protestants and their exegetical method, it seems obvious that he absolutely disapproves of what he calls the 'grammatical interpretation' of the figurative passages of the Bible (especially the institution of the Eucharist), and that he is thus fully aware of the essential, ontological difference between theological allegory (*allegoria in factis*) and rhetorical allegory (*allegoria in verbis*):

> […] quasi figura omnis et figuratus sermo proprietati verborum sit contrarius. Quod non ita est: nam figurata multa dicuntur, in historia quae proprie ac simpliciter narrantur, sed aliarum quoque rerum sunt typi. Nam figurae Testamenti Veteris verissimae erant historiae et secundum verborum proprietatem exponi debent, licet alia quoque designarent,

tanquam imagines rerum futurarum, ut constat ex toto capite decimo prioris ad Corinthios [...].[18]

[...] as though every figure and every figurative language were contrary to the properness of word! It is not so! Indeed, many figurative expressions are used in a story, and they are set out simply and properly, but they also are the types of other things. So, the figured stories of the Old Testament are very truthful and must be explained according to the propriety of words, even though they also refer to other things, like the images of events to come, as is the case of the whole of chapter ten of the first Epistle to the Corinthians [...].

So far, this is the usual definition of the *allegoria in factis*. But Sandaeus goes on:

Itaque duplex est loquutio figurata, alteram dicere soleo Theologice figuratam, alteram Grammatice: illa propriis constat verbis, haec translatis; ex una autem alteram colligere, vel est fraudulenti captatoris vel imperiti grammatici; cuius specimen, ut alibi, sic egregie dant tropistae Sacramentarii in doctrina Eucharistica, quam ut evertant, quia Patres nonnulli figuratum quidpiam agnoscunt in sacra manducatione carnis et potatione sanguinis Domini: aiunt illos docuisse figuras grammaticas exposuisseque Christi verba per Metaphoras, Metonymias, Catachreses.[19]

This is why figurative expression is double. I usually call one 'theologically figured' and the other 'grammatically figured', as one relies on proper words and the other on transferred words. It is the nature of the deceitful swindler (*fraudulenti captatoris*), of the inexperienced grammarian, to confuse them. The sacramental *Tropists* (*Tropistae*) provide a noteworthy example regarding the doctrine of the Eucharist, which they upset because some Fathers acknowledge something figurative in the holy act of eating and drinking the Lord's flesh and blood. They have taught, as they say, grammatical figures and revealed the words of Christ through Metaphors, Metonymies and Catachreses.

How to reconcile what looks like two antagonistic positions regarding the use of figurative representation in a spiritual context? Here are a few possible leads.

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18   Van der Sandt (Sandaeus), *Grammaticus Profanus* 622. I would like to thank Grégory Ems for bringing these passages to my attention and allowing me to use his translation.

19   Ibidem.

First of all, the *Grammaticus profanus* was written before the *Theologia symbolica* and may attest a previous state of Sandaeus's thought. More convincingly, the general context and the addressee of these texts are in fact completely different. The *Grammaticus profanus* consists of several theological treatises or dissertations (*commentationes*), which Sandaeus seems to have delivered to the students of the University of Würzburg. Consequently, the socio-political background is certainly much more present in these dissertations, much more immediate, than in the *Theologia symbolica* or *mystica*, and, accordingly, the necessity to abide by a more traditional, less experimental line of thought. However, there may be another explanation that is related to the understanding of what is the 'proper' sense in the *figura*. As a Jesuit, Sandaeus was well schooled in the doctrine of Aquinas. At the beginning of the *Summa*, Aquinas expounds his ideas on the cognitive scope of the *figura* both in the Bible and human discourse. His text suggests that there are in fact two possible figurative regimes: one in which the literal meaning of figures strictly corresponds to their proper meaning; and another one, specific to the Holy Scriptures, in which 'the literal meaning does not refer to the figure itself but to what it represents'.[20] Then he goes on with an example which clarifies this difficult point: 'Indeed, when the Bible mentions the arm of God, the literal meaning is not that there is a corporeal arm to God, but [the literal meaning is] *what is signified by* this member, that is an active power'.[21] There is here something like a shortcut between the proper enunciation of the figure and what it actually signifies; it does not correspond to the basic functioning of the metaphor (as defined by Aristotle). Indeed, reading Thomas carefully, one recognizes that the usual proper sense does not coincide with the literal or historical sense: 'literal' should be understood in relation to the *allegoria in factis* and not *in verbis*, although this sense pertains explicitly to the latter. The literal sense includes the proper sense and a figurative sense—as it happens, the parabolic sense. Gilbert Dahan recalls that

> [...] for Saint Thomas, the literal sense is complex; not only does he distinguish several levels within it, but he also brings out the ambivalent value of the term *littera* itself: it designates both the complex whole called literal or historical sense [...] and, within this whole, the 'proper

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20   Aquinas T. de, *Somme théologique. 1a. Prologue et question 1, La théologie* (Paris: 1997), Iª q. 1 a.10 ad. 3, p. 59: 'Nec est litteralis sensus ipsa figura, sed id, quod est figuratum'.

21   Ibidem: 'Non enim cum Scriptura nominat Dei brachium, est litteralis sensus, quod in Deo sit membrum huiusmodi corporale, sed id, quod per hoc membrum significatur, scilicet virtus operativa'.

sense', what the *voces* express at face value. Yet, in the case of the meta-phor, the *voces* themselves call for an interpretation without getting out of the literal sense.[22]

When the Scriptures use a metaphor, its literal meaning corresponds to its figu-rative meaning and not to its proper meaning.[23] In this signifiying system, two understandings of the literal as well as two figurative orders and two symboli-cal regimes coexist. There is no correspondence between what is proper and what is literal. The Thomist literal sense includes the Augustinian *translata* meaning.[24]

One of the consequences of this exegetical theory is the possible uncou-pling of the 'proper' level from the 'literal figurative' level, or even an auton-omisation, in the context of the rhetoricized reading of the world. This may lead to the use of proper ('mental') images—the ones that Sandaeus talked about in his *Theologia mystica*—de void as such of any figurative meaning, perfectly suitable in a mystical context, and functioning in a discursive context like simple rhetorical figures. So, we may well have these two systems in effect in Sandaeus' texts: one, based on Aquinas, which can be found in his diatribe in the *Grammaticus Profanus*, and which paved the way for the *imago figurata* theory; and another one, derived from Aquinas, following from the rhetorici-sation of the Creation, which produced a new category of images, of 'proper images', still rooted in the figurative realm, and able to convey the ultimate spiritual experience, the ultimate void of images.

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22   Dahan G., *Lire la Bible au Moyen-Âge. Essais d'herméneutique médiévale* (Geneva: 2009) 276: '[…] pour saint Thomas, le sens littéral est complexe; non seulement il y distingue plusieurs niveaux, mais encore il dégage la valeur équivoque du terme même de *littera*: il désigne aussi bien l'ensemble complexe classé sous l'appellation de sens littéral ou his-torique […] que, à l'intérieur de cet ensemble, le « sens propre », ce que disent les *voces* au premier degré. Or, dans le cas de la métaphore, les *voces* se donnent elles-mêmes à interpréter, sans que l'on quitte le sens littéral […]'.

23   Dahan, in ibidem 258, makes this point, as follows: 'L'opposition *proprie/metaphorice* ne peut donc se réduire à celle qui nous est familière sens propre/sens figuré'. Also see ibi-dem 274: '[…] le *sensus parabolicus* (on se rappelle qu'il équivaut d'une certaine manière au sens métaphorique) est contenu dans le sens littéral, puisque les mots désignent aussi bien le sens propre (*aliquid proprie*) que le sens figuré (*aliquid figurative*), Thomas pré-cisant bien que ce n'est pas la figure qui constitue le sens littéral mais ce qui est figuré'.

24   See Todorov T., *Théories du symbole* (Paris: 1977) 51, who compares the two systems in a table.

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Writing on the Body and Looking through Its Wounds: The Mnemonic Metaphor of the Stigmata in Emanuele Tesauro's Rhetoric

Andrea Torre

Fatevi a considerar un panno di arazzo, un parato di rapporti di contratagli istoriato dal capriccio de' Ricamatori. Vi spuntan primavere infiorate a strascichi ambiziosi di seta. Vi ondeggian mari senz'acqua a brilli d'argento, schiere d'eserciti arrolati dalla punta d'un ago, vi sorgono facciate di reggie, prospettive di paesi fabricati dall'architettura di un telaio. Dove la mano più punge, più rabbellisce. Ogni colpo figlia stupori, ogni ferita ravviva vezzi di coralli, di gioie, versando per sangue rivoli d'oro filato. Tutte le figure de' ricami ricevon il prezioso dalle piaghe; e per risaltare più cangianti nel colorito, più gaie nel disegno, si lasciano più svenar nella tela. Se però voltate il rovescio de' drappi, vi troverete un imbarazzo di cuciture, uno scompiglio di filaticci, un rappezzamento di cenci. Così la pace lasciata da Cristo. [...] Cristo non seppe donarci la pace, senza far mostra delle sue piaghe, peroché quella non fiorisce senza di queste.[1]

GIACOMO LUBRANO

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The particular purpose of Christian memory is contained in the term *memoria beneficiorum*, a concept which was formulated by Cicero and Seneca in Stoic circles, transferred to Christian culture, and then developed further by Christian orators during the early modern period. The memory of benefits received from the Redeemer is indelible and is fed by all those perpetual memorials that build the collective memory of a community. The Theatine bishop Paolo Aresi (1574–1644), for instance, in ascribing the emblem of solar spots to Saint Francis, justifies this attribution by recalling how and why he was wounded by the Redeemer: 'God willed that Saint Francis with his wounds appeared in these years in order to remind men of the Lord's Passion and of the benefits of the redemption, which they seem to have forgotten'.[2] The Jesuit Luigi Giuglaris (1607–1653) treated the same theme in a Good Friday sermon that constitutes a detailed guide for the sinner walking the path of penitence:

> Potrete voi dunque infierire contro di un tal'huomo nella cui fronte la maestà e la bellezza si dividono l'impero. Terra vergine è questa carne non soggetta a maledizione, e però da non oltraggiarsi co' vostri solchi. […] tutto sangue, tutto piaghe, tutto aperture […]. Così presto si è in voi estinta la memoria de' benefici? […]; e qui avvertite, che gran voglia ebbe l'appassionato mio Dio, di stampare da per tutto vive memorie della penosa sua morte che, già che imprimere non la poteva ne gli animi, la dipinse in più lini […]. Orsù, il figlio di Dio è spirato. […] sicurtà per noi debitori. Quello sì, quello è morto, et io l'ho ucciso.[3]

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2 Aresi Paolo, *Imprese sacre* (Tortona, Pietro Giovanni Calenzano – Eliseo Viola: 1630), II, 1284–1285. On Aresi's work see Ardissino E., *Il barocco e il sacro. La predicazione del teatino Paolo Aresi tra letteratura, immagini e scienza* (Vatican City: 2001): 'così ha voluto Dio che in questi ultimi tempi comparisse San Francesco con le sue piaghe, acciochè rinovasse ne gli uomini la memoria della Passione del Signore, e del beneficio della redenzione, la quale pareva che si avessero gettata dietro le spalle'.

3 Giuglaris Luigi, *Quaresimale* (Milan, Lodovico Monza: 1665) 372–378: 'You may then act cruelly against such a man on whose forehead majesty and beauty contend for primacy. Such flesh is virgin territory, not subject to your curses and therefore impervious against the wounds you inflict. […] all is blood, sores, openings […]. Has then the memory of the benefits [he has bestowed on us] vanished so quickly? […]; and here notice how my sorrowful God insisted on imprinting everywhere lively memories of his pitiful death; since he could not impress it upon men's souls, he painted it on linen […]. Now then, God's son expired. […] the one who took care of us, […] a warranty for us debtors. Yes, he is dead, and I killed him' (my translation).

Here the page of the mind is linked with that of the body, on which memorial traces can be inscribed as stigmata, wounds, and scars; and thus sacred rhetoric explores the relation between suffering and memory, construing affective memory as a source of emotions that deeply pierce the receptive soul. The image of the wound is in fact a good representation of memory as a whole and of the single moments of its operation. Every sign on the wounded body can be read as the registration of memories, and any violence (physical, verbal, iconic) can be seen as a key element in the nexus between memory and recollection, and the collateral processes of memorization and remembering.[4]

My essay aims to be an inquiry into the meaning and the value of the mnemonic metaphor of the stigmata in the context of Italian sacred rhetoric. The main text I will examine belongs to the tradition of the *ars predicandi*, and represents one of those cases in which the instruments of *ars memoriae* are used in sacred rhetoric to support biblical exegesis, catechization, and the definition of virtuous models of behaviour. In the panegyric *Il memoriale* the Jesuit writer Emanuele Tesauro (1592–1675)[5] constructs a sermon based on a particular concept taken from the Bible, which is then methodically clarified through his reflections on Christian *auctoritates*. For this rhetorical exercise Tesauro proposes a memory-oriented reading of the miracle of the stigmata pursued mainly through a metaphoric thickening of his language: 'Vermiglie et aperte serbò le Piaghe nelle Mani, ne' Piedi, et nel Costato, per Memorial sempiterno, accioché chiunque le mira, interrogando: "Che cosa son queste piaghe?", apprenda il ricevuto Beneficio, et altamente l'imprima nella Memoria'.[6]

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4   See Carruthers M., *The Craft of Thought. Meditation, Rhetoric, and the Making of Images, 400–1200* (Cambridge: 1998); Enders J., *The Medieval Theater of Cruelty. Rhetoric, Memory, Violence* (Ithaca-London: 1999).

5   On Tesauro's Jesuit career see Zanardi M., "Vita ed esperienze di Emanuele Tesauro nella Compagnia di Gesù", *Archivum Historicum Societatis Iesu* 47 (1977) 3–96.

6   Tesauro Emanuele, *Il Memoriale*, in Idem, *Panegirici et Ragionamenti* (Venice, Giovanni Francesco Valvasense: 1671) III, 341: 'Christ kept the wounds in his hands, feet, and chest red and open, as an eternal memory, so that anyone who looks at them, wondering "What are these wounds?", will understand the benefits they received and imprint them deeply in their memory' (my translation). On the Jesuit art of memory see: Spence J.D., *The Memory Palace of Matteo Ricci* (London: 1985); De la Flor F.R., *Teatro de la memoria: siete ensayos sobre mnemotecnia española de los siglos XVII y XVIII* (Salamanca: 1988) 53–172; Rossi P., *Il passato, la memoria, l'oblio* (Bologna: 1991) 59–93; Fabre P.A., *Ignace de Loyola. Le lieu de l'image* (Paris: 1992) 75–162; Salviucci Insolera L., "L'uso di immagini come strumento didattico-catechistico nella Compagnia di Gesù", in Hinz M. – Righi R. – Zardin D. (eds.), *I Gesuiti e la Ratio Studiorum* (Rome: 2004) 191–210; Dekoninck R., *Ad imaginem: statuts, fonctions et usages de l'image dans la littérature spirituelle jésuite du XVIIᵉ siècle* (Genève: 2005).

The author does not concern himself with the essence of the stigmata, which in any case is unknowable, but with the possible meanings of the Latin word that denominates them, the word 'plaga'. In the culture of Tesauro's day, etymological analysis did not concern the study of a language's phonetic evolution over time. It involved, on the contrary, the imaginary elaboration of a concept through the unexpected, creative, and sometimes ambiguous connections of words.[7] The etymological figure contributes here to the composition of a semantic field, and this operation also has a mnemonic function. It can suggest through the signifier many associations of ideas that the meaning itself would not be able to create. Through a homophonic mechanism based on precise associative criteria a moral message is created and relayed to memory in a synthetic form. The etymological image can then engender a process of development which, like a memory, visualizes *exempla* and suggests a moral *habitus*. In this manner Tesauro examines the word 'plaga' etymologically, and finds four primary meanings, followed by the relevant moralistic-doctrinal interpretations and by the implicit metaphoric visualization that sometimes becomes an explicit emblematic representation.[8]

The first meaning of the word 'plaga' refers to the parts of the earth, corresponding to the four cardinal points, with the centre in the middle: these constitute the five fixed parts of the universe and the five climatic regions where humans live. On the basis of this structure, the author suggests some comparisons to the structure of the Holy Cross, which are clearly connected to the localization of the wounds. Indeed Tesauro sees the site of Calvary as the centre between the four cardinal points of the world, indicated by the four ends of the timbers forming the Cross, as if the wounds were the world's compass points and the earth itself Christ's body, the New World from which issues a new cosmography. For the second meaning, the author metaphorically illustrates Christ's Passion as a bird hunt that ends with the trap of the Cross. Here Tesauro overturns the reader's expectations by showing Christ as a predator,

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7   See Goyet F., "Le locus ab etymologia à la Renaissance", in Chambon J.-P. – Lüdi G. (eds.), *Discours étymologiques* (Tübingen: 1991) 173–184; Demonet M.-L., "Renaissances étymologiques", in Buridant C. (ed.), *L'étymologie, de l'Antiquité à la Renaissance* (Villeneuve d'Ascq: 1998) 57–67; Renzi L., *Le piccole strutture. Linguistica, poetica, letteratura* (Bologna: 2008) 45–63.

8   On Tesauro's theory of metaphor see: Raimondi E., *Letteratura barocca. Studi sul Seicento italiano* (Florence: 1961) 1–32; Zanardi M., "La metafora e la sua dinamica di significazione nel *Cannocchiale aristotelico* di Emanuele Tesauro", *Giornale storico della letteratura italiana* 157 (1980) 321–368; Frare P., *'Per istraforo di perspettiva'. Il 'Cannocchiale aristotelico' e la poesia del Seicento* (Rome-Pisa: 2000) 55–84; Benassi A., "Lo scherzevole inganno. Figure ingegnose e argutezza nel Cannocchiale aristotelico di Emanuele Tesauro", *Studi secenteschi* 47 (2006) 9–55.

who set love knots and lies in wait for sinful souls, and catches them in order to entrap them in his sacred wounds. The third meaning of the term 'plaga' refers to the concept of wound and is illustrated by the topos of the window opening onto the heart: this image suggests the dream that one is able to visualize directly the human inner being where, according to Plato's description of Socrates as a silenus (*Symposium*, 215a), truth has its home.[9] The fourth and last metaphoric meaning proposed by Tesauro centers on the image of farmers tapping saplings as a preliminary step of grafting. This meaning sets off three possible metaphoric visualizations, each characterized by a different moral significance: the tapping that precedes grafting, that is to say, the preparation of an imperfect humanity for the engrafting of the perfect body of the Saviour; the tapping that permits the outflow of a liquid having balsamic and cicatrising properties, which is to say Christ's blood, which heals the world's grief; and the tapping of a plant or of the body as an extreme form of incised writing. Jesus Christ is the tree of life (*lignum vitae*) and his bark is like a page: the sacred nails are the stylus, and the stigmata are the indelible characters written upon the tree.

In such an analysis we can consider the word 'plaga' both as a label that serves mnemonically to structure a given topic and as a summary of the different meanings comprised by a concept. The examination of the stigmata is thus organized according to the same analytical principle which forms the basis of the treatise about wittiness incorporated into Tesauro's masterpiece, *Il cannocchiale aristotelico*:

> Il primo vestigio adunque, che il sagace ingegno del nostro autore incomincia odorare per ritrovar la traccia delle diffinizioni, dove l'essenza degli obietti tacitamente si annida, è l'etimologia del proprio nome, il qual apunto ei chiama un chiaro contrasegno, et una oscura diffinizion delle cose.[10]

Tesauro is here thinking of that particular form of etymology which he classifies in the *Cannocchiale aristotelico* as a metaphor of misunderstanding. While he clearly attributes creative potential to the etymological figure, he places the apparent morphological connection between *res* and *verba* in a semiotic

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9   See Jager E., *The Book of the Heart* (Chicago: 2000).

10   Tesauro Emanuele, *Il Cannocchiale aristotelico* (Turin, Bartolomeo Zavatta: 1670) 9: 'The first trace the author's discerning mind examines to find the marks of definitions in which the essence of objects is silently nestled, is the etymology of their name, which the author calls a clear sign and an opaque definition of things'.

dimension free of any essential, meaningful links. We can observe that etymology and metaphor, which are normally found on two different if not alternative levels, are put here in a sequence in which the morphological implications of the etymology lead to semiotic leaps implicit in the metaphor. This transition inevitably implies the dissolution of the original relationship between *res* and *verba*. In fact, if a metaphorical name takes the place of the original one, the dream of tracing the etymon, that is to say the real and objective relationship between the thing 'name' and the thing 'referent' can never be realized, because a subjective and fantastic relationship takes the place of an objective derivation. We go from a denotative to a connotative relationship, from a literal representation to an emblematic one, from an automatic reproduction to a creative act. In fact, the style of Tesauro's panegyric contains all the elements that participate in the composition of emblems or devices: the scriptural *auctoritas* presents itself as the soul (*anima*) of the image (*corpus*); the textual description gives a form to the implicit iconic content; the subject (in the sermon, the *concetto predicabile*) shows the occasion of knowledge which justifies the metaphorical expression; and the comment clarifies the relationship between *res* and *verba*, demonstrating their devotional and meditational purposes. The reading of reality and its expression are therefore possible only on a symbolic level, as Tesauro asserts in another panegyric, *Il Commentario*, dedicated to the Holy Shroud of Turin, the most eloquent representation of Christ's Passion:

> Che se lo scrivere è un muto parlare, et il parlare una scrittura loquace, e l'uno e l'altro sono esteriori simolacri et immagini palesi di non veduti concetti, era ben convenevole alla sua regia dignità che come nelle parole, così nelle pagine, Christo non scrivesse *ut scriba*, con comunali caratteri, ma *sicut potestatem habens*, con cifre, ieroglifici, imagini e figure.[11]

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11   Tesauro Emanuele, *Il Commentario*, in idem, *Panegirici et Ragionamenti* (Venice, Giovanni Francesco Valvasense: 1671), II, 107: 'Considering that writing is silent speech and speaking is writing turned into speech, and both are clear images of invisible concepts, it was quite appropriate to his royal dignity that Christ, in [spoken] words as on the page, did not write *ut scriba* [as a scribe], with common characters, but *sicut potestatem habens* [as one endowed with authority], with symbols, hieroglyphs, images, and figures' (my translation). See Sawday J., *The Body Emblazoned. Dissection and the Human Body in Renaissance Culture* (London – New York: 1995) 134: 'The inter-relationship of text and body on the page, a mirror of the confrontation between text and body in the anatomy theatre, was related to the Renaissance conception of the body as itself being constituted as text—as the *liber corporum*—the book of the body written by God. God was thus the author of different kinds of text: the book of the world (i.e. the created universe) and the book of scripture (the Bible). [...] The anatomist, then, who 'read' the anatomy (relating body and

Such a linguistic exploration does not claim any scientific or historical accuracy, but recognizes in etymology the true and proper form of knowledge that perfectly suits the author's specific area of interest. Tesauro, in fact, seeks to open up the divine mystery through a rhetorically effective interpretation of its most evident sign in a human being. From this point of view, the most interesting aspect of Tesauro's image of the stigmata understood as 'openings' is represented by another word he uses to indicate a sudden disclosure of the human inner being represented by the piercing sores. They are in fact defined as 'gli strafori per cui tutte le Grazie a tutti gli uomini si trasfondono'.[12] That definition is similar to the one used by Tesauro in the *Cannocchiale aristotelico* to visualize the dynamics of metaphor. He compares the latter to a form of vision framed by a perspectival aperture: it is capable of encapsulating all objects in one icastic word, while miraculously allowing the viewer to discriminate amongst them.[13] He is referring to a partial view, then, which blocks direct vision, circumscribing it, and instead invites one to assume a certain vantage point and focus on the revealing point of view; to a form of verbal framing or, better, stratification, which reduces the value of objectivity in order to facilitate the unexpected and illuminating perception of witticism; and finally, to an attack upon the surface of language, and upon the objective element of vision, through a deep investigation of symbolics. In this sense, etymology itself may be considered a symbolic form, as well as a metaphorical opening up of the body of language, through which we can perceive both the semantic layers evidenced by the history of language and the ones still to be discovered. Considered as horizontally displayed signs that make the uniform surface of the skin discontinuous, and as vertical gaps into the body that show a stratified inner being, the stigmata are the object of a perspectival vision that suggests a relationship with the sacred articulated according to multi layered criteria of reality, knowledge, and experience.

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text together in the anatomy theatre) was reading two different kinds of text: a text written by human agency (the observations of his predecessors) and a text written by God, comprised of all the different members, sections, subsections, and partitions revealed in dissection'. See also the essays collected in Frese D.W. – O' Keeffe K.O. (eds.), *The Book and the Body* (Notre Dame and London: 1997).

12   Tesauro, *Il Memoriale* 355: 'His wounds are the holes through which all the Graces are transmitted to people' (my translation).

13   Tesauro, *Il Cannocchiale aristotelico* 301: 'Ma la metafora tutti a stretta li rinzeppa in un vocabulo, et quasi in miraculoso modo gli ti fa travedere l'un dentro all'altro [...] nella maniera che più curiosa et piacevol cosa è mirar molti obietti per un istraforo di perspettiva'.

The rhetorical elaboration of the concept of stigmata represents therefore a good example of the Baroque metaphorical style carefully analyzed by Tesauro. Consider, for instance, the metaphor of opposition which is able to shock and wake up the mind: the wounded body of Christ is just a kind of oxymoron, because the stigmata are present as wondrous signs in a body wracked by pain and misery; because they pierce the prostrate body with the marks of salvation; and because they may be construed as visible signs of magniloquence in a body otherwise consecrated to silence.[14] But it is, above all, the open memory of Christ's wounds that fully constitutes a discourse and a paradoxical apex of eloquence. In this light we may consider, for instance, a passage of *I miracoli del dolore*, a sacred discourse written by Tesauro à propos of the Passion:

> Hor questo fu il gran miracolo dell'ingenioso dolore, in un caso tanto estremo […]: che una idea della fortezza divenisse una idea del cordoglio […]. O che paradossi, che assurdi, che incompatibili contrarietà furono queste. Qual humano intendimento potrà capire […]. Maravigliose antitesi, et incompatibili contrarietà certamente son queste, generosissimi heroi; ma l'ingegnoso dolore […] miracolosamente oprò che le ripugnanze non ripugnassero, le discordanze concordassero, lo sconcerto fosse concerto.[15]

Another figure of speech often used to develop the Baroque euphuism of stigmata is the antithesis; we can find it in the previously mentioned panegyric dedicated to the Holy Shroud, *Il Commentario.* The dialectical relationship between the visible circumstances of matter (the author, the instruments, and

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14   See Most G.W., *Doubting Thomas* (Cambridge, Mass.: 2005) 42: 'Jesus' action of self-presentation condenses paradoxically into a single person the otherwise mutually exclusive antitheses of life (the subject of the action, the person who can show) and death (the object of the action, the mortal wounds, the dead person who is shown). We are used to a living victor pointing contemptuously down at his vanquished foe, or to a wounded survivor exhibiting proudly the injuries he has survived: but where have we ever seen a living person displaying himself as a dead one?'.

15   Tesauro Emanuele, *I miracoli del dolore*, in Idem, *Panegirici et Ragionamenti* (Venice, Giovanni Francesco Valvasense: 1671), III, 270, 282, 284: 'This was the big miracle of the ingenious pain, in a case so extreme […] that an idea of power became an idea of sorrow […]. What a paradox, what absurd and incompatible oppositions were these! What human being would be able to understand […]? Wonderful antithesis and incompatible oppositions are these, my most generous heroes; but the ingenious pain […] miraculously made sure that disgusting things did not disgust, that discordant things were in accordance, that disconcert was concerted' (my translation).

the act of writing as material support for the extraordinary development of memory) and the formal content (the elevated subject matter which shows Christ's triumph, in and through abjection and sorrow) is constantly visualized through the presentation of the sacred Shroud as a double image: its front and back sides serve to underscore the distinction between the Old and New Testaments, to express an opposition of values (between the ancients and modern people, Christians and Jews, the human race and divinity), and thereby rhetorically to produce an oxymoronic amplification of concepts. While maintaining the two qualities of the providential God—that is to say, the conservation of the past and contemplation of the future—the verbal image (or the iconic text) of the Shroud has to be analyzed in light of an approach to memory which is also an approach to power: the text makes sense only when it is read, touched, activated, or otherwise used as a way of remembering the incredible events memorialized on its surface, and in order both to encourage and guide the composition by the faithful of complementary narratives related to the history of salvation. After the Counter-Reformation, the representation of the naked and wounded body of Christ fully maintains the status of a *machina memorialis*, serving, as it had since the Middle Ages*,* as an instrument that could help the faithful as they immersed themselves in the pain of the Saviour and that could provide the opportunity for a functional *compunctio* of the senses and the intellect. In Tesauro and in the Baroque orators we have instead a superficial emotional involvement of the subject and a stronger interest in the euphuistic elaboration of literary images and conceits:[16]

> Anzi qual mistero, quale articolo della sua vita, nel sito e forma di queste due imagini non si rappresenta? Vuoi la nascita e la morte? Sospendi la

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16   See Groebner V., *Defaced. The Visual Culture of Violence in the Late Middle Ages* (New York: 2008) 119: 'Clearly, in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries people could see quite different things when they looked at a crucifix. We are accustomed to see in an image of the crucified Jesus a semiotic system of the second order, that is, a sign that announces: "I am a sign". [...] The picture of the abused Christ on the Cross advised contemplative *compassio* as self-knowledge and simultaneously portrayed Christ as the victim of a very earthly judicial authority. Pre-modern execution rituals were a mass medium, and paintings of the Passion and the moving images of the Passion plays constantly referred to them. The prominently emphasized blood was a symbol of the Eucharist, of the authenticity of the sacred—and at the same time of the denunciation of the Jews as diabolical falsifiers, Christ killers, and desecrators of images'. See also Bennett J., "Stigmata and Sense Memory: St Francis and the Affective Image", *Art History* 24/1 (2001) 1–16; and Belting H., "Franziskus. Der Körper als Bild", in Marek K. – Preisinger R. – Rimmele M. – Kärcher K. (eds.), *Bild und Körper im Mittelalter* (Munich: 2008) 21–40.

> Sindone e vi vedrai una imagine che sorge et un'altra che cade. Vuoi la
> sepoltura e il risorgere? Risupina la tela e vedrai ivi una imagine in atto di
> entrar nella tomba e l'altra di uscirne. Vuoi la scesa al limbo e la salita al
> cielo? Risospendi la Sindone, e troverai una imagine che scende e l'altra
> che sale. Vuoi gli affetti contrari di amare il giusto et odiare il malvagio?
> Ecco una imagine che ti mira e l'altra che si nasconde. Vuoi l'abbandona-
> mento degli ostinati e la giustificazione de' penitenti? Ecco una imagine
> che parte e l'altra che ritorna.[17]

For various reasons, the Shroud constitutes the most functional and effective
instrument for the Christian community to remember the event that consti-
tutes its foundation, to rebuild its identity by bearing witness to the wounds
of Christ, peering deeply into them, into an open God who reveals his vulner-
ability, his inner being, his incarnation.[18]

The Shroud alludes in a collective context to the introspective and personal
function fulfilled by the religious image in a private and domestic setting. The
careful examination of the corporeal map that the faithful can see with their
eyes and the precise anamnesis of the Passion narrative they build in their
minds indicate that such a reaction to the visual image is the result of a well-
structured education of the gaze. We can find many examples in Renaissance
and Baroque religious art depicting the focus of the mind on a particular

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17 Tesauro, *Il Commentario*, 131–132: 'Nay, what mystery, what part of his life cannot be repre-
    sented in the site and the form of these two images? Do you want his birth and death?
    Raise the Shroud and you will see an image which is rising and one which is falling. Do
    you want his burial and resurrection? Put the Shroud on its back and you will see an
    image entering the grave and one leaving it. Do you want the descent into limbo and
    the ascent to heaven? Again raise the Shroud and you will see a rising and a descending
    image. Do you want to experience the opposite affects of loving the good and hating the
    bad? Here you see an image which is looking at you and one which is hidden. Do you want
    the abandoning of the obstinate and the justification of the repentant? Here you have
    an image that leaves and another one which returns' (my translation). See Belting H., *La
    vraie image. Croire aux images?* (Paris: 2007) 134: 'Les spectateurs projetaient leurs propres
    souffrances sur un corps avec lequel ils s'identifiaient dans la Passion. Ce qui s'accom-
    plissait également dans leur regard, c'était le désir de triompher de leurs propres misères
    physiques par la médiation de leur représentant dans l'image'.

18 See Camille M., "Mimetic Identification and Passion Devotion in the Later Middle Ages.
    A Double-sided Panel by Meister Francke", in MacDonald A.A. (ed.), *The Broken Body.
    Passion Devotion in the Later Middle Ages* (Groningen: 1998) 183–210; Freedberg D., *The
    Power of Images: Studies in the History and Theory of Response* (Chicago: 1989); Beckwith S.,
    Christ's Body. Identity, Culture and Society in Late Medieval Writings (London – New York:
    1993).

wound.[19] Consider the gaze of Mary Magdalene in the *Lamentation over the Dead Christ* by Carlo Crivelli (1473): she looks inside the wound on Christ's hand in the same way as an Evangelist might look inside the open page of the Bible. Or examine the apostle Thomas in *The Incredulity of Saint Thomas* by Caravaggio (1601): his gaze penetrates the wound in Christ's side more deeply that does his probing finger. Or consider the gaze of anyone who examines the *imago pietatis* of the *Dead Christ* by Andrea Mantegna (c. 1470–1480), where the eye of the viewer is first captured by the five holes that seem to be strategically positioned to observe the observer and to catch his or her gaze. An evocative and efficient reification of this piercing sight is also offered by Gaspar Becerra with in his wooden effigy, the *Dead Christ* (mid-sixteenth century), preserved in the church of Las Descalzas Reales in Madrid. Embedded in the right side of Christ, a Eucharistic monstrance takes the place of the side-wound, its circular porthole providing the faithful with a place where, especially on Holy Friday, the host could be seen, taken into one's hands and eaten, directly from the wound to the mouth.[20] We face here a real *mise-en-scène* of the violent experience of *ruminatio*, which merges the memorial liturgies of the stigmata and the Eucharist—a fierce act of visual penetration that is also a conscious act of anamnestic reappropriation. In the same way, the faithful using the Shroud (both the real one and the one recalled by the verbal description of Tesauro) are observers of a scene, inspectors of a body, and at the same time anatomists of themselves, of the sins reflected in the deformity of the body's wounds, and of the debt they incurred in them by that lacerated body.

The devotion of the five wounds, and its link with religious inwardness, reveals a strong sensitivity to the affective potential of visuality and memory.[21]

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19   See Panofsky E., *Peinture et dévotion en Europe du Nord à la fin du Moyen Âge* (Paris: 1997) 13–28; and Most, *Doubting Thomas* 155–214.

20   See Didi-Huberman G., *L'immagine aperta. Motivi dell'incarnazione nelle arti visive* (Milan: 2008) 23 (with illustration).

21   Tammen S., "Blick und Wunde – Blick und Form: zur Deutungsproblematik der Seitenwunde Christi in der spätmittelalterlichen Buchmalerei", in Marek K. – Preisinger R. – Rimmele M. – Kärcher K. (eds.), *Bild und Körper im Mittelalter* (Munich: 2008) 104: 'Die Öffnung in Christi Seite korrespondiert so mit der Öffnung der Seelenaugen. In diesem Sinne schlug der vielgelesene Traktat für Prediger, den sein Verfasser Petrus von Limoges (gest. 1306) sinnigerweise *De oculo morali* nannte, vor, die Seitenwunde solle diejenige Öffnung sein, die der Gläubige am häufigsten betrachten möge. Jeder könne so in das Innere seines Gewissens eintreten und mit den Augen seines Geistes über Christi Wunde meditieren. Nach Biernoff verwendet Petrus denselben Begriff der Öffnung (*foramen*) für Wunde und für Pupille, was den Schluss nahelege, dass die Wunde die Qualität eines Auge erlange'.

From this point of view, it is interesting to note that in the panegyric *Il memoriale* Tesauro resorts to yet another term for the concept of stigmata, the word 'protratto':

> Eccovi dunque che, sì come i veri amanti per restar nel cuore quando parton dagli occhi, lasciano qualche cara memoria a chi resta; così dovendosi Cristo dividere dai cari amici per quel lungo viaggio dalla terra al Cielo presentò loro per memoriale il suo vivo et animato protratto, ricco di cinque inestimabili e fiammeggianti piropi: [...] un amoroso protratto che sveglia i sensi.[22]

Tesauro prefers the unusual French loan word 'protratto' (from the Latin 'pro-traho', which means 'to take out') to the more common Italian word 'ritratto' (from the Latin 're-traho', 'to pull back'), which is to say that he prefers a creative idea of memory built up during one's lifetime with the express intention of creating something new, over an idea of memory as the simple ability to keep and reproduce what is already known. If we consider the wounded body of Christ as the primary support for a memorial representation of the story of the Passion, then the imprinted surface of the Shroud enshrines the stigmatized body as an admirable self-portrait of Christ. The entire sacred panegyric *La Simpathia*, declaimed in 1656 in the cathedral of Turin, is based on this trope. The reliquary images of the stigmata exemplify a way of reading the sacrificial body of Christ.[23] Meditating on these mysterious holes, Tesauro tries to extract from them a memorable and persuasive speech. At the beginning of his panegyric, he makes use of the memorial metaphor of the book in order to clarify the testimonial value of the Shroud as a physical translation of the Holy Scriptures; but then he proceeds to comment on the protagonist of

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22   Tesauro, *Il Memoriale* 357–358: 'In the same way in which true lovers leave some cherished souvenirs to their beloved in order to remain in their hearts when they leave their eyesight, so Christ, when he had to separate from his beloved friends and start that long journey from earth to heaven, presented them with his vivid and animated portrait as a memorial [...], a loving portrait capable of waking up the senses' (my translation).

23   See Maggi A., "The Word's Self-Portrait in Blood: The Shroud of Turin as Ecstatic Mirror in Emanuele Tesauro's Baroque Sacred Panegyrics", *The Journal of Religion* 85 (2005) 584: 'The Shroud of Turin embodies the double nature of written and painted surface, but also of divine mirror where all things are reflected. Tesauro's metaphor speaks of an act of incarnation, in which a non-visible idea becomes flesh and bones. He emphasizes that the Shroud is at once the visualization of a concept (the Word's incarnation), but also the embodiment of such a visualized concept, given that the Shroud is "written" with the Word's own blood'.

the self-portrait, drawing upon the densely allusive potentialities of the image, to emphasize the eloquence of the relic and its memorial functions, and the excellence of the divine creator:

> Ma l'aspersion della Sindone, oh con quanta espressione mostrando anche hoggi l'esattissimo numero, la qualità, la misura, non pur delle cinque rammarginate cicatrici, ma di tutte le piaghe ancor aperte e stillanti, con altrettante bocche faconde pateticamente rappresenta e racconta gli inenarrabili suoi patimenti dal primo all'ultimo atto, l'hemorragia de' sanguigni sudori, le corrosioni delle noderose ritorte, la tisichezza della lunga inedia, il dilaniamento degli adunchi flagelli, la pastura delle voraci spine dintorno alle tempie, i profondi solchi dell'ignominioso patibolo sopra le spalle, le fosse de' chiodi travàli, la voragine della spietata lancia, il trabocco di tutto il sangue dalle sbarrate vene, l'abbandonamento dello Spirito, la giacitura del sepolcro, l'involgimento nella Sindone sparsa di aloè e di mirra.[24]

The wounds and the whole stigmatized body reproduced as fragments, each precisely portrayed and narrated, in a vivid and emotionally effective way— every detail therefore functions as a unique starting point for an imaginary

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24   Tesauro Emanuele, *La Simpathia*, in idem, *Panegirici et Ragionamenti* (Venice, Giovanni Francesco Valvasense: 1671), II, 35: 'Oh, how expressive is the Shroud as it shows, even today, the exact number, quality, and size not only of the five healed scars but of all the wounds that are still open and bleeding; with as many eloquent mouths it pathetically represents and narrates Christ's unutterable sufferings, the hemorrhage of his bloody sweat, the corrosions caused by the knotty ropes, his emaciation from long starvation, the lacerations caused by the sharp whips, the voracious thorns grazing on his temples, the deep signs left on his shoulders by the ignominious gallows, the holes of the nails, the crater of the cruel lance, all the blood pouring from his veins, his abandonment by the Spirit, his resting in the sepulchre, his being wrapped in the Shroud sprinkled with aloe and myrrh' (my translation). For the violence of the visual representation, see Groebner, *Defaced* 35: 'Representations of violence functioned to close the gap between immaterial and material images: that is, to create powerful realities, to "make" the beholder see. Pictures of violence were and are directions for use, for change. When they work, they go beyond the merely mimetic. Pictures of violence are intended to render invisible the difference between reflection and example, description and prescription. And like any good film or intelligent commercial today, they did this by using material pictures and accounts of *Ungestalt* to call up other, immaterial images in the heads of their audiences, images they knew and remembered from elsewhere'.

reconstruction of the entire scene, the complete story of the Passion of Christ.[25] With each detail impressed on the Shroud corresponds a station of the martyrdom; with their eyes roaming across this anatomic geography, the faithful can syntagmatically recompose the entire textual *corpus* of the evangelical narration in a visual compendium that allows an easy and immediate empathy.[26] The incarnation of the divine, examined in its extreme realization and attested by the materiality of the sacred linen shroud and by the corporeality of the image impressed upon it, is here presented as a new act of creation; and the pictorial image of the self-portrait ('protratto') coincides with (and is shown as) the act of representation:

> Ma ceda, ceda d'infinito tratto ogni simpathica et amorosa Imagine a questa sola, che nella Sindone Sacra dall'istesso amor divino fu delineata e dipinta. Imagine certamente amabilissima per l'artefice, per gli colori, per gl'instromenti, per il soggetto, e per gli effetti. Perché quel medesimo nume che di amore e di simpathia col fiato di un *Fiat* fabricò il mondo dalla sua idea, per fabricar questa imagine tutto solingo e raccolto nell'angusta et erma officina del suo sepolcro, con triduano studio si spremè tutto il Sangue per esprimere il suo *protratto*; giacendo senz'anima, animò la sua Pittura; […] Qui senz'uopo di mentitori pennelli, il sangue dipinse

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25   See Parshall P., "The Art of Memory and the Passion", *The Art Bulletin* 81/3 (1999) 463–464: 'In devotional subjects such as the Man of Sorrows the details of the Gospel narrative have been selected, modified, and conjoined into a repertoire of iconographic variants that are transnarrational, pictures meant to distill a poignant and isolated vision of pathos and to fix the Holy Face and the condition of Christ's human suffering in the spirit of the believer. […] Moreover, they are set pieces of mnemonic imagery, complete and autonomous in themselves, while at the same time resonant with the full and extended significance of the New Testament story of Christ's Incarnation and its confirmation in the Passion. Such a concept of an excerpted narrative image that contains within it the full span of the Passion has a diagrammatic counterpart in the *arma christi*, a panoply of motifs drawn from the Passion story that are shown surrounding the figure of Christ. […] One can take the *arma christi* as a kind of index of how the representation of the isolated figure of Christ as Man of Sorrows might have served as the matrix of a diagram that could then be read centrifugally to encompass the whole of the Passion story'.

26   See Groebner, *Defaced* 164: 'The theologians developed a new and very different style of representing physical violence. They began to describe the torments in the Passion of Christ and the martyrs down to the smallest details. This new mode of representation did not merely allow for the expression of feelings, but demanded it, thus altering not just what was depicted, but also the norms governing how pain was to be experienced. From this time on, it was no longer a sign of holiness to bear pain unmoved, but on the contrary, it was necessary to show pain demonstratively, lending it visual expression'.

il sangue, le piaghe pinser le piaghe, le vene pinser le vene, l'ossa dipinser l'ossa, il cuore dipinse il cuore; tutto il corpo se stesso pinse.[27]

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27   Tesauro, *La Simpathia* 37: 'But every sympathetic and amorous image must yield, infinitely yield, to this one alone, which divine love outlined and painted on the Holy Shroud—certainly a most lovely image because of its author, the colours, the instruments, the subject, and the effects. Because the same God who created the world out of love and sympathy by breathing a *Fiat,* when making this image, all alone in the constricted and solitary workshop of the sepulchre, in an effort lasting three days, squeezed all the blood from his body in order to paint his self-portrait; while lying soulless, he gave a soul to his picture; […] without using mendacious paint brushes, his blood painted the blood, his wounds painted the wounds, his veins painted the veins, his bones painted the bones, his heart painted the heart; his whole body painted the body' (my translation).

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CHAPTER 6

Claude-François Ménestrier: The Founder of 'Early Modern Grounded Theory'

David Graham

A less anachronistic rendering of this essay's deliberately provocative title might simply ask whether—and, if so, to what extent, and on what grounds—the copious and influential emblem theory of the seventeenth-century French Jesuit image theorist Claude-François Ménestrier (1631–1705) can legitimately be called modern.[1] In what follows, I will develop an affirmative response to the first part of that query, but before undertaking that exposition, I should list a few preliminary acknowledgements and disclaimers. The most important of these is that unlike the majority of other authors in this volume, I cannot claim overall expert knowledge of Jesuit image theory in general, or even of the entire Ménestrier corpus. The work of many scholars who are legitimate experts in these areas has been invaluable to me; this is particularly true in the case of Judi Loach, as will become clear, but the writing of Ralph Dekoninck and Anne-Élisabeth Spica has also been influential in my thinking. Their

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1   My use of the term 'theory' throughout this essay is consistent with the *Oxford English Dictionary*, which defines theory as 'A supposition or a system of ideas intended to explain something, especially one based on general principles independent of the thing to be explained: A set of principles on which the practice of an activity is based: "a theory of education"; "music theory"'. See http://www.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/english/ theory. Viewed in this light, 'emblem theory' is thus a set of principles or general statements intended to delineate both what the emblem is and what differentiates it from other, related forms. It may seem not only anachronistic but misguided to ask whether Ménestrier may have anticipated modern theoretical developments, given that he is often counted among the partisans of the 'Ancients' during the 'Querelle des Anciens et des Modernes', while at least some of his rivals were allied with the 'Modernes'. This is hardly surprising, given Ménestrier's training, temperament, and championing of classical models. As I hope to make clear, however, Ménestrier was in some respects an innovative and creative thinker; there may thus be legitimate grounds to re-evaluate his emblem theory using modern criteria. On Ménestrier's role in the *Querelle*, see, e.g., Judi Loach, "Menestrier's Emblem Theory", *Emblematica* 2, 2 (1987) 317–336, at 328. Although the first salvo in the *Querelle* is Perrault's 1687 poem "Le siècle de Louis le Grand", published after the second of Ménestrier's two treatises on emblem theory, the battle lines had been drawn up long before.

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work, and that of others, will be frequently cited; even when not explicitly mentioned, however, it underpins all that follows. In developing my thoughts on Ménestrier's potential claim to contemporary theoretical relevance, I will focus primarily on *process* and *approach* in Ménestrier rather than on the *content* of his emblem theory per se: in this way, too, what follows may differ from most other essays presented here.

As is well known by emblem scholars, Ménestrier wrote two printed theoretical treatises on emblem theory with the same title, *L'Art des Emblêmes*, published in 1662 and 1684.[2] Such an occurrence is unique in his voluminous work.[3] As will become clear below, there is considerable disagreement about the extent to which these two treatises overlap in content and purpose. Assessments of Ménestrier's contribution to emblem theory also diverge dramatically, and, as we shall see, it is legitimate to question whether he can even be called a theorist at all. In what follows, I will begin by briefly reviewing traditional assessments of Ménestrier as an emblem theorist; I will then discuss the historical, intellectual, and personal context for the 1662 and 1684 treatises devoted to emblems and—ostensibly at least—to emblem theory; I will examine their similarities and differences in content and style, analysing explanations previously suggested for these, especially by Judi Loach, who has discussed them at length on more than one occasion. Finally, I will assess Ménestrier's new apparent knowledge of and critical appreciation in the 1684 treatise for the place of emblems in print—as opposed to material or festival—culture: this key element of difference between the two volumes

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2 The first of these is readily available in digital form online, both through the Internet Archive (http://www.archive.org) and Gallica (http://gallica.bnf.fr). The second is not, though it has been reprinted by Georg Olms Verlag as part of the "Emblematisches Cabinet" series; Paul Allut, in *Recherches sur la vie et sur les œuvres du P. Claude-François Menestrier de la Compagnie de Jésus* (Lyons: 1856) provides a plausible explanation for the rarity of the 1684 treatise, which appears to have shared the fate of many illustrated emblem and fable books from the period: 'Le grand nombre de figures gravées dans le texte a tenté sans doute la convoitise des enfants, qui se sont amusés à les découper, & ont ainsi détruit tous les exemplaires qui ont passé par leurs mains. Cela expliquerait la rareté de ce volume'. ('The large number of engraved figures in the text no doubt tempted the covetousness of children, who amused themselves by cutting them out, and thus destroyed every copy that passed through their hands. That would explain the rarity of this volume', 174) the 1662 treatise uses the spelling 'embleme'; the 1684, 'emblême'.

3 Ménestrier's published output amounts to over 150 works during the half-century spanned by his career from 1655 to 1705; see Adams A. – Rawles S. – Saunders A.M. (eds.), *A Bibliography of Claude-François Menestrier: Printed Editions, 1655–1765* (Geneva: 2012) XI.

may not have been emphasized sufficiently before now. In my conclusion, I will contend that Ménestrier is, at least in some important ways, a harbinger of modern critical theory. Before engaging in that discussion, however, it will be useful to say a few words about the context—intellectual, historical, and personal—of Ménestrier's work on emblem theory.

Many scholars of early modernity have repeatedly and correctly emphasized the transitional nature of the early modern era. Image theory in general, and emblem theory in particular, undergo extremely rapid development between the time of Andrea Alciato, the originator of the emblem craze in Europe, and the late 1600s, during what Daniel Russell has called the 'emblematic age' in France, that is to say, between 1534, when Alciato's emblems first appeared in an unauthorized edition produced by the Augsburg printer Heinrich Steyner, and the time of Daniel de la Feuille, whose anthologies of emblematic motifs for designers are both well known and entirely derivative. Jean-François Groulier has gone so far as to contend that the late seventeenth century was a period of real crisis for image theory:

> Et lorsque le Père Claude-François Ménestrier entreprend l'élaboration de sa vaste « philosophie des images », l'incomparable taxinomie de toutes les figures symboliques à l'âge classique, le régime des similitudes et des analogies s'est déjà singulièrement transformé, *de sorte qu'on peut parler d'une crise de la métaphoricité de la représentation symbolique en général.* Conçu alors qu'il compose divers emblèmes et devises en l'honneur du chancelier Séguier, le projet s'ébauche en un temps où un Kircher ou un Tesauro n'ont pas encore achevé leurs recherches érudites et théoriques.

> And when Father Claude-François Ménestrier takes on the elaboration of a vast 'philosophy of images', the incomparable taxonomy of all the symbolic figures of the neoclassical era, the regime of similitudes and analogies has been singularly transformed, *in such a way that one may speak of a crisis of the metaphoricity of symbolic representation in general.* Conceived when he was composing various emblems and devices in honour of Chancellor Séguier, the project is being sketched out at a time when the Kirchers and Tesauros have not yet completed their erudite and theoretical research.[4]

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4   Groulier J.-F., "Monde symbolique et crise de la figure hiéroglyphique dans l'oeuvre du P. Ménestrier", *Dix-septième siècle* 158 (1988) 94 (emphasis added).

The work of Ménestrier recapitulates in some respects both this rapid development and the many acute tensions inherent in image/emblem theory, but there have been few critical studies in comparison with the sheer volume of his writings on the subject. As Judi Loach has written,

> Depuis plus de 150 ans, le portrait généralement accepté de Ménestrier est surtout modelé d'après l'unique monographie consacrée au 'Père Claude-François Ménestrier', celle de Paul Allut publiée à Lyon en 1856.

> For more than 150 years, the generally accepted portrait of Ménestrier has been patterned particularly on the sole monograph devoted to 'Father Claude-François Ménestrier', that of Paul Allut, published in Lyons in 1856.[5]

In Laurence Grove and Daniel Russell's bibliography of secondary source material on French emblems, the number of modern publications devoted to Ménestrier and his work is very small in comparison to his own output.[6] There is a noticeable increase in interest in the 1980s, however, with the publication of eight articles and chapters, including two specifically on his emblem theory,[7] a trend that has continued since the publication of Grove and Russell.

Traditional assessments of Ménestrier's emblem theory tend to reach divergent conclusions. Daniel Russell concluded years ago that an apparently insatiable thirst to list and categorize the most minute taxonomic divisions may actually have impeded the ability of Ménestrier and other early modern theorists to reach a sound understanding of the emblem and its allied genres:

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5 Loach J., "De Ménestrier lyonnais à Ménestrier jésuite: Un voyage historiographique", in Sabatier G. (ed.), *Claude-François Ménestrier: les jésuites et le monde des images*, La Pierre et l'Écrit (Grenoble: 2009) 11–26. It must be said that while Allut does provide a 'portrait' of Ménestrier's life, together with basic bibliographical information about his work, readers looking for any real analysis of Ménestrier's contributions will find his study sorely lacking in that respect.

6 Grove L. – Russell D., *The French Emblem: Bibliography of Secondary Sources* (Geneva: 2000) 142–144; for a comprehensive bibliography of Ménestrier's work, see Adams – Rawles – Saunders (eds.), *A Bibliography of Claude-François Menestrier*. Grove and Russell list only one true monograph devoted to Ménestrier (Allut's *Recherches*, published in 1856), and a handful of articles.

7 Graham D., "Pour une rhétorique de l'emblème: l'*Art des emblèmes* du père Claude-François Menestrier", *Papers on French Seventeenth-Century Literature* 14, 26 (1987) 13–36; Loach J., "Menestrier's Emblem Theory".

> [T]he endless litany of postulates, rules, provisos and distinctions in the treatises on the emblematic forms leaves one with the impression that the discussion was even more confused, the various questions even more vexed, at the end of the 17th century than at the beginnings of the debate in Italy more than a hundred years earlier.[8]

Viewed in this light, Ménestrier cannot accurately be characterized as a theorist at all; rather, he is at best a skilled taxonomist, at worst, a tireless and methodical, but tedious and repetitive enumerator, a point of view I have also taken:

> Les premières tentatives « scientifiques » de créer une taxinomie systématique de l'emblème, nous les devons à Claude-François Ménestrier, dont les remarquables travaux en vue de la systématisation de l'emblème peuvent à juste titre être qualifiés […] d'herculéens.

> We owe the first 'scientific' attempts to create a systematic taxonomy of the emblem to Claude-François Ménestrier, whose remarkable work aimed at systematizing the emblem may […] rightly be called 'Herculean'.[9]

Writing more recently than Russell, Gérard Sabatier has observed that Ménestrier's attempts to systematize his thinking, however heroic they may be, are paradoxically undisciplined:

> Il suffit d'ouvrir le moindre de ses ouvrages pour être saisi par une pensée tourbillonnante, incapable de circonscrire son sujet et de s'y tenir, mais fusant constamment en ouvertures, en perspectives, en enchaînements sans fin.

> One needs only to open the slightest of his works to be struck by a swirling thought process, incapable of circumscribing its subject and sticking

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8   Russell D., *The Emblem and Device in France*, French Forum Monographs 59 (Lexington, KY: 1985) 161.

9   Graham D., "Alciat gaulois, ou *Hercules triplex*", in Rolet A. – Rolet S. (eds.), *André Alciat (1492–1550): un humaniste au confluent des savoirs dans l'Europe de la* Renaissance (Turnhout: 2013) 412.

to it, but constantly shooting off in new directions, with new outlooks and linkages without end.[10]

In addition, as Sabatier drily reminds the reader, Ménestrier's dream of bringing order into this body of knowledge was quite simply impossible: already, by his time, such an undertaking far exceeded even the capacities of an ideal Renaissance man.[11] The sheer practical impossibility of Ménestrier's syncretic project may thus also support the view that he is not a theorist at all; as I hope to show, however, certain aspects of his method suggest a fundamental difference of approach between his two treatises that may reflect an evolution toward something akin to some schools of modern theoretical methodology.

To place Ménestrier's contributions on the emblem in context, it is useful to recall, as Anne-Élisabeth Spica reminds us, that the intellectual climate of the emblem had changed between Alciato's day and that of Ménestrier:

> Si au XVIe siècle les promoteurs de l'emblème ont été principalement des juristes, et si ceux de l'idéal aristocratique de la devise ont été nobles eux-mêmes, ou secrétaires des grands de ce monde, après 1620, *ce sont bel et bien les jésuites, surtout des provinces germaniques et françaises, moins italiennes ou espagnoles, qui composent tous les ouvrages de fond consacrés à ce que le P. Ménestrier a appelé la « philosophie des images ».*

> If in the sixteenth century the promoters of the emblem were primarily jurists, and promoters of the aristocratic ideal of the device were primarily either noble in their own right, or intimate servants of the great, after 1620 *it is indeed the Jesuits, especially those of the German and French provinces, less so the Italian and Spanish, who are composing all the substantive works devoted to what Fr. Ménestrier called the 'philosophy of images'.*[12]

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10 Sabatier G., "Ménestrier ou la jubilation des images", in Sabatier G. (ed.), *Claude-François Ménestrier: les jésuites et le monde des images*, La Pierre et l'Écrit (Grenoble: 2009) 8.

11 'Sans oublier son entreprise impossible de mettre de l'ordre dans un savoir qui désormais excédait les capacités de l'homme universel rêvé par la Renaissance' (Sabatier, "Ménestrier ou la jubilation des images" 9).

12 Spica A.-É., "Les jésuites et l'emblématique", *Dix-septième siècle* 2007/4, 237 (2007) 642, emphasis added. For an account of the extent to which Jesuit "corporate culture" promoted commonality of views, see Bailey G.A., "'Le style jésuite n'existe pas': Jesuit Corporate Culture and the Visual Arts", in J.W. O'Malley et al. (eds.), *The Jesuits. Culture, Sciences, and the Arts, 1540–1773* (Toronto: 1999) 38–89. On the centrality of allegory in Jesuit visual theory, see Fabre P.-A., "L'allégorie est-elle une figure fondatrice de la culture jésuite?", in Sabatier G. (ed.), *Claude-François Ménestrier : les jésuites et le monde des images* (Grenoble: 2009) 83–101.

The world of seventeenth-century French Jesuit emblem theory of course included many influential thinkers in addition to Ménestrier, of whom the best known to scholars outside the field of emblem studies is probably Dominique Bouhours, whose essay on devices in *Les Entretiens d'Ariste et d'Eugène*[13] was considered a point of reference for generations prior to the development of modern emblem scholarship. Other influential Jesuit thinkers include Louis Richeome, author of the treatise *Tableaux sacrez*,[14] and the much less well-known Pierre Labbé (or L'Abbé), whose brief essay is cited by Ménestrier.[15] In comparison to that of his fellow Jesuit thinkers, however, Ménestrier's contribution to emblem theory is unique in several important ways.

First, Ménestrier appears to be unique in being a holistic systematizer. His two treatises on emblem theory occupy, in terms of their volume, a very small portion of his total output, and a relatively minor part of his publications on image theory, which span the entire gamut of the genres of visual production current in his day.[16] His devotion to festival and other forms of applied visual culture is also singular: lasting throughout his career, it resulted in many publications devoted to royal and princely entries, to tournaments and chivalry, to musical and theatrical performance, and to a wide range of

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13   Bouhours, Dominique, *Les entretiens d'Ariste et d'Eugène* (Paris, Sebastien Mabre-Cramois: 1671). The fact that students were referred to this essay for so long bears witness to the systematic confusion of emblem and device in critical thinking, and to the failure of the heroic efforts of Ménestrier and other early modern writers to distinguish the genres successfully.

14   Richeome Louis, *Tableaux sacrez des figures mystiques du tres-auguste sacrifice et sacrement de l'Eucharistie, etc*. (Paris, Laurens Sonnius: 1601).

15   L'Abbé Pierre, "De Emblemate", in *Petri L'abbé e Societate Iesu Elogia sacra theologica et philosophica, regia, eminentia, illustria, historica, poetica, miscellanea* (Graz, Ph. Charuys: 1664) 427–429.

16   In addition to the two treatises on emblem theory, a list of his publications on image theory alone, and on its application to various forms of social activity, would certainly include the following, listed in chronological order: *Le véritable art du blason et l'origine des armoiries* (Lyons, Benoît Coral: 1659); *Abbrégé méthodique des principes héraldiques, ou du Véritable art du blason* (Lyons, Benoît Coral: 1661); *Traité des tournois, joustes, carrousels et autres spectacles publics* (Lyons, Jean Muguet: 1669); *Le Chemin de l'honneur, jeu d'armoiries* (Lyons, Benoît Coral: 1672); *La Philosophie des images, composée d'un ample recueil de devises* (Paris, Robert J.B. de la Caille: 1682); *La méthode du blason* (Paris, E. Michallet: 1688); *Histoire du règne de Louis-Le-Grand par les médailles, emblèmes, devises, jetons, inscriptions, armoiries et autres monuments publics* (Paris, B. Nolin: 1689); *Le jeu de cartes du blason* (Lyons, Thomas Amaulry: 1692); *La Philosophie des images énigmatiques, où il est amplement traité des énigmes, hiéroglyphiques, oracles, prophéties, sorts, divinations, loteries, talismans, songes, etc.* (Lyons, Jacques Lions: 1694); *La Nouvelle méthode raisonnée du blason, pour l'apprendre d'une manière aisée, réduite en leçons par demandes et par réponses* (Lyons, Thomas Amaulry: 1696).

similar activities.[17] Finally, he is unique in having a primarily rhetorical and prescriptive view of emblems, a tendency apparently resulting from his early dependence on Tesauro and his own late emblematic practice.[18]

Ralph Dekoninck[19] and Judi Loach have usefully summarized additional differences between Ménestrier and some of his fellow Jesuit theorists such as Louis Richeome. While there is a general tendency in the second half of the seventeenth century toward an increasingly rhetorical approach,[20] Loach has often emphasized the underlying theological and spiritual aims of Ménestrier, for example in her assertion that 'Menestrier's emblematic treatises contrasted with their predecessors largely because he was writing with a different audience in mind, and with a different end in view; moreover, his underlying theorizing was dictated by a specific theological impetus'.[21] As Dekoninck has written, Ménestrier's treatment of the 'image symbolique' in *La Philosophie des Images*

> vient confirmer *la visée pragmatique* de la réflexion de Ménestrier. […] [L]'image savante de ce dernier ne coïncide pas avec la figure mystique d'un Richeome, conçue, je le rappelle, pour rendre compte d'un mystère. […] S'il insiste sur l'origine sacrée de l'énigme, […] ce n'est pas pour fonder le signe en essence, comme le fait encore Richeome d'une certaine manière, mais pour asseoir le prestige de l'image en lui donnant une origine divine et en légitimant de cette manière sa place centrale dans tout processus noétique.

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17 See, for example, the following: *Traité des tournois, joustes, carrousels et autres spectacles publics*; *Des Représentations en musique anciennes et modernes* (Paris, René Guignard: 1681); *Des Ballets anciens et modernes selon les règles du théâtre* (Paris, René Guignard: 1682); *Des Décorations funèbres, où il est amplement traité des tentures, des lumières, des mausolées, catafalques, inscriptions et autres ornemens funèbres* (Paris, Robert J.B. de la Caille: 1683); and *Décorations faites dans la ville de Grenoble, pour la réception de Mgr le duc de Bourgogne et de Mgr le duc de Berry, avec des réflexions et des remarques sur la pratique et les usages des décorations* (Grenoble, A. Fremon: 1701).

18 For this, see Loach J., "L'influence de Tesauro sur le père Ménestrier", in Serroy J. (ed.), *La France et l'Italie au temps de Mazarin* (Grenoble: 1986).

19 Dekoninck R., "La Philosophie des images: D'une ontologie à une pragmatique de l'image", in Sabatier G. (ed.), *Claude-François Ménestrier: les jésuites et le monde des images* (Grenoble: 2009) 103–113.

20 See the contributions of Dekoninck and Guiderdoni, elsewhere in this volume.

21 See Loach J., "Why Menestrier Wrote about Emblems, and What Audience(s) He Had in Mind", *Emblematica* 12 (2002) 276.

provides confirmation of the *pragmatic aim* of Ménestrier's reflection. [...] The latter's 'learned image' does not coincide with the mystical image of Richeome, which was conceived, as I have stated, to account for a mystery. [...] If he [Ménestrier] emphasises the sacred origin of the enigma [...] it is not to ground the sign in essence [...] as Richeome still does to a certain extent, but to give the image's prestige a stable footing by granting it a divine origin and by legitimising in this way its central place in any noetic process.[22]

As we will see, Ménestrier's highly pragmatic vision, though present from the outset, will remain in force but will alter in focus between the two versions of *L'Art des Emblêmes.* If Ménestrier is indeed a legitimate theorist, his two volumes on *L'Art des Emblêmes* must supply the key to any comprehensive understanding of his emblem theory. As previously mentioned, the publication of two volumes with the same title is unique among Ménestrier's 150 published works, a fact that suggests a need on Ménestrier's part to make perfectly clear that his thinking had substantially changed on this subject in the 25 years that separated their composition and the more than two decades between their dates of publication.[23]

The 1662 *Art des Emblemes* actually seems to have been composed in 1658–1659, during a very fertile period in Ménestrier's thinking;[24] the three-year delay in publication appears to have resulted in part from a polemic (see below) that may have hampered Ménestrier's ability to secure permission to publish from his superiors. Casual assessments of the two treatises based on superficial comparisons of length and appearance are more frequently found, however, and have usually concluded that the two works have little in common; as Loach has pointed out, 'It has usually been assumed that Menestrier's 1662 treatise on emblems is a totally different work from his 1684 treatise on the same subject [...]'.[25] She then quotes Allut's assessment, which indeed

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22   Dekoninck R., "La Philosophie des images" 111, emphasis added.

23   Judi Loach has discussed the two published versions in detail in several studies ("Menestrier's Emblem Theory", "Body and Soul", "Why Menestrier Wrote about Emblems", and "The Biographical Context of Menestrier's *Art des Emblèmes* of 1684"). A third treatise (the "Traité des emblêmes"), very different in approach and purpose, was never published, and exists in manuscript form only (see Loach, "Why Menestrier Wrote about Emblems").

24   For the complex and fascinating story of the genesis of this work, see Loach, "Emblem Books as Author-Publisher Joint Ventures: The Case of Menestrier and Coral's Production of the 1662 *Art des Emblemes*", *Emblematica* 15 (2007) 229–318.

25   See Loach, "Menestrier's Emblem Theory" 323.

states just that: 'Cet ouvrage [1684] n'a de commun que le titre avec celui que le P. Menestrier avoit publié vingt-deux ans auparavant sur le même sujet, Lyon, Benoist Coral, 1662' ('This work (1684) has only its title in common with the one that Fr. Menestrier had published 22 years previously on the same subject, Lyons, Benoist Coral, 1662').[26] There is certainly general agreement, however—and on this point Loach's thinking does not seem to have changed fundamentally over the years—that '[t]here are certainly marked differences of appearance between the two treatises'.[27] Whether the differences are ones of appearance and bulk only, or more substantive in nature, remains open to debate, however, and a detailed comparison of the two volumes is needed if one is to gain a clear understanding of this central point.

As Loach has often reminded us,[28] the 1662 *Art des Emblemes* must be seen in the context of Ménestrier's personal circumstances at the time of its composition. The first feature of his intellectual activity during that pivotal year is his intense and burgeoning interest in codifying a systematic image theory, which comes to the fore for the first time. Ménestrier's vitriolic polemic about heraldry with a senior priest, Claude Le Laboureur,[29] is also central to his concerns at that time. Finally, his deep personal involvement in a wide variety of high-profile emblematic festival programmes around the time he was writing this early treatise clearly seems to have prompted him to think about the origin, place, and theory of emblems in an applied context. Loach's work thus indirectly confirms that Ménestrier's theoretical approach at this time was unusually pragmatic, largely through his intense interest in and experience with 'applied emblematics' in civic and festival culture. This initial practical focus deeply colours his early theoretical work.

As Loach has rightly emphasized, the early Ménestrier in 1658–1659, at the time of composition of the first *Art des Emblemes*, was also very much the theoretical acolyte of Tesauro. In other words, despite the spiritual and theological underpinnings on which any image theory developed by a Jesuit would

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26   Allut, *Recherches* 170; quoted by Loach, "Menestrier's Emblem Theory" 323.

27   Loach, "Menestrier's Emblem Theory" 323.

28   See Loach J., "Menestrier's Emblem Theory", "Body and Soul", "Why Menestrier Wrote about Emblems, "Emblem Books as Author-Publisher Joint Ventures"; "Camille's Friend and Camille's Foe" in Adams A.—Ford Ph.—Rawles St., *Le livre demeure: Studies in Book History in Honour of Alison Saunders*, *Cahiers d'Humanisme et Renaissance* 97 (Geneva: 2011) 195–220; and "The Biographical Context of Menestrier's *Art des Emblèmes* of 1684", unpublished conference paper, Renaissance Society of America (New York, NY: 2014).

29   For the details of this polemic, which pitted Ménestrier against a very senior adversary, see especially Loach, "Camille's Friend and Camille's Foe".

perforce be founded, it is rhetoric—thus practicality—rather than spirituality that is the overriding factor.[30]

The art of painting, applied emblematic practice, and theoretical authority: these were Ménestrier's watchwords at the time when he was composing the 1662 *Art des Emblemes*. A reading of the first chapters of the treatise quickly reveals that they are not theoretical at all, strictly speaking: on the contrary, they tend to bear out Daniel Russell's acerbic assessment, quoted earlier in this essay. Ménestrier uses them to summarize much of what had already been written about the moralizing visual genres, which he calls 'peintures savantes [learned paintings]'. Chapter 1 ("Des Peintures sçavantes en general") begins with a standard panegyric on the art of painting, which Ménestrier describes as 'l'Ecole des sages, et l'estude des souverains [the School of sages, and the study of sovereigns]'. Painting, he tells us, is everywhere, and nearly everything in nature is actually or potentially a painting: 'Toute la Nature est une boutique de Peintre, ou l'on void des tableaux de toutes les montres [All Nature is a Painter's shop, where one sees paintings of all kinds]'. The basis for his presentation of painting, not surprisingly, is neoplatonic, in that painting makes concrete the divine mental forms that cannot otherwise be perceived. The lengthy enumeration of the various categories of potential text-image combinations (hieroglyph, enigma, rebus, monogram, device, blason, medal) which follows makes clear that these forms themselves are derived from the quasi-divine form, painting: 'C'est de cet art merveilleux, que sont sortis les Emblemes, les devises, les Enigmes, les chiffres, les blasons, & les empreintes des medailles et des monnoyes, qui font une partie des Belles Lettres [From this marvelous art sprang emblems, devices, enigmas, ciphers, blazons, and the imprints of medals and coins, which form part of Belles Lettres]'. After this introduction, Ménestrier devotes the concluding section of the chapter, some eight pages in all, to a discussion of these other text-image genres. The first chapter thus has nothing specific to say about emblems, or about emblem theory, at all.

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30   On this point, see also Graham, "Pour une rhétorique de l'emblème". Ralph Dekoninck has raised similar issues elsewhere in this volume with regard to the 'rhetoricisation' of French Jesuit image theory during the seventeenth century: 'Assimilée aux figures du discours, l'imago figurata quitte ainsi progressivement le champ théologique et exégétique de la figura pour gagner celui de la persuasion rhétorique. Quelle que soit la forme que prenne la « figure de similitude » (symbole, énigme, emblème, parabole, apologue ou hiéroglyphe), elle constitue la pierre de touche de l'éloquence' ('Included among the figures of speech, the *imago figurata* thus progressively departs from the theological and exegetical field of the *figura* to move into that of rhetorical persuasion. What form the "figure of similitude" (symbol, enigma, emblem, parable, apology, or hieroglyph) may take, it constitutes the touchstone of eloquence').

The remaining introductory chapters are similar. Chapter 2 ("Du nom & de la définition de l'Embleme") also relies heavily on ancient and modern authority (Suetonius, Cebes, Philostratus, and Claude Mignault's commentaries on Alciato). Interestingly, though Ménestrier describes Alciato as the first to have brought emblems into the limelight after the rediscovery of classical antiquity, he is categorical in stating that Alciato's celebrated preface to Conrad Peutinger says nothing more than what the Ancients said about the emblem when they took as emblems every figure on gold and silver vases ('ces vers ne disent rien de plus, que ce les anciens ont dit, quand ils ont pris pour Emblemes toutes les figures des vases d'or et d'argent' (14)). Ménestrier's aim in this chapter seems to be twofold: first, he intends to make clear that the emblem is really a classical invention, not a modern one. Given the role he was to play later on in the "Querelle des Anciens et des Modernes", this is hardly surprising, but it does have the effect of considerably reducing the emblem's specificity. Second, and this intention builds directly on the first, Ménestrier expands the emblem by defining it, as Jean Baudoin and Claude Mignault do, as 'une peinture servant à instruire, et qui sous une figure ou plusieurs comprend des advis utiles à toute sorte de personnes [a painting that provides instruction, and that beneath one or many figures includes advice useful to every kind of person]' (19). While he does cite certain specific emblems of Alciato (nos. 97, 100, and 110), this is primarily to support his contention that the emblem is a 'learned lesson' ['un enseignement sçavant'] because it is often used to explain natural phenomena (17).

Chapter 3 of the 1662 treatise, ostensibly devoted to differentiating emblems from other kinds of text-image hybrids, skirts the subject in two ways: first, by discussing those other hybrids (e.g., the hieroglyph and the enigma) rather than the emblem; second, by simply listing what Giovio and Ruscelli had to say about the *impresa*, and in particular, their highly codified set of rules to govern its form. Chapter 4 follows naturally from this, in that it tackles the various "species" of the emblem; here, we are truly in the heart of Ménestrier at his taxonomic best, as he discusses natural, artificial, historical, fabulous, chimerical, symbolic, and heroic emblems. It can be readily seen from the foregoing that Ménestrier's approach throughout these introductory chapters is that of the academic ornithologist who has read everything written about birds of paradise but has never actually seen one. This impression is considerably reinforced in Chapter 5, where in treating the parts of the emblem (which he defines as the painting, the motto, and the verses), he illustrates his text with a triumphal arch that bears no resemblance to anything we might choose as a typical emblem today: clearly drawn from festival culture, it has no text, merely an allegorical figure atop a triumphal arch.

This figure [Fig. 6.1] is typical of those to be found in the 1662 treatise. Virtually without exception, emblem scholars now take the printed emblem—as it developed from the appearance of the first unauthorized Augsburg editions in 1531, through the first authorized editions that appeared in Paris in 1534, and then through the seventeenth century—as the baseline for consideration of other emblematic manifestations. As Judi Loach has pointed out, however, it is clear that Ménestrier's first *Art des Emblemes* was not about emblem books—or indeed, really about any form of print culture—at all:

> [I]t is noteworthy that in his first published treatise on devices or emblems, his *Art des Emblemes* of 1662, [Ménestrier] explicitly drew all the examples comprising the concluding *Recueil* [collection] not from emblem books but rather from the relations recording specific festivals.[31]

The examples in the 1662 treatise thus derive from what emblem theorists now call 'applied emblematics'[32] and not from printed emblem books per se. Just as the text of the first chapters is far from theoretical in any real sense, then, so are the figures quite clearly not ones most modern scholars would immediately characterize as emblems proper. While 'emblematic' in the sense that they derive indirectly from emblematic originals, they have been recreated as practical visual supporting elements in one or another festival context. They are not so much emblems, then, as emblematic reminiscences.

Even by the time of the 1684 treatise, Ménestrier's own words tend to confirm that he was less interested in emblem theory than in practice and authority; in the first pages of his treatise, he writes that

> C'est de ces Emblêmes que j'entreprens de rechercher *l'origine, la matiere, la forme, & les usages, pour essayer d'en establir les regles sur les exemples des Anciens*, & d'en former un Art fixe et arresté, comme les autres arts que nous avons reçus des Grecs.

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31   Loach, "Body and Soul" 33.

32   Emblem scholars use the term 'applied emblematics' to refer to the use of motifs—text, image, or both—taken from or related to originals found in printed emblem books. These are commonly found in many areas of the applied arts in addition to festival culture: numismatics, tapestry, embroidery, ceramics, glassware, architecture, tableware, gravestones, and so forth, and bear witness to the pan-European pervasiveness of the emblem phenomenon during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.
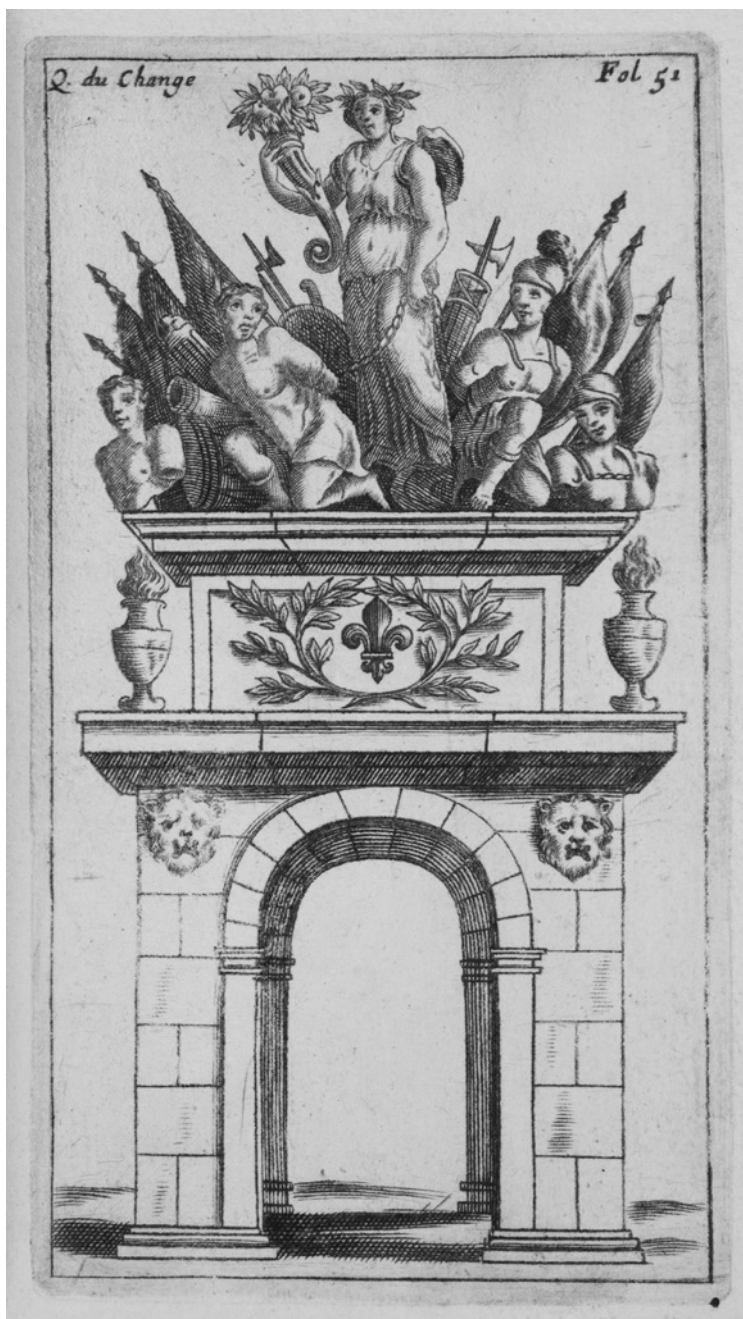
FIGURE 6.1 *Triumphal arch, from Cl.-Fr. Ménestrier,* L'Art des Emblemes
            (*Lyons, Benoît Coral: 1662*), *following p. 50.*
            IMAGE COPYRIGHT GLASGOW UNIVERSITY, REPRODUCED BY
            PERMISSION OF SPECIAL COLLECTIONS, GLASGOW UNIVERSITY
            LIBRARY.

> I am undertaking to uncover the origin, the matter, the form, and the uses of these Emblems, so as to attempt to establish their rules using examples drawn from the Ancients, and so as to create from them a fixed and stable Art, like the other arts that we have received from the Greeks.[33]

A few pages later, he contends that

> l'Emblême est la plus étendue de toutes les images ingenieuses, & par consequent la plus aisée à trouver. Mais *pour en donner les regles, il en faut connoistre plus exactement la matiere, la forme, les especes, & les usages.*

> The Emblem is the most extensive of all the ingenious images, and consequently the easiest to find. But to set out its rules, one must know most exactly its matter, its form, its kinds, and its uses.[34]

His purpose thus seems to be largely one of codifying the emblem and of setting out a rigorous rule-based paradigm to govern the composition and use of emblems, rather than one of developing what we would nowadays recognize as a theoretical predictive framework that might account for the structure and function of the emblem.

Three concrete differences between the 1662 and 1684 treatises are immediately apparent even on casual examination. The first is the question of overall length, which increases by about 150% between 1662 and 1684, from 160 to more than 400 pp. This increase is, it transpires, largely the result of two rather more fundamental alterations to the treatise, the first and most immediately noticeable of which is the addition of a very large number of relatively poor-quality woodcuts.[35] The increase is also the result of the expansion of most 1662 chapters and the addition in the 1684 treatise of three new introductory chapters: these concern the 'nature', the 'matière', and the 'forme' of emblems,

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33   Ménestrier Claude-François, *L'Art des emblêmes, où s'enseigne la morale par les Figures de la Fable, de l'Histoire, & de la Nature* (Paris: 1684) 3.

34   Ibidem 18.

35   'Although the two works share a common structure and substantial sections of text in the first are virtually repeated in the second, their content differs sufficiently for them to be counted as separate works. In fact the later work is far more than twice as long as the first, mainly due to the inclusion of far more examples, and *includes a much larger number of in-text illustrations*; (however, the earlier work had included eleven full-plate copperplate engravings, inserted in between pages of printed text, whereas the later work has none)'. Loach, "The Biographical Context of Menestrier's *Art des Emblèmes* of 1684".

TABLE 6.1   *Summary of Judi Loach's comparative analysis of the 1662 and 1684 chapters*

1662	1684	Loach's comment (1987)
4	5–6	Chapter 4 is 'expanded into the fifth and sixth chapters'
5	7, 11	Chapter 5 is 'rewritten under an identical title to become the seventh Chapter'; (NB: the final part of chapter 5 becomes the chapter on 'emblêmes moraux', namely chapter 11)
6	10	Chapter 6 is 'much augmented to become the tenth chapter' ('certain sections are lifted word for word from the earlier text')
7	12	An 'expanded version' of the 1662 chapter 7 becomes chapter 12 in 1684
8	8	This chapter is 'virtually identical in the two treatises'
9–10	9–10	'The next two chapters […] are again, though to a slightly lesser extent, reproduced from their predecessors in the earlier treatise […].'
10	11	Chapter 11 in 1684 'constitutes an abridged version of the last part of [1662's] Chap. x'
12	12	This chapter 'virtually reproduces the equivalent chapter in the earlier treatise.'

respectively. Loach has carefully analyzed the relationship of the central chapters in both versions [Table 6.1].[36]

It is immediately noticeable from Loach's summary that in most cases, the rewritten chapters in the 1684 constitute expanded versions of their 1662 counterparts, and comparison of the two treatises confirms the validity of her conclusion. No doubt because these differences seemed largely quantitative than substantive, Loach's view in 1987 tended to the conclusion that 'Menestrier's two treatises define a single, coherent theory of emblematics (*which is borne out in his festival designs*) […]. [T]he second is not an entirely new work but rather an elaboration of the first'.[37] Since that early study, however, her views on the degree of overlap of the two volumes have evolved and become more nuanced. In particular, she finds that for Ménestrier, as for other Jesuit theorists, the emphasis had shifted from practical application in festival culture to a more devotional focus in which emblematic images and texts could play a key role in meditative practice:

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36   See Loach, "Menestrier's Emblem Theory".
37   Loach, "Menestrier's Emblem Theory" 317; emphasis added.

> [T]he import of this treatise [and others in cognate areas] no longer
> lies primarily—if ever it did—in providing practical handbooks for use
> by designers and organisers of symbolic images, whether painted or
> enacted. At one level, for early modern Jesuits in general, primarily con-
> cerned as they were with developing devotional practices, the incorpo-
> real and invisible, mental image was actually more important than the
> materialised and visible, sensual image.[38]

The inclusion of three new introductory chapters, then, finds its *raison d'être* in
Ménestrier's philosophical approach—and more specifically, his Aristotelian
approach—to emblematics and emblem theory, which enabled him '[to cast
the emblem] genre more clearly than before in strictly Aristotelian terms, and
specifically as defined in the Physics, and confirmed in Aquinas's commentary
on that. Significantly, he does so at the beginning of his treatise, thus setting his
frame of reference, indeed even advertising it'.[39]

    It is not immediately clear, however, why such a shift in focus might have led
Ménestrier to expand as greatly as he did the role of emblematic and paraem-
blematic print culture in his treatise. That there is such an expansion is unde-
niable, though it may not be immediately apparent on first reading. The first
chapter of the 1684 treatise ("De la Nature des Emblêmes") posits four types of
images (mathematical, theological, philosophical and moral), and concludes
that '[l]es figures Morales sont les Emblêmes, qui sont des images destinées à
instruire les hommes pour la conduite de la vie' ('moral figures are emblems,
which are images intended to instruct men for the conduct of their life').[40]
In other words, for Ménestrier, any generally moralizing didactic image has
emblematic potential; any device can become an emblem 'lorsqu'au lieu d'en
faire l'image d'un dessein particulier, nous en faisons un enseignement gen-
eral' ('when, instead of making of it the image of a particular design, we make
of it a general teaching').[41] The key new feature, of course, though it is not
always explicitly stated, is that the moralizing function is explicitly conveyed
by the text and not primarily by the (necessarily non-verbal) image.

    It is thus hardly surprising to find, in the second and third new chapters,
a new and now quite explicit focus on print culture. In "De la Matiere des
Emblêmes", Ménestrier devotes considerable space to a demonstration of how
Isaac de Benserade's *rondeaux* (based on Ovid's *Metamorphoses*) and Aesop's

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38   Ibidem.

39   "The Biographical Context of Menestrier's *Art des Emblèmes* of 1684".

40   Ménestrier, *L'Art des emblêmes* (1684) 5.

41   Ibidem 17.

fables could be made into emblems. What is particularly noteworthy here, when the 1662 and 1684 treatises are compared, is the inclusion in the later treatise of a very large number of woodcuts corresponding to many of the specific examples he uses, drawing examples from Isaac de Benserade and Jean de La Fontaine as well as from Andrea Alciato's *Emblemata*. Most readers will first note the sheer proliferation of images, as Loach and other scholars have; this visual profusion is entirely in keeping with Ménestrier's 'body and soul' view, in which the emblematic *pictura* provides the 'hook' that attracts readers to the lessons conveyed through the text.[42] There is nothing intrinsically surprising or untoward, then, in his decision to include these images, but their origin and their relationship with his own text is noteworthy.

As we have seen, much of the new textual material seems to be an expansion and confirmation of the 1662 treatise, but the same cannot be said for the new visual material. The most readily apparent feature is that the 1684 images are not only far more numerous but that they look very different indeed from those included in the 1662 treatise [Fig. 6.2]. They are smaller, are comparatively crude in execution, are not derived from a deliberately noble context as the festival images were, and are immediately recognizable as having been taken from printed originals. What is less immediately apparent on first reading is the appropriateness of the images to Ménestrier's text, and the origin of his many examples. In analyzing the differences between the 1662 and 1684 treatises, Judi Loach has recently—and rightly—underscored Ménestrier's apparent lack of interest in the choice of the images, which were apparently selected by the publisher.[43]

Given the centrality of the image in Jesuit spirituality, particularly in meditative practice, and Ménestrier's own insistence on its importance in the rhetorical economy of the emblem, true indifference on his part seems perplexing, to say the least. It is thus worth considering whether an alternative explanation may be more persuasive. Rather than lack of interest per se, it seems plausible, in light of their appropriateness, to conclude that the visual alterations made to

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42   On this point, see Loach J., "Body and Soul"; Graham D., "Claude-François Ménestrier's *Art des Emblêmes* (1684) and the Development of Bimediality Theory", and "Assembling, Being, Embodying: Early Modern Emblem and Device as Body, Soul, and Metaphor", in selected papers from "Iconology Old and New", 2013 Transregional Iconology Conference, University of Szeged (Hungary), forthcoming.

43   'I would like to underline the significance of Menestrier's own stance in 1684: that in producing a treatise on symbolic imagery he seems strangely uninterested in the images used to illustrate it' (Loach J., "The Biographical Context of Menestrier's *Art des Emblèmes* of 1684").

38   *L'Art*

ſes plumes , va dans ſon aire , où il perce les œufs de cet oiſeau , & les mange. Le mot , *à minimis quoque timendum* , en fait l'application , en faiſant entendre qu'il faut ſe défier des petites choſes , qui ſont quelquefois dangereuſes.

L'Emblême d'un pot de terre & d'un pot de fer qui flottent ſur l'eau l'un prés de l'autre , avec ce mot , *qu'un mauvais voiſin eſt à craindre* , eſt de ſemblable nature.

L'image de Mercure ſur un chemin avec ces mots : *Quâ Dij monſtrant eundum* : Il faut

des Emblêmes.   39

ſuivre les chemins que les Dieux nous montrent , eſt de la même eſpece.

Au contraire un Peſcheur à la ligne avec ces mots , IN SILENTIO ET SPE.

Sans dire mot , & toûjours eſperant.

eſt de la troiſiéme eſpece ; parce que la figure & les mots ſont un tout à la maniere du corps & de l'ame des Deviſes.

La maniere la plus ordinaire eſt celle des Vers qui expliquent le ſujet , & en font l'application , comme au Labyrinthe de Verſailles , il y a l'Emblême ou la Fable du

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FIGURE 6.2 *Typical opening (pp. 38–39) from Cl.-Fr. Ménestrier*, L'Art des emblêmes, où s'enseigne la morale par les Figures de la Fable, de l'Histoire, & de la Nature (*Paris, Robert J.B. de la Caille: 1684*).

L'Art des Emblêmes (regardless of whether they were imposed by his publisher or arose from his own reflection) reflect a new appreciation for the (practical, 'real world') primary data about emblems supplied by (para)emblematic print culture. Rather than relying on secondary ('applied') emblematics, as he had in 1662, Ménestrier thus appears to have developed a fresh appreciation for the possibilities inherent in emblematic print culture. The many woodcuts have clear links not only to textual examples from sources such as La Fontaine and Alciato, but to earlier emblem editions, such as the 1556 Lyons edition of Alciato's emblems, from which some of the 1684 woodcuts are drawn (compare figs. 6.3 and 6.4 to fig. 6.2). This speaks to Ménestrier's new inclination to ground his theoretical considerations henceforward at least as much in primary data as in classical authority, applied emblematics, and pure 'thought experiment'.

Given this fundamental shift in Ménestrier's outlook and visual data, it may be more productive to question whether Ménestrier may have successfully anticipated modern emblem theory rather than to dwell on the 'endless litany of postulates, rules, provisos and distinctions' identified in his work by Daniel Russell. All good theories, of course, share certain characteristics. First, they are *coherent*: they enjoy a strong unity or 'fit' among their various parts, so that there are no obvious key missing pieces. Second, they display *consistency*, which we may define as the 'staying power' needed to withstand the test of time, as competing explanations arise and are tested to see whether they are better. They must have *explanatory power*: the ability to persuade us or satisfy our curiosity about the origins and working of phenomena. Finally, and not least in importance, they must posses *predictive power*, the ability to deal as persuasively with cases not yet examined. The scholarly consensus suggests that Ménestrier's work definitely satisfies the first three of these criteria: his repeated attempts to provide a holistic synthesis of all the components of the image repertoire provide coherence, consistency, and detailed explanation of origins and structures. In some respects, the evolution of his method between 1662 and 1684 suggests that he was moving in the direction of what is now called 'grounded theory'.

Barney Glaser and Anselm L. Strauss, the founders of grounded theory, have written that generating grounded theory 'is a way of arriving at theory suited to its supposed uses. We contrast this position with theory generated by logical deduction from *a priori* assumptions'.[44] Glaser and other proponents of grounded theory thus consistently contrast their method, in which theory

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44   Glaser B.G. – Strauss A.L., *The Discovery of Grounded Theory: Strategies for Qualitative Research*, Observations (Chicago: 1967) 3.

128   ANDREAE ALCIATI

Quà dii vocant eundum. LXXVII.

In triuio mons est lapidum, superemïnet illi
    Trunca Dei effigies, pectore facta tenus.
Mercurij est igitur cumulus suspende uiator
    Serta Deo, rectum qui tibi monstrat iter:
Omnes in triuio sumus, atq; hoc tramite uitæ
    Fallimur, ostendat ni Deus ipse uiam.

COMMENTARIA.

Triuium est locus vbi tres pluresue viæ di-
uiduntur, ancipitem dubiúmque reddentes
ignarum itineris, de quo multa apud Strab.
lib. 5. in quo fingitur mons ex lapidibus ex-
tructus, vnde media Dei effigies apparet. Est
igitur tumulus seu sepulcrum Mercurij inter-
pretis & nuntij Deorum, vt plura Cic. in lib.
                                            de

FIGURE 6.3 *Andrea Alciato,* Emblematum libri II (*Lyons, Jean de Tournes—Guillaume Gazeau: 1556*) *128.*

92   ANDREAE ALCIATI

fuissent, in mare decidit, ibiq́; perijt, sic ab eo
Icarium mare appellatur, vt Ouid. lib. 1. de
Tristib.

Dum petit infirmis nimium sublimia pennis,
Icarus, Icarijs nomina fecit aquis.

Eius itaq; tristis casus, omnibus etiā in poste-
rum Astronomis exemplo esse debet, vt à si-
ctitijs atque incertis caueant, nedum imposto-
res futura imprudenter prædicere ac nimium
alta petere volentes, simili modo cadant. Dæ-
dali verò & Icari ex Creta fuga, causa, & exi-
tus legitur apud Ouid. lib. 2. de arte aman. &
lib. 8. Met. Syl. lib. 14. & Diod. lib. 5.

A minimis quoque timendū. LIIII.

Bella gerit Scarabæus, & hostem prouocat ultrò.
Robore & inferior, consilio superat.

Nam

FIGURE 6.4 *Andrea Alciato*, Emblematum libri II
              (*Lyons, Jean de Tournes—Guillaume
              Gazeau: 1556*) *92.*

is developed *a posteriori* from data, with 'logico-argumentative' or 'armchair' theory developed *a priori* on the basis of hypothesis, logical argument, mental experiment, or authority. Originally developed by sociologists, grounded theory is now applied in a wide variety of scientific, social scientific, and humanities disciplines.[45] This approach clearly resembles that of Ménestrier, particularly in his later work, including the 1684 emblem theory treatise.

Although many of Ménestrier's examples in 1684 are not taken directly from emblem books but from other allied genres including Benserade and Æsop, as previously mentioned, as well as from tapestry and the other applied emblematic arts, it is striking to note how frequently he cites Alciato, not merely as an authority as in 1662, but through detailed reference to specific emblems. His theoretical framework is detailed, dividing the emblem into two, three or four parts according to whether he is discussing what we might now call its 'deep structure', its superficial structure, or its manner of functioning. The first of these assigns a physical 'body' (the image, which attracts the reader[46]) and an abstract 'soul' (the 'sens mystique' or moral lesson, which the text conveys) to the emblem: 'Tout Emblême de quelque nature qu'il puisse estre, a essentiellement deux parties; l'une pour les yeux, et l'autre pour l'esprit; c'est à dire, une peinture pour le plaisir des yeux, & un sens mystique pour l'instruction' ('Every emblem of whatever kind has essentially two parties, one for the eyes, and the other for the mind; that is to say, an image for the pleasure of the eyes, and a mystical meaning for one's instruction').[47] The 'canonical' tripartite structure of the early modern printed emblem is also briefly evoked: 'On donne ordinairement trois parties aux Emblêmes, la Peinture, le Mot, & les Vers' ('Three parts are normally assigned to the emblem: the image, the motto, and the verses'. Finally, Ménestrier cites the work of father Pierre Labbé (or L'Abbé), for whom the emblem had a total of four parts: the three just mentioned, plus a dedicatory title.

Ménestrier's apparent confusion—more charitably, one should perhaps say his uncertainty—with regard to the structure of the emblem is instructive for several reasons. First, it is clear from the context that he is speaking not of applied emblems in festival or other contexts, but of the printed emblem as initiated by Alciato and developed throughout Europe, which by

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45   For a full account, see Stern P.N. – Porr C., *Essentials of Accessible Grounded Theory*: *Qualitative Essentials* (Walnut Creek, CA: 2011) 7–8.

46   Several contributors to this volume, particularly De Boer, have highlighted the intense discomfort experienced by early modern image theorists with regard to the status of the image and its potentially corrupting physicality.

47   See Graham, "Assembling, Being, Embodying".

the middle of the seventeenth century had radiated into a truly bewilder-
ing variety of forms.[48] Second, his observations are clearly based not only on
authorities such as Labbé but on his own observations, as the many quotations
from Alciato and other emblematic writers make clear. What this suggests is
that despite the welter of conflicting information to be found in his treatise,
despite the tedious and overlong enumerations of the categories of emblems,
by 1684, Ménestrier was making a genuine if ultimately unsuccessful attempt
to ground a comprehensive theory of the emblem not in any abstract *a priori*
catalogue of previous authorities but in his own reading of substantial por-
tions of an emblem corpus that was still evolving in his day, and which his own
willingness to accommodate multiple possible structures for the emblem may
well have foreshadowed.

In addition to Alciato, Ménestrier cites other authors of emblem books in
both treatises, but it is instructive to note that the treatment he gives them is
quite different in 1684. For example, the 1662 treatise (p. 36) briefly mentions
the emblem books of Marin Le Roy de Gomberville, *La Doctrine des moeurs*
(Paris, Pierre Daret—Louys Sevestre: 1646), cited by Ménestrier as *La Peinture
des moeurs*, and of Jean Baudoin, *Recueil d'emblèmes divers* (Paris, Jacques
Villery: 1638) as examples of "moral" and "political" emblems respectively. In
1684, Ménestrier considerably expands the first of these passing mentions,
developing it into a separate chapter containing quotations of Gomberville's
French and Latin mottos, many with illustrations added ("Des Emblêmes
moraux", 86–97). Later in the same chapter of the 1662 treatise (p. 41),
Ménestrier briefly mentions Barthélemy Aneau's use of the story of Cadmus in
his *Picta poesis, ut pictura poesis erit* (Lyons, Mathiam Bonhomme: 1552), with-
out mentioning Aneau by name: 'L'Embleme de la fable de Cadmus represente
l'Imprimerie, dont un Poëte du siecle passé à fait excellemment l'explication'
('The emblem drawn from the Cadmus fable represents printing, and has been
excellently explained by a poet of the last century'). In the 1684 volume, how-
ever, he expands this single sentence into a five-page summary of the treat-
ment of the Cadmus myth by Aneau—now explicitly named—and by Alciato,

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48   It is also worth noting, to underscore the point that Ménestrier's uncertainty was both
      legitimate and understandable, that controversy over the status of the 'canonical'
      emblema triplex form continues among specialists to this day. For examples of recent con-
      tributions that reflect Ménestrier's own flexibility, see Graham D., "Emblema multiplex:
      Towards a Typology of Emblematic Forms, Structures and Functions" and Mödersheim S.,
      "The Emblem in the Context of Architecture", both in Daly P.M. (ed.), *Emblem Scholarship:
      Directions and Developments. A Tribute to Gabriel Hornstein*, Imago Figurata Studies 5
      (Turnhout: 2005) 131–158 and 159–175 respectively.

and reuses one of the two woodcuts incorporated into Aneau's emblem on the subject.[49] Other examples of similar changes could be adduced, but this evolution suggests that by 1684, Ménestrier is concerned at least as much with printed emblems as he is with any new attention to Jesuit devotional or meditative practice.[50]

Rather than being merely a painlessly indefatigable and dogmatic compiler, or even simply a rigorous taxonomist—however gifted—Ménestrier thus shows, through the many alterations made between 1662 and 1684 to his *Art des Emblêmes*, a willingness to revise his explanatory theoretical framework and to ground it in textual and visual data drawn from the actual corpus of printed emblems as found in Alciato and other writers. In this sense, his relentlessly pragmatic insistence on system and example takes on another hue: rather than being a stubborn remnant of conservative and hidebound pre-modernism, Ménestrier's repeated attempts to resolve his discomfort over the complexity of the bimedial text-image relationship, however laborious, may actually have heralded the dawn of a new age of modern image theory in their kinship with and foreshadowing of twentieth-century grounded theory. Regardless of the extent to which he may have anticipated today's 'grounded theory', however, Ménestrier can thus perhaps best be seen not as a relic of the past, but as a truly innovative forerunner of modern empirical research, a scholar for whom the essential characteristic of theory was a solid grounding in comprehensive primary data.

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49   The emblem, titled "Chalcographiae Lugdun. ΜΥΘΟΣ", is found at 11–12 of Aneau's *Picta poesis*.

50   On this point, my view is thus at odds with that of Loach, cited above, for whom the defining feature of the 1684 treatise is what she considers to be its new attention to meditative practice.

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Enargeia Fireworks: Jesuit Image Theory in Franciscus Neumayr's Rhetorical Manual (*Idea Rhetoricae*, 1748) and His Tragedies

Karl A.E. Enenkel

Introduction

The Jesuit priest Franciscus Neumayr (1697–1765) with his *Idea Rhetoricae* and *Idea Poeseos* (together comprising 10 editions between 1748 and 1775)[1] figures among the most successful and interesting Jesuit authors of rhetorical treatises, which is especially intriguing because these works appeared at a time just before rhetoric as a system of legitimate literary and intellectual communication came under pressure.[2] Neumayr was not only a theoretician, but a prolific writer of Latin school comedies and tragedies; some 29 lyrical dramas (*Meditationes scaenicae*) that united dialogue, instrumental music, arias, and

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1 The *Idea Rhetoricae* appeared six times (1748, 1753, 1756, 1761, 1768, and 1775), and the *Idea Poeseos* four times (1751, 1755, 1759, and 1768); first editions: *Idea Rhetoricae sive methodica institutio de praeceptis, praxi et usu artis quotidiano, civili ac ecclesiastico* [...] (Ingolstadt – Augsburg, Joannes Franciscus Xaver Crätz – Thomas Summer: 1748); *Idea Poeseos sive methodica institutio de praeceptis, praxi et usu artis, ad ingeniorum culturam, animorum oblectationem, ac morum doctrinam accommodata* [...] (Ingolstadt – Augsburg, Joannes Franciscus Xaver Crätz – Thomas Summer: 1751). Moreover, in his manual for priests, *Vir Apostolicus*, Neumayr devoted a substantial passage to rhetoric, i.e. to sermons (book III, chapter 1, article 1 "De concionibus", in the first edition of 1752 on pp. 229–281); *Vir Apostolicus sive doctrina methodica de utili et facili praxi functionum Sacerdotalium libello de Gratia Vocationis Sacerdotalis nuper edito per modum appendicis adiecta* (Ingolstadt – Augsburg, Joannes Franciscus Xaver Crätz – Thomas Summer: 1752) 120, 428 pp., Sommervogel 34. The *Vir Apostolicus* saw five more editions up to 1779 (same title, but 80, 414 pp., ibidem: 1755, 1758; Joannes Franciscus Xaver Crätz: 1765, 1771, 1779). For details concerning the various editions of the *Idea Rhetoricae* and the *Idea Poeseos* cf. *infra*.

2 That is, in the second half of the eighteenth century, when adherents of the Enlightenment, such as Immanuel Kant and Jean-Jacques Rousseau, started to criticize rhetoric as an insincere, artificial, unrealistic, immoral, and therefore also unworthy way of arguing. Cf., *inter alia*, Geitner U., *Die Sprache der Verstellung. Studien zum rhetorischen und anthropologischen Wissen im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert* (Tübingen: 1992) (*Communicatio,* vol. 1); Ueding G. (ed.), *Rhetorik: Begriff—Geschichte—Internationalität* (Tübingen: 2005).

duets; spiritual texts, such as *exercitia*, exhortations, regulations of religious life, and prayer books; and a large number of controversial Latin and German sermons. Altogether he authored the impressive sum of some 300 publications. In 1992, P.Th. van der Veldt, S.J., published a biography of Neumayr with a first comprehensive study of his works.[3] I think that Neumayr's rhetorical works deserve special attention because of the innovations the author introduced in order to adapt rhetoric to the requirements of its "modern", daily use in school education, preaching, literary writing, theatre performances, etc.[4] I believe that, among other things, Neumayr developed interesting views on *enargeia*, and on the use of images in rhetorical prose and poetry. With respect to image theory[5] his works have not been studied thus far. Neumayr developed his views in close connection with an extensive practical experience as a Jesuit schoolteacher, priest, missionary, *Praeses* of the Marian Congregation of Munich, preacher, and director of theatre and musical performances. After entering the Jesuit order as a novice in 1712, he studied philosophy at the Augsburg Lyceum (1714–1717)[6] and theology at the Jesuit universities of Dillingen and Ingolstadt from 1722 to 1726.[7] After being ordained a priest in 1726, he worked as a professor of rhetoric at the Jesuit schools of Brig and Solothurn in Switzerland (1727–1729), and at the *collegium* in Munich (1731–1736). In 1738 he became *Praeses* of the Marian Congregation (*Congregatio Mariana maior*), the so-called Latin congregation, in Munich (1738–1750), and in 1746–1747 he served as *Praefectus* of the Munich Jesuit school. From 1750 to 1753 he worked as Rector of the Jesuit universities of Dillingen and Ingolstadt, and from 1753 to 1765 he served as preacher in the Cathedral of Augsburg.[8]

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3   Veldt P.Th. van der, *Franz Neumayr SJ (1697–1765). Leben und Werk eines spätbarocken geistlichen Autors* (Amsterdam – Maarssen: 1992). Van der Veldt 333–395 gives a complete list of Neumayr's printed editions.

4   For the *Idea Poeseos* cf. Van der Veldt, *Franz Neumayr SJ* 84–97 and 123–125; Van der Veldt, however, discusses the *Idea Poeseos* only with respect to drama ("Dramentheorie in der Idea Poeseos"). Van der Veldt's discussion of the *Idea Rhetoricae* focuses on preaching, invention, and argumentation (ibidem 193 ff.), and in fact deals primarily with the related work *Vir Apostolicus*; cf. ibidem, 193: 'Da er aber im *Vir Apostolicus* fast buchstäblich den Text aus der *Idea Rhetoricae* übernommen und erheblich erweitert hat, beschränken sich die folgenden Erörterungen vornehmlich auf das erstgenannte Werk'.

5   For Jesuit image theory of the seventeenth century cf. Dekoninck R., *Ad imaginem: statuts, fonctions et usages de l'image dans la littérature spirituelle Jesuite du XVIIe siècle* (Geneva: 2005).

6   Van der Veldt, *Franz Neumayr SJ* 21–23.

7   Ibidem 23–25.

8   For these periods of Neumayr's life cf. ibidem 26–60.

The Theory of *Evidentia* in Quintilian and in Early Modern Rhetorics

The rhetorical skill of creating *evidentia* (*enargeia*) has been considered to be of high importance in various early modern rhetorical treatises, such as Erasmus's *De duplici copia, verborum ac rerum*,[9] and in this respect they have been influenced especially by Quintilian's *Institutio oratoria*.[10] Erasmus's *De copia* was without doubt the most successful rhetorical manual of the sixteenth century, with more than 160 editions between 1512 and 1570. In a sense, one can speak of a kind of an early modern obsession with *enargeia* or the imitative potential of language with respect to visual objects.[11] Erasmus with

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9   Ed. pr. as *De duplici copia rerum ac verborum commentarii duo*, together with *De ratione studii* and *De puero Iesu Concio scholastica* (Paris, Josse Bade: 1512); second corrected ed. with the title *De duplici Copia, Verborum ac rerum Commentarii duo. Ab ipso Authore diligentissime recogniti et emaculati, atque in plerisque locis aucti* (Strasbourg, Mathias Schürer: 1514); third corrected and augmented ed. with the same title as the second, *postrema autoris cura recogniti locupletatique* (Basel, Joannes Froben: 1526); fourth considerably augmented ed. *multa accessione novisque formulis locupletati* (Basel, Officina Frobeniana: 1534). Henceforth, the title will be abbreviated as *De copia*. On the work cf., *inter alia*, Sloane T.O., "Schoolbooks and Rhetoric. Erasmus' Copia", *Rhetorica* 9 (1991) 113–129; Knott B.I., "Introduction", in Erasmus, *De duplici copia verborum ac rerum commentarii duo*, in *ASD* I, 6, ed. B.I. Knott (Amsterdam – New York: 1988) 7–19; eadem, "Erasmus' Working Methods in 'De copia'", in *Proceedings on the Symposium on Erasmus, Rotterdam 1986* (Leiden: 1988) 143–150; Cave T., *The Cornucopian Text* (Oxford: 1979); Vallese G., "Érasme et le 'De duplici copia verborum ac rerum'", in *Colloquia Erasmiana Turonensia* (Paris: 1972), vol. I, 233–239; Soward J.K., "Erasmus and the Apologetic Text Book: A Study on the 'De duplici copia verborum et rerum'", *Studies in Philology* 55 (1958) 122–135; Mack P., *A History of Renaissance Rhetoric 1380–1620* (Oxford: 2011) 80–87; Wels V., *Triviale Künste* (Berlin: 2000) 71–82, 170–183; Bauer B., *Jesuitische 'ars rhetorica' im Zeitalter der Glaubenskämpfe* (Frankfurt a. M. – Bern – New York: 1986) 121–129. In Erasmus's *De copia*, book II, "ratio"/"method" (=chapter) 5 is dedicated to *enargeia* or *evidentia*. In the 120th edition (Amsterdam, Joannes Janssonius: 1645), the chapter on *enargeia* consists of 12 pages (207–220), the same number as in Knott's English translation in 40, in the *Collected Works of Erasmus*, vol. XXIV (Toronto: 1978) 577–589. In the critical edition of *De copia* cf. *ASD* I, 6, on pages 202–215. On Erasmus and *enargeia* cf. esp. Cave T., "*Enargeia*: Erasmus and the Rhetoric of Presence in the Sixteenth Century", *L'Esprit Créateur* 16, 4 (1976) 5–19.

10   Especially *Institutio oratoria* VIII, 3, 61–71; IV, 3, 12. On the pivotal importance of Quintilian for Erasmus's *De copia* cf., *inter alia*, Knott, "Introduction", esp. 8–10. 10: Erasmus 'does in fact quote, paraphrase or rework a great deal of Quintilian's treatise'.

11   On *enargeia* in the early modern period cf., *inter alia*, Plett H.F., *Enargeia in Classical Antiquity and in the Early Modern Age* (Leiden – Boston: 2012) (International Studies in

his powerful *De copia* may be exemplary for the conviction that things can be made visible by words. This seems to be true also for one of the most important Jesuit manuals, the *De arte rhetorica libri tres* by the Portuguese scholar Cyprian Soarez, S.J. (1524–1593), which was printed some 129 times (!) between 1562 and 1700.[12] *De arte rhetorica* was widely used in Jesuit schools, was officially prescribed in the *Ratio studiorum*, and dominated Jesuit teaching of rhetoric for the rest of the century.[13] The work appeared for the first time in Coimbra

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the History of Rhetoric vol. IV); Cheeke St., *Writing for Art: The Aesthetics of Ekphrasis* (Manchester – New York: 2008); Schenka A., *Ekphrasis und Theatralität: Begegnung zweier Konzepte* (Saarbrücken: 2007); Koelb J.H., *The Poetics of Description: Imagined Places in European Literature* (New York: 2006); Dekoninck, *Ad imaginem*; Armas F.A. de, *Ekphrasis in the Age of Cervantes* (Lewisburg: 2005); Dundas J., *Sidney and Junius on Poetry and Painting: Renaissance Poets and the Art of Painting* (Newark: 2003); Klarer M., *Ekphrasis: Bildbeschreibung als Repräsentationstheorie bei Spenser, Sidney, Lyly and Shakespeare* (Tübingen: 2001); González de Cosio Rosenzweig M. (ed.), *Visual Rhetoric* (Providence: 1998); Boehm G. – Pfotenhauer H. (eds.), *Beschreibungskunst—Kunstbeschreibung. Ekphrasis von der Antike bis zur Gegenwart* (Munich: 1995); Galland-Hallyn P., *Les yeux de l'eloquence: Poétiques humanistes de l'evidence* (Orléans: 1995); Solbach A., *Evidentia und Erzähltheorie: Die Rhetorik des anschaulichen Erzählens in der Frühmoderne und ihre antiken Quellen* (Munich: 1994); Heffernan J.A.W., *Museum of Words: The Poetics of Ekphrasis from Homer to Ashbery* (Chicago: 1993). Solbach, *Evidentia und Erzähltheorie* 75 ff. describes the views of a number of early modern theoretical treatises in German, such as the ones of Harsdörffer, Opitz, and Birken. For the Middle Ages, cf. especially Wandhoff H., *Ekphrasis: Kunstbeschreibungen und virtuelle Räume in der Literatur des Mittelalters* (Berlin – New York: 2003).

12   Mack, *A History of Renaissance Rhetoric* 177–182, in the part on "Iberian Rhetoric" (176–185); for the editions see Backer-Sommervogel, vol. VII, 1331–1338. For the *De Arte Rhetorica* cf. Flynn L.J. (S.J.), "The *De Arte Rhetorica* of Cyprian Soarez, SJ", *Quarterly Journal of Speech* 42, 4 (1956) 367–374; idem, "Sources and Influence of Soarez' De Arte Rhetorica", *Quarterly Journal of Speech* 43 (1957) 257–265; Fernandes Pereira B., *Retórica e eloquencia em Portugal na época do Rinascimento* (Coimbra: 2005) 550–584; Bauer, *Jesuitische 'ars rhetorica'* 138–240; an English translation of the Latin text was made by Flynn L.J. in the framework of his Ph.D. thesis, *The* De arte rhetorica *(1568) of Cyprian Soarez* [...] (University of Florida: 1955).

13   Bauer, *Jesuitische 'ars rhetorica'* 138: 'Soarez' Lehrbuch blieb zwei Jahrhunderte lang die Grundlage des jesuitischen Rhetorikunterrichts [...]. Andere jesuitische Rhetoriken [...] hatten demgegenüber nur eine regional und zeitlich beschränkte Wirkung'; Garrod R., "The Jesuit Ratio Studiorum (1599 Edition) [...]", in Ford Ph. – Bloemendal J. – Fantazzi Ch. (eds.), *Brill's Encyclopaedia of the Neo-Latin World. Micropedia* (Leiden – Boston: 2013) 1009–1011. 1010: 'The humanities class [...] also includes an introduction to rhetorical theory instantiated by Cypriano Soarez's *De arte rhetorica libri tres*'.

in 1562,[14] at a time when Erasmus's *De copia* was still of pivotal importance. Erasmus's *De copia* was also used at a number of Jesuit schools, for example, that in Messina. Hannibal du Coudret, S.J. (one of the eight brothers who accompanied Hieronymus Nadal to Sicily), and Joannes Polanco, S.J., secretary to Ignatius of Loyola,[15] proposed it in 1551 as a schoolbook for the third year, and in 1552 Hieronymus Nadal himself as a schoolbook for the fourth year.[16] In 1553 Martin de Olave, S.J., called for a special adaptation of Erasmus's *De copia* for Jesuit universities, a 'Copia verborum emendata'.[17] Around the same time, the Jesuit order appropriated—if not annexed *De copia*: the very early French Jesuit Andreas Frusius (André des Freux +1566), who was secretary to Ignatius of Loyola, translated his *Spiritual Exercises* into Latin (1548);[18] shortly after 1552, when he was appointed rector of the newly founded *Collegium Romanum* by Ignatius,[19] he reworked Erasmus's *De copia* into a didactic metrical manual with almost the same title: *De utraque copia verborum ac rerum praecepta*.[20] As is apparent from Frusius's preface, the work was designed at the *Collegium*

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14   Mack, *A History of Renaissance Rhetoric* 177.

15   For Joannes Polanco cf. Engländer C., *Ignatius von Loyola und Johannes von Polanco. Der Ordensstifter und sein Sekretär* (Regensburg: 1956).

16   Cf. Bauer, *Jesuitische 'ars rhetorica'* 139–140, note 61, and Lukács L. (S.J.) (ed.), *Monumenta paedagogica Societatis Jesu*, 4 vols. (Rome: 1963, 1974, 1981) (*Monumenta historica Societatis Jesu* 92, 107, 108, and 124), vol. 1, no. 8, p. 99, and no. 11, p. 139. In the later "Ratio Studiorum" (1599), the first three years of Jesuit education were dedicated to the "Grammar Class", the fourth year to humanities, the fifth to rhetoric, and the sixth to eighth years to philosophy; cf. Garrod, "The Jesuit Ratio Studiorum"; Attebery J. – Russell J. (eds.), *Ratio Studiorum: Jesuit Education, 1540–1773* (Chestnut Hill, Mass.: 1999); Duminuco V.J. (ed.), *The Jesuit Ratio Studiorum: 400th Anniversary Perspectives* (New York: 2000); Farrell A., *Four Hundred Years of Jesuit Education* (Washington, D.C.: 1940).

17   Ibidem, and Lukács, *Monumenta paedagogica Societatis Jesu,* vol. 1, no. 12, p. 169.

18   First ed. Rome: 1548.

19   Ignatius founded the "School of Grammar, Humanity, and Christian Doctrine" on 23 February 1551; on his concepts cf. Ganss G., *Saint Ignatius' Idea of a Jesuit University* (Milwaukee: 1956).

20   *De utraque copia verborum ac rerum praecepta, una cum exemplis, dilucido brevique carmine comprehensa, ut facilius et iucundius edisci ac memoriae quoque firmius inhaerere possint* (Rome, Antonius Bladius: 1556); a copy is owned by the Cambridge University Library. Frusius's work appeared a number of times in the sixteenth century, in, among other places, Cologne, where Maternus Cholinus printed it for the Jesuit College (1558, a copy in the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek; 1568), and furthermore in 1561, 1568 (Christopher Plantin), 1571, and 1574. On Frusius cf. Bauer, *Jesuitische 'ars rhetorica'* 128–129; Frusius is not mentioned in Mack, *A History of Renaissance Rhetoric*.

Romanum and was directly intended to function as a Jesuit schoolbook.[21] The composition of such a manual was in all probability in accordance with the wishes of Ignatius.[22] Its metrical form, however, may have been disputable, as one may deduce from Frusius's preface; but in this respect rector Frusius, who experienced the enormous growth of the school in its first few years, also made a well-thought-out decision. He decided that the metrical form was intended as a means to make it easier for the pupils to learn the rhetorical devices by heart.[23] Additionally Frusius referred to the authority of Horace, whose metrical letter *Ad Pisones*, which in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries was known under the title *De arte poetica*, was regarded as a major theoretical manual. Frusius's work must have been completed shortly after he became rector of the *Collegium Romanum*: already in 1553 Joannes Polanco, S.J. proposed to replace Erasmus's *De copia* with Frusius's metrical manual as a schoolbook.[24]

Soarez's *De arte rhetorica* was written as a schoolbook too, and was—like Frusius's work—the product of the first period of Jesuit schoolteaching:[25] Soarez taught rhetoric in the Jesuit schools of Lisbon (1553–1555) and Coimbra (1555–1562). As its full title—*ex Aristotele, Cicerone et Quintiliano praecipue deprompti*—demonstrates, his *De arte rhetorica* was a kind of handy compilation of Quintilian's, Cicero's, and Aristotle's rhetorical works. Erasmus's *De copia*, Frusius's metrical version, *De utraque copia*, and Soarez's *De arte rhetorica* fulfilled a similar function, and all of them were heavily influenced

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21   Frusius, *De utraque copia* (1558), fol. 2v–3r: 'Hoc porro opusculum eorum adolescentium usui est praecipue destinatum, qui apud nos instituuntur […] Vale. Romae'—'This booklet is meant especially for the use of those pupils who are educated at our school'. 'Our school' is the 'Gymnasium Romanum', as indicated in the address of the preface. On the rhetorical education of the *Collegium Romanum* cf. Moss J.D., "The Rhetoric Course at the Collegio Romano in the Latter Half of the Sixteenth Century", *Rhetorica: A Journal of the History of Rhetoric* 4, 2 (1986) 137–151.

22   Cf. Ganss, *Saint Ignatius' Idea*.

23   Cf. the second part of its title: […] *ut facilius et iucundius edisci ac memoriae quoque firmius inhaerere possint.*

24   Cf. Bauer, *Jesuitische 'ars rhetorica'* 140, note 61; Lukács, *Monumenta paedagogica Societatis Jesu,* vol. I, no. 42, p. 439.

25   On Jesuit school teaching cf., *inter alia*, Atteberry – Russell (eds.), *Ratio Studiorum*; Chapple Ch. (ed.), *The Jesuit Tradition in Education and Missions: A 450-Year Perspective* (Scranton, Pa.: 1993); Donnelly F.P., *Principles of Jesuit Education in Practice* (New York: 1934); Duminuco (ed.), *The Jesuit Ratio Studiorum*; Farrell, *Four Hundred Years of Jesuit Education*; *For That I Came: Virtues and Ideals of Jesuit Education* (Washington, D.C.: 1997); O'Malley J., *The First Jesuits* (Cambridge, Mass.: 1993); Scaglione A., *The Liberal Arts and the Jesuit College System* (Amsterdam: 1986).

by Quintilian. From the 1570s on, Jesuit schools and universities replaced Erasmus's and Frusius's works with Soarez's manual.[26]

Although Quintilian is always quoted as the most important author on *evidentia*, even by modern manuals on rhetoric, such as Heinrich Lausberg's *Handbuch der literarischen Rhetorik*,[27] or in major studies on *ekphrasis*, such as Ruth Webb's *Ekphrasis, Imagination and Persuasion in Ancient Rhetorical Theory and Practice*,[28] the way in which he deals with the topic remains surprisingly vague and general; it is hard to imagine that pupils, after having read Quintilian, clearly understood what they should do when they were ordered to compose *evidentia* texts by themselves. Somewhat surprisingly, but obviously in reaction to some other rhetorical theoreticians, Quintilian openly refused to give a detailed, analytical account of the topic.[29] Instead, he says that it is 'very easy' ('facillima') to create *evidentia*, refers the reader vaguely to 'nature' and to his 'own experience', and leaves it totally up to him how to apply 'nature'[30] or 'experience';[31] instead of presenting clear devices illustrating how to compose an effective image, he quotes a couple of instances from Cicero's speeches, which he greatly admired.[32] He stresses the "method" for inventing a striking *Gesamtbild* as it was achieved by Cicero's genius, but he stays vague about the way in which to do it ('in a certain way', 'quodam modo')[33]; also the example he gives, taken from Virgil's *Aeneid* (V, 426), does not help much. Sometimes, however, Quintilian advises listing circumstantial details in order to create *evidentia*,[34] advice that is more helpful but is presented only via a *leçon par l'example*.[35] *Evidentia* is, according to Quintilian, especially relevant for the *narratio*, particularly in digressions ('egressus', 'egressiones'),[36] and for the *praise* (*laus*) of (1) persons and (2) cities/places/buildings.[37] In the passages on the praise of persons and cities/places/buildings, however, Quintilian

26   Cf. Bauer, *Jesuitische 'ars rhetorica'* 140, note 61.

27   See Lausberg H., *Handbuch der literarischen Rhetorik* (2nd ed., Munich: 1973) §§ 810–819.

28   (Aldershot: 2009) 87–106.

29   Quintilian, *Institutio oratoria* VIII, 3, 63.

30   Ibidem, VIII, 3, 71: 'atque huius […] virtutis facillima est via: naturam intueamur, hanc sequamur'.

31   Ibidem.

32   Ibidem, VIII, 3, 63–66.

33   Ibidem, VIII, 3, 63: 'est igitur unum genus, quo tota rerum imago quodam modo verbis depingitur'.

34   Ibidem, VIII, 3, 66–69; IX, 2, 40.

35   Ibidem, VIII, 3, 68–69.

36   Ibidem, IV, 3, 12.

37   Ibidem, III, 7, 10–18 (*laus hominum*) and 26–27 (*laus urbium, regionum, operum*).

again remains silent on *evidentia* and especially on advice about how to create and use it. Instead, he focuses on the application of *virtue* as a central concept of praise. His paragraph on the descriptions of towns (and similar objects) in particular remains obscure, because Quintilian takes a shortcut by maintaining that the praise of this category would work exactly in the same way as the praise of persons.

Is it adequate to speak of an "image theory" in Quintilian? To some extent, it makes sense, given the importance Quintilian attached to *evidentia*. He maintains that it is 'in his opinion' 'the greatest quality and achievement of an orator'.[38] Nevertheless, the scope and application of the device are very limited in Quintilian. He narrows them down to the rhetorical *narratio* and focuses on the requirements of forensic speeches; i.e., the goal of the *narratio* is in fact no more than to present an event of juridical relevance as clearly as possible to the judges (the audience).

For Erasmus's *evidentia* chapter in *De copia* (II, 5), Quintilian is the point of departure and the most important source of inspiration. This is already apparent from the first two pages, where he quotes Quintilian *in extenso*. Erasmus's treatment of *evidentia* is, however, much more systematic, clear, and complete than Quintilian's, and its scope is much wider. Erasmus created an impressive inventory of topics of *descriptiones*, the rhetorical situations, genres, and occasions in which one can apply them, and examples of them in Latin and Greek literature of classical antiquity. In Erasmus's treatment of *evidentia*, it is in fact *totus mundus*, the whole world, writers may describe in their works; it comprises everything visible in culture and nature, from the largest parts of creation, such as the sea and the sky, to the smallest particulars, such as birds and insects, and extends even into the realm of fiction, fantasy, and mythology:

> […] there are descriptions of whirlwinds, storms, and shipwrecks, such as we find in a good many places in Homer, in Virgil in *Aeneid* 1 [1, 81 ff.], and in Ovid in *Metamorphoses* 11 [XI, 478–572]. There is a battle between two barbarian races in Juvenal [15, 33 ff.], and a plague in Virgil, *Georgics* 3 [III, 478 ff.], also in Ovid, *Metamorphoses* 7 [VII, 523–581] and in Seneca's *Oedipus* [37 ff. and 110–120], and another one in Thucydides [II, 47–54]. There is a splendid description of a famine in one of Quintilian's display speeches [*Declamationes maiores* 12]. Then there are descriptions of prodigies, eclipses of the sun, snowstorms, torrential rain, lightning flashes, thunder, earthquakes, fire and flood, such as Ovid's description of Deucalion's flood [*Metamorphoses* 1, 262–312]; likewise seditions, armies, battles, slaughter, destruction, sackings, single combat,

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38   Ibidem, VIII, 3, 71.

naval battles (as in Lucan, book 3 [*Pharsalia* III, 521 ff.]); banquets, parties, weddings, funerals, triumphs, games, processions, like in Plutarch's description of Cleopatra's barge in his *Life of Mark Antony* [*Antony* 26]; sacred sites, ceremonies, incantations, witchcraft (as in Lucan, book 6 [VI, 430 ff.] and in Horace's *Satires*, where Priapus describes a scene at which he had been an onlooker [1, 8]); hunts […] [Hadrianus Cardinalis, *Venatio*, ed. pr. Venice: 1505]; also descriptions of living creatures, like the electric ray and the porcupine in Claudian [*Carmina minora* IX (XLV)]; the phoenix both in Claudian [*Carmina minora* XLIX (XLVI)] and Lactantius [*De ave phoenice*]; the parrot in Ovid's *Amores* [II, 6] and in Statius [*Silvae* II, 4]; serpents in Lucan, book 9 [*Pharsalia* IX, 700 ff.]; all kinds of fish in Oppian [*Halieutica*] […].[39]

As the above-quoted passage indicates, Erasmus successfully unlocked Greek and Roman poetry as a most important source of *evidentia*, and he collected a good number of examples from his own, vast reading of the classics, including, among others, Homer, Virgil, Horace, Ovid, Lucan, Statius, Aristophanes, Moschus, Claudian, Oppian, and Boethius, and the tragedies of Seneca, Sophocles, and Euripides. In doing so, Erasmus closely connected the huge realm of the whole *genus demonstrativum*, i.e. what we would consider "belles lettres", with rhetorical or poetical *evidentia*. Another major achievement of Erasmus's manual was that he made a number of important analytical remarks with respect to literary genres—for example, that historical works may start with a *descriptio loci*; that epic narration may be introduced by a 'painting' of an *imaginary* landscape, a so-called *topothesia*, such as in Virgil's *Aeneid*, book 1; or that in tragedies a messenger's report is the appropriate place for a *descriptio*—and moreover, Erasmus listed some clear rhetorical devices the writer should use when composing *evidentia* speeches: comparisons, parallels, metaphors, 'images' (by which he probably means symbols or symbolic images), allegories,[40] *similia*, *dissimilia*, and *epitheta*, for which he especially

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39   *De copia* II, 5, English transl. Knott, p. 580, line 12, and p. 581, line 5; *ASD* I, 6, p. 204, line 243, to p. 206, line 261.

40   Ibidem, 579, lines 12–14: 'Not a little is contributed to such descriptions by the adducing of parallels, the introduction of similes and contrasts, by comparison, metaphor, allegory, and by any other figures of speech that will light up a topic'—*ASD* I, 6, p. 204, lines 217–219: 'Non mediocriter tamen adiuvari collationibus, similibus, dissimilibus, imaginibus, metaphoris, allegoriis, et si quae preterea sunt figurae, quae rem illustrant'. Knott did not translate 'imaginibus': its close position to 'metaphoris' suggests that Erasmus means "symbolic images" or visual symbols.

admired Homer.[41] Erasmus draws on Quintilian but makes the connection more explicit when he states that it is crucial to unfold the 'circumstances' carefully and in detail, preferably by emphasizing visual details that *characterise* a person, event, or action.[42]

Given the important and extended role attributed to *evidentia* in *De copia*, it is certainly legitimate to ascribe to Erasmus an *image theory*, i.e. a *theory of creating rhetorical imagery in literary works* (including poetry). In his view, the *genus demonstrativum* (or *belles lettres* in a modern sense) is somehow dominated by the creation of *evidentia*, and as a genious writer in Latin prose, he was a master in this field. He was able to entertain using highly vivid and lucid *descriptiones*, for example in his *Laus Stultitiae*, in his *Convivia*, or in many of his letters. However, it seems that Erasmus regarded the *creation of rhetorical imagery in literary works* as a kind of *l'art pour l'art*, a goal in itself. The writer may indulge in it, even without having a clear persuasive aim in mind; Erasmus obviously does not restrict the use of *evidentia* to the goal of stirring up the reader's emotions and guiding him in a certain direction. Furthermore, Erasmus's *image theory* is not at all linked to the Christian religion; his theory is dominated by classical scholarship and antiquarianism. He does not talk about Christian meditations but explicitly lists pagan religious processions, funerals, Roman triumphs, Greek and Roman games; moreover, he includes pagan sacred sites and ceremonies—and even incantations—and witchcraft (all of which were considered devilish). Erasmus does not describe or even mention Christian churches or religious images, but focuses his attention on descriptions of Roman and Egyptian architecture, and Greek and Roman visual art, such as amphitheatres, pyramids,[43] and statues of *pagan Gods*, such as the Gallic Hercules (taken from Lucian's *Hercules Gallicus*, a work translated

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41   English transl. 580, lines 8–12: 'Is there anything he (i.e. Homer) does not display vividly before our eyes by putting in the appropriate circumstantial detail, which, even if it sometimes seems insignificant, yet somehow or other presents the thing marvellously to our eyes? He also gets his effect by the use of epithets and similes'.

42   Ibidem, lines 9–11: 'I think I should remind that descriptions of this sort consist mainly in the exposition of circumstantial details, especially those which make the incident particularly vivid, and give the narrative distinctiveness'—*ASD* I, 6, p. 204, lines 215–217: 'Verum illud arbitror admonendum, hoc genus descriptiones praecipue quidem constare circunstantiarum explicatione, earum praesertim, quae rem oculis maxime subiiciunt ac moratam reddunt narrationem'. 'Morata' refers to 'characteristic' traits, i.e. visual details that have the potential to characterize visual things, persons, or actions.

43   English transl. 581, lines 16–17.

by Erasmus from Greek into Latin)[44] or the Colossus,[45] i.e. a giant statue of Sol. He even includes imaginary things: buildings of pagan mythology, such as the *Palace of the Sun* and the *House of Fame*[46]; paintings such as the ones described by Philostratus in the *Icones*[47] and by Plutarch in various treatises of the *Moralia*; and works of applied art, such as the shield of Achilles (taken from Homer, *Iliad* XVIII, 483 ff.)[48] or the shield of Aeneas (Virgil, *Aeneid* VIII, 626 ff.). Erasmus's imagery is largely restricted to classical antiquity. His image theory is focused on a lively and sparkling *revival of antiquity in the modern world*, and as such it counts among the main intellectual pleasures of Humanism as envisaged by Erasmus and his followers.

Cyprian Soarez in his description of *evidentia* worked very much along the lines of Quintilian, but, remarkably, completely ignored Erasmus, although he surely must have been familiar with *De copia*, and probably also Frusius's metrical version. In his category "praise of persons and cities" Soarez demonstrates how the central concept of *virtus* should be applied.[49] He says nothing in this respect about how one could create *evidentia*. This is especially disappointing when he talks about the description of cities. His chapter "De laude urbium" consists only of a few lines.[50] Similarly unrewarding are Soarez's chapters "De narratione" (II, 8–9), in which he closely follows Quintilian. Much as Quintilian had already put it, Soarez says that successful narration should be first and foremost short (*brevis*), clear (*aperta*), and plausible (*probabilis*) (II, 8). The principles of brevity, simplicity (in content and style), and plausibility seem to severely limit the range of *evidentia*. If one described events, persons, and places in detail and with pomp and circumstance, one would run the risk of losing sight of these goals. On the one hand, it seems that a fundamental objective of Soarez's art of narration is to omit details. Nevertheless, he obviously admits some 'ornatus', i.e. rhetorical ornament; the problem is only that he does not indicate what kind of ornament. On the other hand, he considers it important 'to give causes (*causae*) of *every event or fact* described' in order to increase the narration's plausibility. This seems to imply that one may add a number of reasons to a narration, even if these make it considerably longer.

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44   Ibidem, lines 10–11.

45   Ibidem, line 16.

46   Ibidem 587, line 25.

47   Ibidem 581, line 16.

48   Ibidem, lines 14–15.

49   *De arte rhetorica* I, chapters 42–49, esp. 44 ff.

50   Ibidem, I, chapter 48.

A bit surprisingly, at the end of the chapter a different type of narration occurs, the so-called *narratio suavis* ('pleasant narration'). This type is more vivid, and seems to comprise more details: it builds up expectations; brings forth unexpected turns; provokes admiration and astonishment; dwells on the emotions, such as grief, anger, fear, and joy, of the described persons; and includes dialogue.[51] Soarez ascribes this type of narration, however, solely to Cicero: he does not say explicitly whether he approves of it or not; from the fact, however, that Soarez defines the 'pleasant narration' as a Ciceronian peculiarity, the reader may deduce that the Portuguese Jesuit does not subscribe to it, or at least was not particularly fond of it.

Soarez's authoritative rhetorical manual, after all, does not contain something like an image theory, let alone a specifically Jesuit image theory. Somewhat surprisingly, he remains more vague and general on *evidentia* than Quintilian, and stays far behind the important achievements of Erasmus's image theory in *De copia*. The reasons for Suarez's reluctant attitude are not entirely clear. One cannot exclude that it may have been connected with the fact that he completed his manual (1561/2) before the Council of Trent's final decrees on the cult of saints and the use of images, which were formulated in the session on 4 December 1563. He may have avoided—as did other Jesuits—becoming too explicit on disputable aspects; that the use of images belonged to these aspects, Wietse de Boer has shown in his contribution to this volume. But of course this does not explain why he did not use Erasmus's major source book *De copia* or Frusius's abbreviated metrical version from 1552/3 at all. Erasmus's *De copia* was otherwise well received in Jesuit schools. Of course, one must not forget that Soarez intended to compose a compendious text, with an inherent economy of selection: among other things, this economy would imply that more difficult and subtle issues were to be avoided. He possibly counted *De copia* topics, and thus also the literary production of visual images, among these issues. But one must not forget that Soarez generally did not aim to adapt classical rhetoric to the specific requirements of sixteenth-century religious practices and debates, and, as the great success of his manual demonstrates, this has not been a drawback: classical rhetoric—if not overloaded with antiquarian detail—made perfect sense in the Jesuit curriculum,[52] not in the last

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51   Ibidem, II, chapter 8: 'Ciceroni vehementer placet, ut iucunda et suavis sit narratio, eamque suavem narrationem esse ait, quae habet admirationes, expectationes, exitus inopinatus, quae interpositos motus animorum, colloquia personarum, dolores, iracundias, metus, laetitias, cupiditates'.

52   Cf. *supra*.

place because it was much more concise than, e.g., Quintilian's voluminous work in 12 books.[53]

Because rector Frusius's *De utraque copia* was so closely connected with the educational programme of Ignatius's *Collegium Romanum*, it is rewarding to compare Erasmus's image theory with Frusius's reworking of this chapter of *De copia*. Like Erasmus, Frusius included in the second book of his rhetoric a "chapter" on *enargeia*, marked as such by a "chapter title" in the text of the poem itself (through two introductory verses) and via a marginal "index" note (to the left side of the text block).[54] In a marked difference from Erasmus, Frusius was much less interested in *evidentia* created by the description of visual objects and places, but focused entirely on persons, i.e. the rhetorical *figura* of *prosopopoeia*, which he called *prosopographia* or *descriptio personae*. On the *descriptio* of things and places Frusius remains extremely short and vague. What Erasmus had explained in pages, Frusius sums up in a few lines. Frusius's list of topics is much shorter; most notably, he deleted all antiquarian topics, and of course all topics connected with pagan cults or superstitious beliefs (such as witchcraft). In the description of places, Frusius focuses on elements of natural landscapes, but he also includes elements of artificial ones (cities, agriculture). He does not mention, however, single buildings or single works of art. Most importantly, he explicitly avoids the impression that the literary *enargeia* descriptions may be exercised as a *l'art pour l'art*: he emphasizes that the aim of description is to affect the audience emotionally: 'Denique res omnis […],/ Si bene describes, magna gravisque *movet*'—'Any object (topic) will—if you describe it well—gain impact and importance, and thus emotionally affect the audience'.[55]

Image Theory in Neumayr's *Idea Rhetoricae*

The Jesuit priest, teacher, and preacher Franciscus Neumayr authored one of the most important rhetorical manuals of the eighteenth century, the *Idea*

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53   In the preface Soarez criticized Quintilian for being too long and for being obscure. Cf. Bauer, *Jesuitische 'ars rhetorica'* 147.

54   In the edition I used (Cologne, Maternus Cholinus: 1568), pp. 32–34 (in Cholinus's edition of 1558 on fols. 16r–17v). The marginal note 'Energeia' (*sic*) on p. 32 (fol. 16r); ibidem, the opening lines: 'Res quoque ceu pictas habitu si prodis aperto:/ Acris energiae formula quinta tibi est'. 'Formula quinta' is an equivalent of Erasmus's chapter title 'quinta ratio' (*ASD* I, 6, p. 202, line 159).

55   Ibidem, p. 32.

Rhetoricae, which first appeared in 1548 and saw in total six editions: an augmented one in 1753, and four others which are repetitions of the 1753 edition (1756, 1761, 1768, and 1775).[56] Unlike, for example, Masen in his famous *Palaestra eloquentiae ligatae*, Neumayr certainly intended his rhetoric to be used in Jesuit school education, by teachers as well as students. As a Jesuit teacher of rhetoric, and a priest and preacher, Neumayr became aware that contemporary rhetoric required many things that were not described in classical rhetoric. As the full title of the *Idea Rhetoricae* shows, it was one of his foremost goals to adapt classical rhetoric to 'daily contemporary use' ('de […] praxi et usu artis quotidiano'), which meant, in the end, religious use by the ministers of the Catholic Church ('usu […] ecclesiastico'). Through his experience as a teacher of rhetoric Neumayr became convinced that the *usus* as described in classical rhetoric, and the examples presented in these manuals, were not adequate any longer. He criticised ancient rhetorical manuals for largely neglecting practical application, and early modern ones for collecting examples from antiquity in an antiquarian, scholarly style instead of focusing on the requirements of modern times. He does not mention Erasmus's *De copia* or Soarez's *De arte rhetorica*, but his polemical remarks were probably directed toward humanistic rhetorical works with an antiquarian flavour, such as Erasmus's, and against dry Jesuit compilations of ancient rhetoric (such as Soarez's) as well. 'Pupils understand modern things (*nova*) more easily than facts of the distant past (*vetera*)', was Neumayr's credo.[57] For this reason, he illustrated his rhetoric with new examples, always invented by himself.

These thoughts are the basis of a substantial part of Neumayr's *Idea Rhetoricae*, book III, on the "Devices and application of emotional rhetoric" ("Praecepta, Praxis, Usus Rhetoricae Moventis"). It is in this framework that

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56   *Idea Rhetoricae sive methodica institutio de praeceptis, praxi et usu artis quotidiano, civili ac ecclesiastico, auctore Francisco Neumayr, S.J.* (Ingolstadt – Augsburg, Joannes Franciscus Xaver Crätz – Thomas Summer: 1748) 260 pp. (Sommervogel 25); *editio secunda auctior* (ibidem: 1753) 285 pp.; repetition of the second edition in *editio tertia auctior* (Munich – Ingolstadt: 1756); *editio quarta auctior* (ibidem: 1761); *quinta editio auctior* (ibidem: 1768); *sexta editio auctior* (ibidem: 1775) (all 285 pp.). In this contribution, the quoted texts are taken from the second, augmented edition (1753). For the importance of the work cf. Van der Veldt, *Franz Neumayr SJ* 123, note 123: 'Neumayrs *Idea Rhetoricae* und *Idea Poeseos* erlebten zusammen zehn Neuauflagen; er gehört damit zu den zehn erolgreichsten Jesuitenautoren auf dem Gebiet der Rhetorik- und Poetikschulbücher. […] Die beiden Lehrbücher Neumayrs […] wurden wahrscheinlich auch von den Schülern als Textbücher benutzt'.

57   Cf. his "Preface to the Reader", fol. 2v–3r: 'Tyrones vero facilius nova quam vetera intelligant […]'.

Neumayr developed a specific kind of image theory, or theory of *evidentia*, as a means to evoke emotions—a theory he considered applicable and useful for Jesuit pupils, priests, and preachers.[58]

One of the most important features of the new rhetorical image theory was the status Neumayr gave to the visual arts. In Quintilian and other classical and early modern rhetorical writings it is frequently the case that the process of creating rhetorical *evidentia* is called 'depingere', 'to paint'. And this certainly also goes for Erasmus's image theory in *De copia*. 'To paint', however, is in these instances used only in a *metaphorical* sense, as a manner of speaking.[59] In a marked difference, Neumayr takes the close connection between rhetorical *evidentia* and the visual arts much more seriously, almost literally. In his rhetorical course, he focuses several times on the visual arts, and he includes them in the rhetorical process, for example by using paintings with religious topics, statues of saints, and other artefacts and objects as a valid means of persuasion, e.g. in sermons. Persuasion is in his manual mostly conceived in a religious sense, and *evidentia* as a method of evoking religious feelings. Another important issue is his understanding of church architecture as a means of religious persuasion by *evidentia*. And it is not at all meant metaphorically when he advises the orator and preacher (and the poet as well) to frequently and carefully study paintings of famous masters, in order to improve their capability of creating *evidentia*.[60] He considered especially useful paintings with battle scenes, sea battles, triumphs, and the torture of martyrs. In a marked difference, Erasmus in his chapter on evidence also referred to paintings, but never to preserved paintings he could actually observe; he exclusively meant paintings of antiquity in literary *ekphrases*; if these paintings ever existed, they were lost in Erasmus's time. But mostly, such as in the case of Philostratus' *Icones*, they never existed: these were solely literary inventions.

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58   Cf. especially *Idea Rhetoricae* III, praeceptum II "De obiecto affectuum".

59   For example, Erasmus says in *De copia* that *evidentia* is defined as 'to express things as it were with colours' ('ceu coloribus expressam') 'so that we seem to have painted the scene rather than described it, and the reader seems to have seen rather than read [it]' ('ut nos depinxisse, non narrasse, lector spectasse non legisse videatur'). Cf. English transl. by Knott, 577, lines 12–13; Latin text *ASD* I, 6, p. 202, lines 162–165.

60   Neumayr, *Idea Rhetoricae* III, praeceptum II, § 2, p. 150: 'Unde iuvat plurimum, sicut Poetam, ita Oratorem non raro attente contemplari celebrium artificum tabulas, in quibus prelia, naufragia, triumphos, certamina Martyrum exhibent'.

'Spectacula'—the Demonstration of Visual Objects as Evidence in Sermons

If one compares Neumayr's theory of *evidentia* with classical ones, such as Quintilian's, or early modern ones, such as Erasmus's, or Jesuit ones, such as Soarez's, the use of visual art and visual objects as a means of persuasion marks an interesting and innovative difference. Neumayr devotes a whole chapter to what he calls 'spectacula', i.e. the *demonstration of visual objects*.[61] He adorns his orator or preacher with objects—such as skullcaps, burning torches, statues of saints, or a painting with damned souls burning in hell—as *instruments of persuasion*.[62] Furthermore, he includes theatrical performances of religious rites (such as confirmation/'second baptism') or *tableaux vivants* (such as the performance of a man on his deathbed) as means of persuasion that may be used in sermons.[63] Interestingly, Neumayr at the same time limits the categories of visual objects: they should not be 'far-fetched' or seem strangely artificial, such as *Deus ex machina* installations. For example, it could seem ridiculous when a preacher evokes the Holy Spirit, and at the same time a dove flies down from the church dome. The fact that Neumayr mentions such a performance, however, indicates not only that he actively thought about such effects, but that they obviously had been used in his time. Most importantly, Neumayr instructs the preacher to carefully *embed* visual objects such as the above-mentioned ones in his rhetorical argument. He emphasizes that visual objects should never be introduced to speak for themselves, but only to add *evidentia* to the spoken word. The words must be well chosen and exert their power *in combination* with the demonstrated visual object.

In this respect Neumayr works out the example of a painting with *damned souls* burning in hell. The preacher may use such a painting in order to elicit repentance and conversion. First the preacher should talk about sudden, untimely, and unexpected death, and about the punishments the unprepared soul will undergo in hell. Only then comes the moment when the preacher exhibits the painting, which is explicitly indicated in the text ('hic exhibitio fit'). The preacher should demonstrate the painting with emotional exclamations ('eheu', 'ah'), and combine it with highly emotional rhetorical devices (*figurae*), such as repetition of words and direct address:

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61 Ibidem III, II, § 1 "Exemplum objecti propositi per spectaculum", pp. 146–149.

62 Ibidem: 'per imagines, per calvarias, per facem ardentem […] e.g. calvaria, imago animae damnatae'.

63 Ibidem: 'talia, per quae oculis subjicitur […] ritus ecclesiae e.g. renovatio baptismi, dispositio moribundi […]'.

quis aspectus! Eheu! terrifica imago (hic exhibitio fit) et cuius, ah, cuius, [...] cuius, dicite, haec imago? Infestum est, quod dicam: dicam tamen, quia prodesse malo quam placere. *Tua* imago est, puella impudens, nisi a lasciva familiaritate te abstrahas! *Tua* imago est, libidinose iuvenis, nisi foedam consuetudinem damnas![64]

What an image! Woe! A terrible image (now it [the painting] should be exhibited) and who, oh, who [...] who is depicted? It is awful what I am going to say now; but I will speak nevertheless, because I would rather be useful than pleasing. It is *you*, shameless girl, unless you refrain from your lascivious liaison! It is you, lecherous youth, unless you condemn your disgraceful habits!

Through typography (use of *italics*) Neumayr even indicates the intonation of the preacher during his performance. His voice will stress 'tua', and with his finger he will point to the individual person in the audience he is addressing. Needless to say, there will always be a young woman or a young man in an audience listening to a sermon. The combination of image and words is construed in order to stir up the emotion to a maximum. And in this case, the painting is able to add something that words could not easily achieve: the audience does not have an empirical visual impression of hell—it is exactly the *painting* that is meant to produce the required "realistic" visual image. The same would go, for example, for the crucifixion of Christ, the martyrdom of saints, the resurrection of Jesus, or the Last Judgement.

If religious paintings are used in this way, they provide a considerable part of the required *evidentia*. This is not to say, of course, that the words do not have a similar task. On the contrary: the evidence they are meant to produce should subtly interact with the *evidentia* of the painting. This means that the orator will engage in a kind of *ekphrasis* in the modern, narrower sense of the word (i.e. a description of a work of art).[65] In such cases it is preferable that he not simply describes the scene visible in the painting or just repeat what everybody can see, but will interpret the scene and adorn it with vivid details the audience *does not really see* but is supposed to *imagine*. In Neumayr's splendid example, the orator works out in detail the terrible metamorphosis the individual undergoes in hell: instead of expensive clothes he (i.e. the rich merchant) will wear flames; the precious necklace (i.e. of the shameless girl) will

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64   Ibidem.

65   Cf. Webb R., "Ekphrasis Ancient and Modern: The Invention of a Genre", *Word and Image* 15 (1999) 7–18.

turn into a burning chain; food will turn into snakes, wine into the poison of adders, a soft bed into glowing coals, and laughter into crying and the grinding of teeth.[66] Of course, in the painting neither the adder's poison nor the grinding of teeth could have been depicted. But the interplay of the painting and the *ekphrasis* of the preacher functions as a kind of imaginative machine, guiding and formatting the imagination of the audience.

In this way the audience will experience the sensations of the tortures of hell. The emotional reaction envisaged by the preacher is fear and despair, and he wants his audience to burst into tears. First he stirs up the feeling of despair, and then he provokes tears, almost on command: 'Nunc lacrymae prosunt!' ('Now it is time for tears!').[67] The emotions of despair and fear prepare the audience for the next step: the experience of God's goodness, and hence the emotion of loving God. The preacher now orders the audience 'to fall on their knees and to pray with a loud voice: "I love you, lovable God, lovable already because you make us fear you! Because if people did not fear you, who would love you? [...] O lovable God!"'.[68] The last part of the prayer, directed by the preacher, addresses conversion: 'This is the day on which I convert! I have said so, and I have started to convert! Turn to me, my Lord, turn to me, so that I convert completely!'.

The Production of Rhetorical *Evidentia* through Church Architecture

As one can see, the painting of damned souls burning in hell was used to achieve the maximum effect: conversion. One can imagine how Neumayr would have construed similar arguments by using skullcaps, burning torches, or a *tableau vivant* with a man on his deathbed. But of course Neumayr was well aware that visual objects were not strictly necessary in order to create *evidentia*; in principle, this could also be achieved through verbal description alone, either of

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66   Neumayr, *Idea Rhetoricae* III, praeceptum II, § 1: 'Quae fiet in primo inferni introitu terrifica metamorphosis! Ecce! Pro vestibus pretiosis ignem induetis, pro monilibus stringet catena candens, pro cibis comeditis serpentes, pro vino bibetis venenum aspidum, pro lectu sternentur prunae, pro risu fletus erit et stridor dentium'.

67   Ibidem.

68   Ibidem: 'Procidamus! Clamemus corde et ore: "Amo te, amabilis Deus, et vel ideo amabilis, quia terribilis! Nam nisi terribilis esses, quis te amaret? [...] O amabilis Deus!"'.

places, objects, or persons.[69] In his systematic exposé, Neumayr again focuses on *evidentia* as the interplay of the visual arts and verbal rhetoric. When it comes to the description of places, he does not focus on regions, natural or artificial landscapes, or classical buildings (amphitheatres, triumphal arches, and temples), but on *Jesuit church architecture*: he describes the most important Jesuit church in Germany, St. Michael in Munich![70] In comparison, Quintilian had narrowed down the *descriptio loci* to regions and landscapes,[71] and in *De copia* Erasmus focused it on landscapes, ancient towns, pagan buildings, ancient rivers (Nile), and spectacular natural events, such as the eruption of volcanoes.[72] If one looks at Erasmus's rhetorical manual, *evidentia* via *descriptio loci* is characterised exactly by what Neumayr tried to avoid, namely classical, antiquarian scholarship. All examples Erasmus lists stem from classical literature: the description of the Libyan harbour is derived from Virgil's *Aeneid* (I, 81 ff.); the description of villas refers to Pliny the Younger's estate Laurentinum (as described in his *Letters* II, 17), Pollio's at Sorrento (as described in Statius, *Silvae* II, 2, 1.3), and Manilius's at Tivoli; the description of other buildings to Roman amphitheatres (such as the Colosseum), and triumphal arches (such as the arch of Titus), and of towns to ancient Carthage (stemming again from Virgil's *Aeneid*, book I); and the eruption of volcanoes is taken from Pliny the Younger's description of the eruption of Vesuvius in his *Letters* VI, 16 and 20. In a marked difference from both Quintilian and Erasmus, for Neumayr *locus* means above all a *religious place*, i.e. a *locus* where Christian rites, sermons, prayers, and other religious exercises were performed.

St. Michael had enormous symbolic value for the Jesuit order in Bavaria: built by Duke William V of Bavaria between 1583 and 1597 after the example of the Gesù in Rome, it is the largest Renaissance church north of the Alps (78 m long, 20 m wide, and 28 m high). Its dedication to the Archangel Michael, who expelled Lucifer and the fallen angels from heaven, is meant as a triumphal celebration of the victory of Counter-Reformation Catholicism over the Lutherans—under the guidance of the Jesuits, of course. In fact, Neumayr's *descriptio* of St. Michael is construed as part of a sermon: e.g. about conversion, true piety, or the cult of saints. The orator uses Duke William V, the Pious, who lived a century and a half earlier (1548–1626), and the church he built for the

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69   Ibidem, III, 11, § 2 ("Exemplum objecti propositi per descriptionem"); in the augmented edition of 1553 see pp. 149–169.

70   Ibidem, pp. 151–154.

71   Quintilian, Insti*tutio oratoria* IV, 3, 12.

72   Erasmus, *De copia* II, 5; English transl. by B.I. Knott, *Copia: The Foundations of the Abundant Style*, in *Collected Works of Erasmus*, vol. XXIV, 587.

Archangel as a historical *exemplum* of true piety and the ideal veneration of saints.[73] The *evidentia* brought forth through the *descriptio* of the church is a vital part of the argument: it is, so to speak, the visual proof and result of true Christian piety; and, interestingly enough, this proof is totally intertwined with Jesuit church architecture of the late sixteenth century in its most triumphal form. As Neumayr indicates, without the description of the church the argument would lose its persuasive force. To mention the sole fact that William V built this church would not suffice (as it would, for example, in the Suetonian type of biography). In order to drive his point home, it was crucial for the orator to evoke the church before the eyes of his readers, to demonstrate its exterior and interior in all their grandeur (*magnificentia*)[74] and beauty, and to evoke the overwhelming effect this type of church architecture was supposed to exert on the believers.

Neumayr construed his *evidentia* sermon, set up as a *Kunstbetrachtung* or *ekphrasis* in the more modern sense of the word, according to a clear topical structure[75]: 1) *descriptio partium* (sc. ecclesiae), i.e. a description of the various parts of the church and the pieces of art located in it; 2) *causa efficiens* (artifex/ artist); 3) *causa materialis* ('immanes sumptus', 'enormous costs'); 4) *causae formales*, i.e. the building's exceptional height, width, and length; and 5) effectus (effect of the building). The 'effect' of religious art and architecture is, of course, located in the realm of religion: '*Bavaria was preserved for the Catholic faith*' ('*effectus*: Bavaria in fide conservata') and 'the piety of the inhabitants of Munich was increased' ('[*effectus*:] Monacensium pietas adiuta').[76] But in fact, all parts of the sermon are directed toward the same religious goal: to strengthen piety by arguing for the true veneration of a saint. That St. Michael gets a special place in this argument is not surprising: from a topical perspective he functions as the Counter-Reformation saint *par excellence*—the invincible destroyer of Lutheran heresy. Therefore, it does not come as a surprise that St. Michael is the alpha and omega of Neumayr's *ekphrasis*. It starts with the façade of the church, in which the bronze statue of St. Michael takes a central position [Fig. 7.1]; and its final part is dominated by the painting of

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73   Neumayr, *Idea Rhetoricae* III, II, 151: 'Si quis velit admirationem excitare de Guilielmi V. Bavariae Ducis eximia in S. Michaelem Archangelum veneratione […]'.

74   Ibidem, p. 151.

75   This topical structure is the result of the principal *inventio*, as indicated by Neumayr, ibidem. Neumayr, in fact, introduces the topical trias of *partes* (parts, details), *causae*, and *effectus* as the structural principle of all categories of *descriptiones*, i.e. of places, objects, and persons. Cf. ibidem, p. 150.

76   Ibidem.

FIGURE 7.1   *Church of St. Michael (Munich), lower part of the façade, with bronze statue of*
             St. Michael.
             COPYRIGHT CHRISTIAN PETERS.

St. Michael by Christoph Schwarz (1587), which leads to the envisaged emotional 'effect': anger with and contempt for the confessional enemy, and triumphant joy about *Bavaria fide conservata*.[77]

The structure of the *descriptio* sermon is heavily influenced by church architecture in combination with sculpture and religious painting. Neumayr takes the position of a visitor to the church, i.e., of course, a believer. The guiding principle of the architecture of the Jesuit church of St. Michael, and of Neumayr's *evidentia* speech as well, is *admiration*. The visual impression brought forth by both will cause the *admiration* of both the visitor to the church and the reader of Neumayr's speech. *Admiration* will lead to a deep religious *veneration* of St. Michael (and of God), which is the goal both of the religious art of St. Michael and of Neumayr's *ekphrasis*. Naturally, the first thing a visitor to a church sees is its façade; if it is adorned with statues or reliefs, he will have a look at them. Then he will pass the doorway and enter the interior. First, he will look at the interior as a whole; afterwards, he will contemplate its parts, and in doing so he will probably move from the back side entrance to the central altar.[78]

How did Neumayr produce admiration with respect to the façade [Fig. 7.2]? He did so through the application of rhetorical devices, such as *comparatio* and similes, and of *epitheta ornantia*, devices that Erasmus had already described in his *De copia*.[79] In order to provoke admiration Neumayr emphasised the façade's 'immense altitude', and in doing so he compared it with an Egyptian pyramid. In a sense, the roughly triangular form of the façade may legitimise this comparison [Fig. 7.2]. Remarkably, in his rhetorical application Neumayr regarded an Egyptian pyramid not as a grave monument, but as a *monument of victory*. The victor is Jesus Christ, the Saviour of the World ('Salvator mundi'), whose statue could be seen at the top of the façade, viz. the pyramid. Neumayr's second simile, a Roman amphitheatre, may seem a bit far-fetched, but it is connected with the statues of the twelve Wittelsbacher 'heroes' ('Heroum effigies', all of them true defenders of the Church) that appear in the façade's second and third segments. Neumayr creates an image of sublime rhetorical grandeur by relating the Wittelbachers to the central statue of St. Michael: he compares St. Michael with a victorious Roman gladiator in the arena of an amphitheatre,

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77 As Neumayr promises, ibidem, p. 152: 'effectus adjungitur in fine'. The various *causae*, however, are not treated as separate sections, but are intertwined in the descriptive passages. Cf. ibidem.

78 Cf. ibidem: 'Dispositio sit, qualem servavit ars [i.e. the visual arts: architecture in combination with sculpture and painting], ita ut incipiatur ab ingressu [i.e. the entrance at the façade], et deinceps progressus fiat ad alias partes'.

79 Cf. *supra*; ASD I, 6, p. 204, lines 217–222.

FIGURE 7.2   *Church of St. Michael (Munich), façade.*
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who after having killed his enemy receives the 'applause' of the audience, i.e. the Wittelsbacher heroes. As can be seen in the central group of sculptures, St. Michael conquers the devil by stabbing him with a long cross [Fig. 7.1]. The sculpture, of course, does not show that St. Michael actually killed the devil, but in his *evidentia* speech Neumayr interprets the image in this hyperbolic sense: he says that St. Michael 'pierces the throat' of the devil.[80] In reality, of course, the statues of the Wittelsbachers do not show gestures of applause. Neumayr, however, creates his highly artificial interpretation by pointing to their position—he says that the artist had placed them 'around' victorious St. Michael ('circum […] posuit [sc. artifex]')—and by referring to the *ekphrasis* topos of the "living image". Neumayr says that the sculptor has managed to render them 'alive' ('animatas in saxo statuas posuit artifex'). If the Wittelsbacher are 'alive', it is not a great leap to ascribe to them all kinds of movements and gestures. Of course, the gestures are created in the imaginative fantasy of the author/orator Neumayr, and that of his readers/audience.

A striking use of an *epitheton ornans* is that Neumayr maintains that the two doorways of St. Michael were made from 'marble from Paros'.[81] Of course the marble did not come from the well-known Greek island; besides, St. Michael's marble is pinkish, whereas Parian marble was highly esteemed precisely for its splendid white colour. But already in Roman antiquity, the *epitheteon ornans* 'Parian' was used for various kinds of extraordinarily expensive and luxurious marble.

How did Neumayr inspire admiration with respect to the church interior? The devices he used were similar to those for the exterior. Again he emphasised its size and space, especially the 'immense' width of the vault (created in 1587/8), which was indeed unusual: 'The people who have entered the interior are seized by admiration of the immense vault'.[82] Using the rhetorical figure of the *hyperbole* Neumayr depicts the vault as an incomprehensible *miracle*: as an *adynaton*, i.e. the category of the impossible and unbelievable. 'A vault', he says, 'not sustained by any column, but by nothing except the genius of the architect'[83]; and he amplifies the unbelievable by telling the anecdote that not

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80   Cf. ibidem: '[…] ingens imago visitur in aere Templi patronum referens, substrato pedibus draconi stygio insultantem et […] *guttur hasta crucis configentem*' (emphasis mine).

81   Cf. ibidem: 'Ingressus patet per geminas marmore Pario nitentes portas […]'.

82   Cf. ibidem, p. 153: 'Ingressos occupat major admiratio immensi fornicis […]'.

83   Ibidem: '[…] fornicis, quem nullae columnae, sed solum sustinet ingenium architecti […]'. Neumayr does not mention the architect by name (Friedrich Sustris), maybe in order to maximize astonishment and amazement.

even the architect himself could believe that what he had been building was possible.[84]

In order to increase the splendour of the church interior and his audience's admiration, Neumayr—by using the *epitheton ornans* 'lapide Porphyretico'— suggests that the floor was made of purple granite from the *Mons Porphyrites* in Egypt. The 'lapis Porphyreticus' in antiquity indeed came from Egypt, and hence was regarded as very luxurious: it was used only for works of art of special grandeur; and with respect to statues, it was reserved for those of Roman emperors. The *epitheton ornans* 'lapide Porphyretico' again develops its striking power in the fantasy of Neumayr's audience: Egypt is the region of miraculous *Weltwunder* architecture and architectonic grandeur (such as the above-mentioned pyramids). The *epitheton ornans* 'lapide Porphyretico' belongs to the arsenal of rhetorical *evidentia* Neumayr presents to his audience—of course St. Michael's stone floor did not come from the Egyptian *Mons Porphyrites*; red volcanic stone could be found in many places in Germany.

Finally, Neumayr guides the visitor's eye to the main altar, 'erected', as he puts it, 'in order to evoke the *amazement* of the viewer' ('ad oculorum *stuporem* fastigiata').[85] The central image of the high altar was Christoph Schwarz's painting of the *Victory of St. Michael* [Fig. 7.3]. Neumayr inspires admiration by applying yet another *epitheton ornans*, this time with respect to the artist. He calls Schwarz the 'German Apelles'. The *epitheton* Apelles refers to the miraculous power of this mythical Greek painter to imitate nature to such a degree that it is impossible to discern the difference between art and nature. As he did for Sustris's vault, Neumayr describes Schwarz's painting as a miracle indeed: it is construed in such a way (he says) that its central figure, St. Michael, is always *life-sized*, regardless of the vantage point from which one observes the painting, whether from up close or from the entrance far away.[86] This miraculous effect is stressed by a typographical device (italics): *nusquam se minor*. Printed like this, these words resemble an emblematic motto. They invite the reader to memorize them and meditate on them. What does it mean that St. Michael is always *life-sized*? It points to, among other things, his supernatural *omnipresence*. The *living image* of the saint is among us, regardless of our location in the church.

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84   Ibidem.
85   Ibidem.
86   Ibidem, p. 140: '[…] quod mireris, nusquam se minor, sive proximus inspicias tabulam, sive ex postremo templi angulo arbitreris'.

FIGURE 7.3   *St. Michael, altar painting with St. Michael by Christoph Schwarz (1587).*
COPYRIGHT CHRISTIAN PETERS.

In his description of the painting too, Neumayr leaves physical reality far behind and takes off into the high realms of fantasy; in other words, he construes this part of *evidentia* in his own imagination and that of the reader. Again, a living image appears and proceeds to dramatic action; Michael comes alive: he shows emotions, such as anger and fury ('furor Angelicus'), and the colour of his eyes and face *changes* (the face darkens with fury, the eyes flash: 'nigricat frons, scintillant oculi'). Michael makes spectacular movements, such as lifting up the Holy Cross, and, overwhelmed by indignation and anger, he even shouts out, 'Who is similar to God?' ('Quis ut DEus?').[87] Of course, Neumayr was well aware that the painting did not shout, but he is suggesting the reader to engage in a spiritual exercise—the reader or audience shall imagine that the angel is shouting, 'certe clamantem (sc. Angelum) audire te putes'. At the same time, these words are meant as a dramatic *peripetia*. Immediately after saying them Michael throws LUcifer (one may also understand LUther) out of heaven and celebrates a triumphant victory. As Neumayr explains a few lines later, St. Michael's glorious victory is over the Heretics, i.e. the Lutherans.

Evidentia as a Pivotal Argument for the Superiority of Catholicism in Controversial Sermons

In the last part of his rhetorical manual Neumayr presents—as the climax of his teaching—a perfect sermon (*concio*) on true belief, in which he compares the Catholic, Calvinist, and Lutheran confessions.[88] In a long concluding passage he demonstrates the superiority of Roman Catholicism by visual evidence, i.e. its visual culture: painted images and sculptures, the pious veneration of saints, the imagery or pictorial programmes of churches dedicated to saints ('in templis […] memoriae alicujus nostrorum Sanctorum dicatis'), triumphal representations, and religious performances in Catholic service, especially the *Eucharist*.[89] Catholicism is superior because of the *visibility* of the religious truth in triumphal paintings, i.e., above all, representations of Christ in Heaven, accompanied by Mary, the Apostles, saints, martyrs, confessors, Patriarchs, and Church Fathers.[90] Anyone entering a Catholic church can just *see* the truth of

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87   Ibidem. In the typography of the *Idea Rhetoricae*, 'DEus' is always rendered in this way.

88   Ibidem, IV, pp. 264–285 ("Exemplum"). He repeated this perfect example of the 'idea bonae Concionis' in his manual for priests, *Vir Apostolicus* (first edition 1752, as quoted in note 1) 260–280.

89   *Idea Rhetoricae*, IV, pp. 274–280.

90   Ibidem, esp. pp. 274–275.

Catholic doctrine—on frescoes or large altar paintings one can actually look into heaven and see what is there. Jesus the King in heaven is sitting on his throne, and he is exclusively accompanied by Catholics, especially saints, but never by Calvinists or Lutherans.[91] The saints venerate Christ, and Christ honours them ('a Christo honor in Caelis'), because he allows them to stand next to him, to be his chorus in heaven ('Chorus Sanctorum'). In his chorus, one cannot discern a 'Saint Luther' or 'Saint Calvin'. The saints, the inhabitants of heaven, are exclusively Catholics.[92] Their triumph is evident: for example, the martyrs and confessors are decorated by 'laurel crowns' as signs of their victory over 'the enemies of the Roman Church', the 'Mundus', and over 'Sathan', whom they have 'chased away from a thousand Provinces' by 'erecting the Holy Cross on the altars of the Prince of Darkness'.[93] Furthermore, an important part of the triumphal *evidentia* is offered in the 'majestic work of Johan Bolland and his followers' ('grande Bollandi et sequacium opus'),[94] who in the *Acta Sanctorum* (the first five volumes of which had been published in Antwerp in 1643)[95] put the lives of the saints most vividly before the eyes of the readers. When Neumayr wrote his *Idea Rhetoricae* in 1748, the impressive number of 35 volumes of the *Acta Sanctorum* had appeared.[96] In general, Neumayr considers it of pivotal importance that the Church be governed by a *visible* person, i.e. the pope, who is the legitimate successor of Christ, and that the Church venerate Christ through this *visible person* in a *visible* way.[97]

Only the visual culture of the Catholics offers Christ what he deserves: glory. And, of course, an important part of this glory is provided by the performance of religious rites, and these require priests (*sacerdote*s), sacraments—above all the Eucharist—devout veneration with appropriate gestures (kneeling down), i.e. the visible veneration of the King, 'cuius Regni non erit finis in fine mundi,

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91   Ibidem 274: 'Agite enim, in quo choro Sanctorum inveniemus Calvini aut Lutheri sectarium?'

92   Ibidem 276.

93   Ibidem, 274–275: 'Nostri Confessores et Martyres, hi coronati laurea propter pugnas pugnatas cum inimicis Romanae Ecclesiae, illi vestiti gloria […] propter mundum […] devictum, propter Sathanam cum suis ex antiqua possessione mille Provinciarum ejectum per Crucem constitutam in Altaribus, in quibus Princeps tenebrarum adorabatur'.

94   Ibidem 275.

95   By Johan Bolland, Gottfried Henschen, and Daniel Papebroek.

96   Comprising the months January-3 September. Cf. Sawilla J.M., *Antiquarianismus, Hagiographie und Historie im 17. Jahrhundert. Zum Werk der Bollandisten. Ein wissenschaftshistorischer Versuch* (Tübingen: 2009) (Frühe Neuzeit vol. 131).

97   *Idea Rhetoricae* IV, p. 278: 'Colimus (sc. Dominum) in Vicario, quem ipse sibi traditis clavibus substituit, ut visibilis Ecclesia in visibili Capite regeretur'.

sed de terrestri in caeleste translatio',[98] and, last but not least, the visual ambience in which the religious rites take place, i.e. 'a great number of magnificent churches'.[99]

The Fall of Icarus, or Dramatization as a Means of Creating Narrative *Enargeia*: Auditive *Figurae Sententiarum*, Dramatic Action, *Weltlandschaft*, and Other Devices

As is the case with respect to the painting discussed above (with the damned souls burning in hell), the *enargeia* description of the painting of *The Victory of St. Michael* displays highly theatrical features. In Neumayr's types of *evidentia* descriptions, *visual* images somehow turn into *living* images, and paintings or sculptures into *theatrical performances*. And the same goes for Neumayr's rhetorical *evidentia* produced in the framework of narratives—those of mythological stories, historical events, parables (*parabolae*), and fables (*apologi*).[100] In a marked difference from Soarez, Neumayr incorporates the *evidentia* presentation of circumstances and details ('circumstantiae'), and especially that of pleasant ('suavis') elements, as *indispensable* parts of a well-composed and efficient *narratio*.[101] Whereas Soarez had limited the 'pleasant narration' to Cicero, Neumayr hails it as a universal rhetorical principle: next to *brevitas*, *probabilitas*, and *claritas, suavitas* becomes the fourth necessary requirement.[102] *Suavitas* is achieved by rhetorical figures, either *figurae verborum* or *figurae sententiarum*. Neumayr considered the latter, however, to be of much higher and certainly of more specific importance. And among the *figurae sententiarum*, he stressed particularly *theatrical* ones: exclamations, direct addresses of persons (*apostrophae*), direct speech, personifications (*prosopopoejae*), and dialogues (*dialogismi seu colloquia*).[103] The aim of these devices is to make the persons or characters involved more vivid, to demonstrate their manners and character (*mores*), as well as their innermost thoughts or emotions (*affectus interni personarum*).

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98   Ibidem 277.

99   Ibidem 278: 'Nos autem honoramus illum (sc. Dominum) de nostra substantia: aedificamus templa et numero plurima et ornatu magnifica'.

100   Ibidem, III, chapter II, § III "Exemplum objecti propositi per narrationem" (pp. 160–170).

101   Ibidem, 160–161.

102   Ibidem.

103   Ibidem, 161.

As an example of how one should apply these devices, Neumayr gives his version of the mythological story of the *Fall of Icarus*, and he arranges it into an explosive display of rhetorical evidence.[104] In a sense, it is revealing that he chooses this specific story: it contains most spectacular elements, such as those of man flying in the air, by then still one of the unfulfilled dreams of mankind; of flying so high as to approach the sun; of hybris; and of the untimely death of a youth, who falls down many kilometres into the Mediterranean Sea. In his prose version Neumayr thus made extensive use of theatrical verbal devices, such as the characterization of involved persons, direct speech, dialogue (also as indirect speech/*oratio obliqua*), and exclamations, and combined these devices with dramatic action.

Before taking off for their flight into freedom, the 'anxious' father Daedalus admonishes his son Icarus to always stay close to him, and Icarus promises to do so ('Icarus promittere omnia'). Neumayr contributes to *evidentia* by characterizing the mental attitude of his characters: the father is 'anxious because he was well aware how short-sighted young people are',[105] and the son is short-sighted and careless (thus, the opposite of anxious). An additional, but most effective device is to render the experience of the characters by describing things from their point of view: 'far below' ('late infra') they discern the waves of the sea, and in doing so experience feelings of success and ultimate security, an important psychological motive with respect to the following . Thus Neumayr carefully describes Icarus's feelings, 'ut se liberum, ut in usu alarum felicem vidit puer, nihil ultra metuendum ratus'. Neumayr construes this passage as a dramatic *peripetia*. In order to achieve this effect, he uses a direct speech by Daedalus to mark the moment when Icarus flies out of his father's reach. Daedalus 'shouts [...]: "Icarus, why are you climbing? You are flying towards your death! Believe your father, to stay in the middle is more secure! Glide back to your father!"'[106] Blind and emotional as young men are ('juvenili correptus furore')—another characterization of a person involved—Icarus does not listen to his father, does not even consider his warning important enough to give an answer. The action gets more and more dramatic.[107] And once more Neumayr describes the event in such a manner that he seems to

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104   Ibidem 161–162.

105   Ibidem: 'sciebat enim [sc. pater] quam minime provida jucentus sit'.

106   Ibidem 162: 'Clamat pater: 'Icare, quo te evehis? In ruinam ascendis! Via media est secura, patri crede! Ad patrem relabere!'

107   Neumayr, ibidem, vividly exaggerates Icarus's disastrous lack of responsibility by rhetorical questions that depart from "normal" expectations: 'Quid ille? Num paruit? Num respondit? Num commotus est saltem?—Imo ne audiit quidem [...]'.

include the perspective of Icarus, who is about to cross the clouds ('iam nubi-
bus imminens') and—'shamelessly' ('impudenter')—looks into the sun. But
his eyes are not able to stand the sun's radiance: they are blinded, he loses
orientation and control, and, as he is overwhelmed by this chaos, his wings
start to melt: 'Ergo effusa caligine et diffluentibus alis […]'. And now the 'poor
boy' ('miser') falls down. While tumbling through the air he repeatedly thinks
(according to Neumayr): 'Oh, if only I had obeyed!'[108] Not coincidentally,
Icarus's last thought takes the form of an exclamation. The crucial importance
of this verbal *evidentia* is typographically emphasized by italics: *Utinam obe-
dissem!* In these two words the story's moral lesson is summed up as if it were
in an emblematic motto, and Neumayr probably expected the reader to memo-
rize it and meditate on it.

    In his rhetorical exemplum of dramatized mythological narrative, Neumayr
was much inspired by Ovid's metrical version in *Metamorphoses* VIII, 183–235.
In fact, Ovid had already applied the majority of the devices in a masterly
way, although he had focused more on the speeches, thoughts, and actions of
Daedalus; for example, he described in much detail the construction of the
artist's ingenious invention—the artificial wings, including a first tryout (188–
202). In Ovid's account, however, the narrative loses dramatic tension when
the story comes to its climax, the fall of Icarus—there is no *peripetia*, and no
final warning from father Daedalus. Nevertheless, Ovid is full of spectacular
visual elements, one may say to a maximum degree. For example, the poet-nar-
rator takes the perspective of the two "bird-men" and looks down from the air
onto earth: on their left the island of Samos passes by and they leave Delos and
Paros behind, and on their right lie Lebinthos and Kalymnos.[109] This is less a
report of the actual flight route than it is a means for the production of illusion-
ary *enargeia*. If coming from Crete they fly north to the island Ikaros (the spot
of the tragic fall) and they pass Paros and Delos, they cannot also pass Samos
(on the Turkish coast), Lebinthos, and Kalymnos (south of Samos); if they fly
northeast, they will pass first Lebinthos, then Kalymnos and Samos, but defi-
nitely not Paros and Delos. But the real device is about the poetic illusion of a
kind of *Weltlandschaft* which is suggested by the perspective of the bird's eye
looking down at various Greek islands. The other striking visual detail is about
the amazement of the fishermen, shepherds, and peasants at work who see the
bird-men flying through the air: they are so astonished and struck by the image
that they believe they are seeing gods (VIII, 217–220).

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108   Ibidem: '[…] cum volvebatur per aera, illud volvisse animo […]: *Utinam obedissem!*'
109   Ovid, *Metamorphoses* VIII, 220–222.

Although in this case Neumayr was clearly inspired by Ovid's visual narrative, this does not exclude the possibility that he may also have had images of *The Fall of Icarus* in mind. Visual artists of the early modern period had frequently illustrated Ovid's *Metamorphoses*; there were a number of complete sets of *Metamorphoses* decorated with woodcuts, engravings and etchings, and there was an enormous number of separate illustrations (in graphic art and paintings as well), including, of course, *The Fall of Icarus*. For pictorial inventions, the Icarus myth was extremely rewarding because of its spectacular visual potential. One could depict the scene from the perspective of the shepherds in the framework of a whole *Weltlandschaft*, as Pieter Breughel the Elder, Hans Bol, and Carlo Saraceni (1606) had done; or one could narrate it from a very elevated vantage point (similar to a bird's-eye view), as in the engraving attributed to Simon Avellanus and published by Joris Hoefnagel (ca. 1595), or in Joannes Moretus's illustrated Ovid (Antwerp: 1591, p. 195). One could set the sea and islands within a broad, panoramic landscape, as many painters and designers did, or one could depict the "bird-men" from up close, flying through the air, as Rubens, Goltzius, and many artists after them did.

Evidentia in Neumayr's Jesuit Tragedies

Neumayr was thus obviously fascinated by the great pictorial, theatrical, dramatic, and symbolic potential of the myth to which he attributed a high didactic value. It is interesting to see that he was inspired by similar thoughts as a writer of Jesuit school dramas, especially the six tragedies he performed and directed as *choragus* at the Jesuit school in Munich: *Titus imperator, amor ac deliciae generis humani* (1731); *Eutropius infelix politicus* (1732); *Papinianus Juris-consultus* (1733); *Anastasius Dicorus* (1734); *Jeboam* (1735); and *Constantia orthodoxa ab imperatore Constantio Chloro sapienter honorata* (1736).[110] In his opening scenes (prologues, prolusions, or first appearances of the chorus),[111]

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110   For Neumayr's tragedies and his theoretical views on drama cf. Van der Veldt, *Franz Neumayr sJ* 81–125.

111   For prologues and chorus cf. ibidem 95 ff. On the importance of these elements, cf. ibidem 95: 'Der Prolog und die Chöre […] boten dem *choragus* die Chance, alle bühnentechnischen Mittel für seine Phantasie auszunutzen. Mitunter bildeten sie die schönsten Partien der Theaterstücke und mitsamt der Musik, Pantomime und dem Tanz nahmen sie einen erheblichen Teil der gesamten Spielzeit in Anspruch. Die Vor- und Einschübe charakterisieren den Versuch der Patres, mit der italienischen Oper, die ja seit dem ausgehenden 17. Jahrhundert die Bühnen in den Höfen in Wien und München erobert hatte, zu konkurrieren'.

Neumayr always tried to offer his audience visual fireworks, i.e. a spectacular visual performance that 'should fascinate the eyes'—'spectaculum, quod oculos raperet', as he formulates it in his theoretical work *Idea Poeseos* with respect to the prologue of his *Titus*.[112] As director or *choragus* Neumayr paid much attention to the backdrops and to beautifully painted and creatively constructed stage sets, and he enjoyed staging impressive scenes—scenes that were sometimes crowded by a big number of supernumeraries: in the *Titus*, 94 actors, singers, and dancers appeared; in *Papinianus*, some 80.[113] Neumayr was convinced that this kind of *evidentia* created in the opening *spectaculum* of the *prolusio* or *prologus* contributed enormously to the impact and power of the argument, and thus to the effect of a tragedy.

In his introductory *spectacula*, Neumayr indeed opens up heaven and hell; he indulges in *Bühnenbilder* with large landscapes, spectacular buildings, or the sky above the clouds; and, in a marked difference from his sermons, he applies *Deus ex machina* constructions. For example, his tragedy *Constantia Orthodoxa*, which was performed at the Munich Jesuit college on 4 and 6 September 1736, opens with an extended prologue play (*prolusio*) featuring allegorical figures or personifications, such as *Britannia*, the *Genius* of the Roman Empire, the Soldier (*Miles*), the Politician (*Politicus*), and the *Oeconomicus*.[114] After the *prolusio*, in which the complaints about the deplorable state of the Empire turn into a *non liquet*, the personification of *Britannia* asks for a 'sign from heaven'.[115] And Neumayr indeed opens heaven up; with the help of stage sets and artefacts he presents a most spectacular *vision*: above the (painted) clouds a destroyed pagan temple appears, and in the midst of the clouds is a cross with the inscription IN HOC SIGNO ('in this sign/symbol') and, probably on

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112   *Idea Poeseos sive methodica institutio de praeceptis, praxi et usu artis,ad ingeniorum culturam, animorum oblectationem,ac morum doctrinam accommodata* […] (Ingolstadt – Augsburg, Joannes Franciscus Xaver Crätz – Thomas Summer: 1751; ibidem: 1755, 1559; ibidem, Joannes Franciscus Xaver Crätz: 1768), book III, chapter II, § II ("De tragoedia") p. 181.

113   Cf. Van der Veldt, *Franz Neumayr sj* 97.

114   Perioche *Constantia Orthodoxa Ab Imperatore Constantio Chloro Sapienter Honorata: Das ist: Die sowohl denen Vernunffts- als Staats-Reglen gemäß weislich beehrte Glaubens-Beständigkeit, Auf Offentlicher Schau-Bühne Vorgestellt Von dem Churfürstlichen Lyceo Soc. Jesu in München Den 4. und 6. Herbstmonaths, Anno 1736* (Munich, Johann Jacob Vötter: 1736), 8 pp. without pagination; an exemplar, which also has the Latin play, is preserved in Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek 850866 4 Bavar. 2197, II, 1. The Latin play was also published in Neumayr Franciscus, *Theatrum Politicum sive Tragoediae* […] (Augsburg – Ingolstadt, Franz Xaver Cräz – Thomas Summer: 1760) 287 ff.; the prologue on pp. 288–295.

115   Ibidem 293: 'In tanti momenti negotio Coelum consulamus,/ Signum petamus […]'.

the right side of the cross, a splendid palace of glory destined for Constantine. The exact moment of this vision is explained in an annotation marked by an asterisk: '*Exhibetur eversum delubrum, et crux in nubibus cum Epigraphe: In hoc signo. Item palatium gloriae Constantino destinatum'.[116] This means that in the *spectaculum* prologue of his tragedy Neumayr performed the famous vision Constantine is said to have experienced before the battle at the Pons Milvius, which was also widely known in the visual arts, e.g. via etchings of Raphael's ingenious invention, painted in the Vatican Sala di Costantino.

As spectators of the miraculous vision, *Britannia* and the *Genius* of the Roman Empire give an emotional reaction; in amazement and fear they shout, 'Superi! Quale spectaculum! Quae ruina? Quis cometa? Quam terribilis crux!' But even more was to come: from the clouds a *Deus ex machina* personification of Providence (*Providentia*) glides down to earth, thus producing the reverse effect of Icarus, who flew in the other direction in the *Idea Rhetoricae*.[117] One can imagine the big impression this epiphany made on the audience. The epiphany reveals the meaning of the vision: 'Amabilis, aurea crux … Curarum desinite! Meus est Constantinus. Ego MAGNUM faciam'—'It is a lovely, golden cross … Stop worrying! It is my Constantine. I will make him a great man'. And in an aria, *Providentia*—played by Franz Xaver Wincklmayr—reveals in an *enargeia* description the meaning of the vision of the splendid palace in the sky: 'I am the architect/ that builds from this ruin [i.e. the destroyed pagan temple]/ for Constantine/ a splendid palace./ Please collect stones/ for a foundation,/ not fragile bricks from clay,/ not soft […], but hard stones,/ stones on which you detect/ the symbol of the cross […]'.[118] 'Built from these stones/ my work will stand,/ and will not be afraid/ of the storms of clouds,/ or the raging rains […]'.[119] In his *Idea Poeseos* Neumayr puts it this way: that 'Providentia reveals the (house of) glory of Constantine under the protection of the victorious Cross, built on the ruins of pagan idols'.[120] In the play, the *Genius* of the Roman Empire again renders the hoped-for effect of the vision: 'I am totally swept away by this pleasant vision. I obey. The election of the Roman Emperor shall take place IN SIGNO CRUCIS'.[121] It is clear that the *evidentia* of the prologue vision has an enormous impact on the reception of the rest of the play. The image of the cross with the inscription IN SIGNO CRUCIS will

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116   Ibidem.

117   *Idea Poeseos*, book III, chapter II, § II ("De tragoedia") (1551), p. 181.

118   *Constantia Orthodoxa*, in Neumayr, *Theatrum Politicum* 293.

119   Ibidem 294.

120   *Idea Poeseos*, book III, chapter II, § II ("De tragoedia") (1551), p. 182.

121   *Constantia Orthodoxa*, in Neumayr, *Theatrum Politicum* 294.

stay constantly before the eyes of the audience. It functions as an emblematic motto, and it bears an emblematic meaning too: it symbolizes Constantine's and Christianity's victory over pagan superstition, and in terms of a mirror of princes it requires a good emperor to be a true Catholic Christian. It does not seem far-fetched to compare its function with the *evidentia* descriptions of St. Michael in the *Idea Rhetoricae*, the statue as well as the painting. There, in analogous fashion, the cross is the weapon and the symbol of the victory of Catholicism over the heretics, i.e. the Lutherans.

The prologue *spectaculum* of the tragedy *Eutropius infelix politicus*, which was performed at the Munich College on 2 and 4 September 1732, also displays a spectacular *Bühnenbild* with a symbolic meaning.[122] It shows a large garden, and in the background is an impressive palace which is just being finished. Actually, it will be completed this very day. A group of workers is still busy under the guidance of an architect, played by the same actor as Eutropius (i.e. the evil courtier). A friend has arrived, attracted by the impressive building, and he is totally swept away by admiration,[123] obviously because of its size and proportions. However, an important backdrop of the building becomes visible: although the building lacks only a few tiles, it is built on sand. The architect bursts with pride and is convinced of his skill, symbolized by the ruler in his hand which bears the inscription ARTES POLITICAE: 'Cum haec domui ponendae/ applicatur regula,/ Nunquam illi subruendae/ Ulla valet machina'[124]— 'Since I have built this house/ With my ruler,/ No machine will be powerful enough/ to tear it down'. The good friend—Saint John Chrysostom, in fact— warns the architect and sings an aria on 'the house built on sand'.[125] The architect, however, replies that he understands the 'unique art of building on air', 'without foundation', just with his genius, viz. with the help of his incomparable ruler. Of course, for laypeople this art is too difficult.[126] And without hesitation the self-confident architect climbs on the roof in order to place a green tree as a sign of the building's completion. Saint John Chrysostom warns the architect again not to climb to his death, because the building starts to tremble: 'Ah siste gradum infelix!/ In tuum ascendis exitium!/ Non sentis ut tremiscat totum aedificium?'. And a most spectacular visual event takes place—the

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122   For the Latin text of the play cf. ibidem 69 ff.; the prologueplay (prolusio) on pp. 72–76.

123   Ibidem 72: Architectus: 'Quid stupis?' Amicus: 'Me mihi eripuit aspectus huius fabricae'.

124   Ibidem.

125   Ibidem 73.

126   Ibidem: 'Mitte curas inanes./ Hoc ipsum est singulare artificium/ Paucissimis cognitum,/ Aedificare in aere/ Nec fundamentum ponere./ Imperitis hoc videtur difficile,/ Sed nos nostrae non fallunt regulae'.

building collapses with a lot of noise, and the garden turns into a desert.[127] Saint John Chrysostom reads the inscription on a gravestone in front of him: 'HERE LAYS EUTROPIUS/ THE UNFORTUNATE RULER/ BECAUSE HE WAS A BAD CHRISTIAN'—'HIC IACET EUTROPIUS/ INFELIX POLITICUS/ QUIA MALE CHRISTIANUS'.[128]

Here again, the visual evidence is meant to function as a kind of *imago figurata*: it performs symbolically the content of the tragedy's main action.[129] The metaphorical architect symbolizes the immoral politician who builds his power "on sand"; the collapse of the building, the politician's downfall and punishment; the architect's ruler, as the inscription makes clear, the immoral 'political arts', i.e. intrigue, deceit, and lies; the columns of the building, as the inscriptions again demonstrate, their weakness and vanity, 'REGIS FAVOR' and 'PLEBIS PAVOR'; and the grave inscription, the moral lesson the audience shall draw. The prologue *spectaculum* of the *Eutropius* calls to mind, in a sense, the *evidentia* speech in the *Idea Rhetoricae* describing St. Michael. Here too, amazement and admiration are produced by the immense size of the vault, which is said to have been built solely from the genius of the architect, and which was not supported by any columns. Moreover, the spectacular fall of the architect very much resembles the Fall of Icarus in the *Idea Rhetoricae*.[130] It is a telling detail that Neumayr concluded the prologue of the *Eutropius* with an aria, sung by St. John Chrysostom, in which he refers to the fall of Icarus: 'Quot per contemptum legum/ Invito Rege Regum/ Attollunt se ad superos,/ Tot orbis habet Icaros:/ Quo volant altius,/ Hoc ruent certius'.[131]

Especially revealing is the prologue *spectaculum* of *Titus*, which was performed at the Munich College on 4 and 6 September 1731. The *Bühnenbild* of *Titus* is construed as a kind of *Weltlandschaft*, with the sea and another Greek island, Rhodes. In the centre of the island Neumayr presented a most spectacular piece of art, one of the seven 'Welt-Wunder' (as announced in the perioche):[132] the Colossus of Rhodes, originally a giant statue of the god

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127   Ibidem 74, the directors remark: now 'the building collapses: and the garden turns into a desert'—'ruit domus: ex horto sit desertum'.

128   Cf. ibidem.

129   Cf. *Idea Poeseos*, book III, chapter II, § II ("De tragoedia") (Munich – Ingolstadt: 1551), p. 183: 'Saepe idem argumentum, quod in prosa tractatur, in prologo quoque et choris exhibetur, vel tanquam *figura* ex veteri testamento, vel tanquam *imago* ex Mythologia'.

130   Cf. above.

131   Neumayr, *Theatrum Politicum* 75.

132   *Perioche Titus Imperator amor ac deliciae generis humani. Das ist Kayser Titus Zubenahmst Ein Lieb und Freud Des Menschlichen Geschlecht. Vorgestellt von dem Churfürstlichen Lyceo S.J. in München* [...] (Munich, Johann Lucas Straub: 1731), 40, 8 pp. (not paginated); text

of the sun Helios, which was approximately 30 metres high and made from iron and bronze, and was erected in 280 BC as a monument of victory over Antigonus I Monophthalmus, who had besieged Rhodes in 305 BC. In the perioche Neumayr says that the giant 'Bild-Saeul' was erected by the people of Rhodes in gratitude for Phoebus's generosity ('Guetthaetigkeit'),[133] by which he means the prosperity and fertility brought forth by a peaceful and benign lord. The stage set shows the inhabitants of Rhodes, in various chorus groups, and Nymphs, Muses, shepherds, and hunters. The chorus of Nymphs describes in an *evidentia* song the stage set showing the island of Rhodes: (N. 1): 'Ubertas *haec* agrorum' (N. 2): '*Haec* gaudia hortorum' (N. 3): '*Hae* vineae, *haec* praedia' (N. 4): 'Tranquilla semper maria' […] (omnes:) 'Sunt tua, Phoebe, munera,/ sunt tua gratia'—(N. 1): '*These* rich fields' (N. 2): '*These* pleasant gardens' (N. 3): '*These* vineyards, *these* estates' (N. 4): '*This* sea which stays always tranquil' (all): 'Are your gifts, Phoebus, your presents'.[134] This *evidentia* was performed in the form of music, and the demonstrative pronouns were certainly accompanied by gestures: each nymph—in fact a *Knabenchor* featuring the Jesuit pupils Estermann, Pschor, Wörgartner, and Einhauser[135]—was pointing to a certain part of the painted island visible on the *Kulisse*. The spectacular stage set again functions as an emblematic *imago figurata* of the play's action. The giant statue of benign Phoebus is an emblematic representation of the good lord Titus, the play's main character, who was hailed by Suetonius as *amor ac deliciae generis humani* (as indicated on the title page of the tragedy);[136] the island of Rhodes, an *imago figurata* of the prosperity brought forth by the good lord (Emperor Titus in the play); and the chorus groups of Rhodians, the grateful Roman subjects.

In the manner of the spectacular prologue plays of *Titus*, with its island *Weltlandschaft*, or of *Constantia Orthodoxa*, with a goddess descending from heaven, Neumayr could have performed on stage the story of Daedalus and Icarus as well, with *Weltlandschaft-Kulissen* and spectacular *Deus ex machina* constructions representing the "bird-men" flying through the air. This is not to suggest that he actually planned to do so, but to indicate that his rhetorical image theory is connected with his background as a director and writer of

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also in Szarota, *Das Jesuitendrama*, vol. III, 2, 875–882. The Latin play was published in Neumayr, *Theatrum Politicum*, pp. 7–68; the prologue on pp. 9–15.

133   Ibidem.

134   Ibidem 10 (in the perioche erroneously 01).

135   Cf. *Perioche Titus Imperator*, last page.

136   Cf. ibidem, title page.

tragedies, and a theorist of poetry. In all of these fields Neumayr had a strong preference for eye-catching images and spectacular performances, which are always construed in order to impress, amaze, and move the audience, and thus to persuade and educate it. For example, his highly visual and dramatic version of the fall of Icarus is construed in order to teach the Jesuit pupils a moral lesson, namely that it is of crucial importance for them to obey the orders of their fathers, i.e. their Jesuit teachers and superiors. When the pupils repeat in their minds the emblematic motto *Utinam obedissem!* they are supposed to visualize the myth in a way similar to that of Neumayr in the passage discussed above, and to internalize it by meditating on the visual and dramatic details and their meaning; and when Jesuit teachers use Greco-Roman myths in their lessons, they should first visualize and dramatize them in a similar way, "putting them before the eyes" of their pupils.

In conclusion, the fact that Neumayr includes the production of *enargeia* in his rhetorical manual is in itself neither new nor original. But the way in which he deals with *enargeia*, the importance and impact he ascribes to it, and the didactic examples he develops are remarkable. His image theory is perhaps not exclusively Jesuit, but it certainly has specific Jesuit features with respect to its religious and controversialist orientation, its connection with Jesuit church architecture and imagery, its contextualization in a centre of Jesuit education and piety (the Munich school), and its desired use in Jesuit preaching, writing, teaching, and theatre performances.

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PART 2

Embedded Jesuit Image Theory

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Libellus piarum precum (1575): Iterations of the Five Holy Wounds in an Early Jesuit Prayerbook

Walter S. Melion

Designed for a member of the Jesuit College at Trier, the *Libellus piarum precum* (1575) consists of meditative prayers to be recited *in solitudine*, as preludes or postludes to the Offertory and Canon of the Mass, especially the rites of Consecration, Communion, and Post-Communion [Fig. 8.1].[1] These prayers, in their fervent devotion to Christ in the Eucharist, recall Book IV of Thomas à Kempis's *De imitatione Christi* (*On the Imitation of Christ*), "De sacramento altaris. Devota exhortatio ad sacram corporis Christi communionem" ("On the Sacrament of the Altar: A Devout Exhortation on Holy Communion of the Body of Christ"), a meditative text much admired and espoused by Ignatius of Loyola.[2] They seem explicitly designed to respond to the Tridentine decree, promulgated during Session XXII (September 1562) on the "Sacrifice of the Mass", calling for 'external helps' whereby the votary may 'be raised to the meditation of divine things' and 'the majesty of so great a sacrifice might be

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1   *Libellus piarum precum* (Trier [?]: 1575) 146 × 96 mm. bound to 156 × 105 mm. Collation: paper, fol. ii (modern parchment) + 174 (1–3 parchment) + ii (modern parchment). Layout: written in 15–26 long lines; frame-ruled. Script: written by multiple scribes in multiple hands. Decoration: incorporates hand-colored printed illustrations (5 woodcuts and 11 engravings) and illumination. Binding: seventeenth-century dark morocco over wooden boards; cover ruled in gilt; spine elaborately tooled in gilt with green title label. Edges gauffered and gilt. Two clasps, one wanting. Origin: probably produced in Trier, Germany, around 1575. Fol. 26v: 'Ora pro colleg. Trevir. 1571'. Fol. 162r: 'Ora pro collegio Trevire. 1571'. Fol. 172r: 'Finis Laus Deo 1575'.

2   Kempis T. à, *De imitatione Christi libri quatuor*, ed. Soc. Joannis Evangelista (Tournai: 1902) 257–313 [http://www.churchlatin.com/library/books/samplepages/DE%20IMITATIONE%20 CHRISTI.pdf]. The integration of prints into manuscript prayerbooks became standard in the Rhineland and the Low Countries as early as the 1450s–1470s; on this phenomenon, see Ursula Weeks, *Early Engravers and their Public: The Master of the Berlin Passion and Manuscripts from Convents in the Rhine-Maas Region* (Turnhout: 2004) 81–166. The monks of the Abbey of Sint-Truiden (Limburg) took up this practice in the sixteenth century; on manuscripts with prints produced at Sint-Truiden, see Deconinck E.—Smets L.—Smeyers M. et alii, *Handschriften uit de Abdij van Sint-Truiden* [exh. cat., Provinciaal Museum voor Religieuze Kunst, Sint-Truiden] (Louvain: 1986) 19–103, 185–189, 191–196, 211–217.

FIGURE 8.1   Libellus piarum precum (*Trier: ca. 1571–1575*). *Title-Page, fol. 2r. Pen and colored inks, gouache and watercolor on paper, ca. 146 × 96 mm.*
ATLANTA, MANUSCRIPT, ARCHIVES, AND RARE BOOK LIBRARY, EMORY UNIVERSITY.

recommended, and the minds of the faithful be excited, by those visible signs of religion and piety, to the contemplation of those most sublime things which are hidden in this sacrifice'.[3] Equally relevant is the complementary "Decree on the Things to be Observed, and to be Avoided, in the Celebration of Mass", which admonishes the priestly celebrant that he must be fully cognizant of the awesome mystery entrusted to him:

> What great care is to be taken, that the sacred and holy sacrifice of the Mass be celebrated with all religious service and veneration, each one may easily imagine, who considers that in holy writ he is called accursed, who doth the work of God negligently; and if we must needs confess, that no other work can be performed by the faithful so holy and divine as this tremendous mystery itself, wherein the life-giving victim, by which we were reconciled to the Father, is daily immolated on the altar by priests, it is also sufficiently clear, that all industry and diligence is to be applied to this end, that it be performed with the greatest possible inward cleanness and purity of heart, and outward show of devotion and piety.[4]

The *Libellus piarum precum* supplies a meditative apparatus that enables the priest properly to perform the Mass by first assisting him to secure the requisite disposition of his heart and mind.

Visualizing the Body and Blood of Christ

The *Libellus* might best be characterized as an addendum to the *Tridentine Missal*: the prayers allow the priest to prepare for the Mass by imagining himself as the celebrant at the altar, before, during, and after the Offertory and Canon.[5] The book's texts and images are Eucharistic. The carefully calibrated

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3 *The Canons and Decress of the Sacred and Oecumenical Council of Trent*, ed. – trans. J. Waterworth (London: 1848) 156.

4 Ibidem 159–160.

5 On the Tridentine Missal, see Jedin H., "Das Konzil von Trient und die Reform des Römischen Meßbuches", *Liturgisches Leben* 6 (1939) 30–66; Frutaz A.P., "Contributo alla storia della riforma del Messale promulgato da san Pio nel 1570", in *Problemi di vita religiosa in Italia nel Cinquecento. Atti del Convegno di storia della Chiesa in Italia (Bologna, 2–6 sett. 1958)* (Padua: 1960) 187–214; and Palmer Wandel L., *The Eucharist in the Reformation: Incarnation and Theology* (Cambridge – New York: 2006) 231–241. On the form of the *Roman Mass*, whose performance the *Libellus* was designed to complement, see Jungmann J.A., *The Mass of the Roman Rite*, trans. F.A. Brunner, 2 vols. (New York: 1951–1955), esp. I 261–372, on the

sequence of twenty-seven illuminated miniatures attaches to the prayers that precede and follow them; the pictures represent the body and blood of Christ in various ways, helping the priestly votary to visualize the Lord's otherwise invisible sacramental presence and effect on the communicant's mind, heart, and soul. The manuscript's subsections—a preliminary chapter comprising prayers to be meditated as if one were standing at the foot of the altar, including the Confiteor, then a couple of chapters made up of prayers to be recited as if at the altar before or after the celebration of any Mass, and, specifically, before or after the elevation of the host, followed by chapters of prayers for Sundays, the five feriae, and Saturdays—center on printed images featuring the Five Holy Wounds: the *Pietà, Crucifixion*, and *Man of Sorrows*, along with various Marian images complementary to the Passion [Figs. 8.2–8.4]. Most of these prints are colored, the engravings very delicately with transparent washes of luminous watercolor, the woodcuts more richly with opaque fields of glowing, saturated goauche. Many of the woodcuts and engravings function in tandem with illuminated versions of the Jesuit impresa—the IHS monogram with cross and nails, the cross rising from the bar of the letter H, the nails' points conjoined below—that repeat in abstract what the first pictorial statement narrates more explicitly, which is to say, representationally [Fig. 8.5].[6]

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opening rite; vol. II, 1–100, on the Offertory; II 101–274, on the Canon; II 275–427, on Communion; and II 427–464, on Post-Communion; Hughes A., *Medieval Manuscripts for Mass and Office: A Guide to their Organization and Terminology* (Toronto – Buffalo – London: 1995) 3–20, 81–99; and Palmer Wandel, *The Eucharist in the Reformation* 241–251. Certain aspects of the *Libellus*, such as the insertion of versicles at the start or finish of prayers, and the use of titles in the form of invitatories, derive loosely from *Roman Breviary*. On the *Divine Office*, as codified in the *Roman Breviary* and *Breviarium Pianum* (promulgated in 1568), see Crichton J.D., "The Office in the West: The Roman Rite from the Sixteenth Century", in Jones C. – Wainwright G. – Yarnold E., S.J. (eds.), *The Study of Liturgy* (New York: 1978) 383–389; and Ditchfield S., *Liturgy, Sanctity, and History in Tridentine Italy*, Cambridge Studies in Italian History and Culture (Cambridge: 1995) 17–67. Since the Jesuits did not chant the daily Office in choir, they would likely have adapted the Roman cursus for personal and corporate use; on the Roman cursus, see Collamore L., "Prelude: Charting the Divine Office", in Fassler M.E. – Baltzer R.A. (eds.), *The Divine Office in the Latin Middle Ages: Methodology and Source Studies, Regional Developments, Hagiography* (Oxford – New York: 2000) 3–13.

6   On the Jesuit impresa and its allusions to the Eucharist, see Pfeiffer H., S.J., "The Iconography of the Society of Jesus", in O'Malley J.W., S.J. – Bailey G.A. (eds.), *The Jesuits and the Arts, 1540–1773* (Philadelphia: 2003) 200–228, esp. 201–202; and Campa P.F., "Devotion and Onomasiology: The Impresa of the Society of Jesus", in Campa P.F. – Daly P.M. (eds.), *Emblematic Images and Religious Texts: Studies in Honor of G. Richard Dimler, S.J.*, Early Modern Catholicism and the Visual Arts 2 (Philadelphia: 2010) 1–28.

FIGURE 8.2   Pietà, *fol. 8ov in* Libellus piarum precum (*Trier: ca. 1571–1575*). *Engraving, colored ink, and watercolor, ca. 146 x 96 mm.*
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FIGURE 8.3 Crucifixion, *fol. 128v in* Libellus piarum precum (*Trier: ca. 1571–1575*). *Colored woodcut, ca. 146 × 96 mm.*
ATLANTA, MANUSCRIPT, ARCHIVES, AND RARE BOOK LIBRARY, EMORY UNIVERSITY.

FIGURE 8.4   Man of Sorrows, *fol. 26v in* Libellus piarum precum (*Trier: ca. 1571–1575*). *Engraving and watercolor, ca. 146 × 96 mm.*
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FIGURE 8.5   Crucifixion and IHS Monogram in Host, facing fols. 128v and 129r in Libellus piarum precum (Trier: ca. 1571–1575). Colored woodcut (left) and gouache and watercolor (right), ca. 146 × 96 mm.
ATLANTA, MANUSCRIPT, ARCHIVES, AND RARE BOOK LIBRARY, EMORY UNIVERSITY.

In these cases, both images appear across a single opening, with the print on the folio verso at left and the painted logo on the folio recto at right.

Whether tinted in watercolor or coated in goauche, the woodcuts and engravings, along with the painted allusions to the Holy Name, constitute a visual apparatus that was considered integral to the book's structure and argument, as is evident from the fact that all the images were printed and/or painted on the same paper as the rest of the manuscript. Two of the engravings, *Christ the Man of Sorrows Holding Whip and Scourge* (fol. 26v), adapted from Dürer's *Man of Sorrows by the Column* of 1509, the frontispiece of the *Engraved Passion*, and the *Virgin and Child Atop the Holy House of Loreto* (fol. 162r), are dated 1571 and inscribed 'Ora pro colleg. Trevir.' ('Pray for the College of Trier') [Figs. 8.4 and 8.6]. The woodcut *Christ Crucified, with Mary and John at the Foot of the Cross* (fol. 128v) is signed IFS (or alternatively, if the F stands for 'fecit', IS] [Fig. 8.3]. Since the final image consists of a painted cross, its stem red, crossbar yellow, its four points marked by circles labeled 'Laus', 'Deo', 'Finis', and 'Anno 1575' ('Praise be to God, Finished in the Year 1575'), the manuscript must have been completed between 1571 and 1575 [Fig. 8.7]. One of the engravings, the *Pietà*, incorporates the signature 'P.H.', perhaps a reference to the engraver Pieter Huys, although it is quite likely that this plate, like some of the other engravings, was copied from an earlier print by Huys [Fig. 8.2].

My essay inquires into the meditative function of the *Libellus*'s various images of the *vulnera Christi*. How is the visual sequence organized? Why are scenes from the Passion juxtaposed to abstracted and diagrammatic images of the Five Wounds? What is the relation between these two modes of penitential image-making? What do the sacramental diagrams, if that is what they are, actually portray? Does this imagery correlate to that of the Sacred Heart, which appears at key junctures throughout the *Libellus*? How do the Marian images connect to the many illustrations that focus for the most part on the sacrifice of Christ? And, last but not least, how does the operation of the visual modes generate a thematic of transience and permanence that complements the Eucharistic imagery, by turns mimetic and non-mimetic, at the heart of these spiritual exercises?

The Complementarity of the Diagrammatic and Mimetic Images

Let us begin by examining the manner and meaning of the diagrammatic images, the majority of which are full-fledged illuminations rather than colored prints. As the *Libellus* makes abundantly clear, the paten-shaped motifs that recur frequently as chapter heads, their surfaces impressed with the Holy

FIGURE 8.6   Holy House of Loreto, *fol. 162r in* Libellus piarum precum (*Trier: ca. 1571–1575*).
Engraving and watercolor, ca. 146 × 96 mm.
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FIGURE 8.7 Laus Deo Finis Anno 1575, *fol. 172r in* Libellus piarum precum (*Trier: ca. 1571–1575*).
Pen and ink, gouache and watercolor, ca. 146 × 96 mm.
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Name, cross, and nails, are depictions of the host.[7] The simple white wafer, which is sometimes embossed with the Holy Name and symbols of the sacrifice of Christ, is here translated into a patterned disk, its flat surface often highly colored and richly ornamented. A simplified version of such a disk, marked with a Maltese cross, appears on fol. 27r, where it denotes the host and initiates a prayer to be recited before or after the elevation ritual of the Mass [Fig. 8.8]. This manifestation of the disk-motif, one of the earliest in the *Libellus*, is soon followed by many others: the patterned disk recurs on fol. 31r, for example, its surface silvered and dotted with red, the IHS, cross, and nails in blue, the rim emblazoned with a band of blue rays on a red field [Fig. 8.9]. This time the motif introduces a prayer to accompany the host when it is displayed during the feast of Candlemas. The prayer explains what this ornamental image purports to convey about the presence of Christ in the Eucharist, and why it portrays the host in this way: once consecrated, the wafer is no longer the mere species of bread, and nor is it a mere image of Christ. Visible in heaven, the flesh of Christ, though still clothed here in the form of bread, becomes fully and essentially present to us during the Mass. The colored disk, more diagrammatic than representational, neither a portrayal of the species of bread nor, strictly speaking, a portrait of the lineaments of Christ, is designed to evoke the complex status of the *hostia sacramentalis*, which resists descriptive modes of representation precisely because it exceeds any normative category of transient, representable *materia*:

> Ave corpus domini / munus et finale / corpus iunctum numini / nobile iocale / quod celi quid homini / in memoriale cum finalis termini / mundo dixit vale. / Celo visibiliter / caro Cristi sita / forma panis aliter / latet hic vestita / solus novit qualiter / hanc qui ponit ita. / Hic Iesu veraciter / duplex est natura, / non est specialiter / nec solum figura / sed essentialiter / caro Christi pura, / latet integraliter / brevi sub clausura.[8]

> Hail to the Lord's body, the ultimate offering, the body conjoined with divinity, the noble jewel which he left to humankind in memory of [his] final end when he said farewell to the world. The flesh of Christ, visible in heaven, present [here] in another way, lies hid, clothed in the form of

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7   The *Libellus* contains thirteen images of the host, including the title-page: fols. 2r, 4r, 26v, 27r, 31r, 67r, 81r, 93r, 101v, 109r, 129r, 138r, 144r [Figs. 1, 4, 8–9, 13, 15–21]. The book begins on fol. 1r with a pasted-in woodcut of St. Bruno, which functions as a frontispiece; the title-page follows on fol. 2r.

8   *Libellus piarum precum*, fol. 31r–v.

FIGURE 8.8 Maltese Cross in Host, *fol. 27r in* Libellus piarum precum (*Trier: ca. 1571–1575*). *Pen and ink, gouache and watercolor, ca. 146 × 96 mm.*
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FIGURE 8.9 IHS Monogram in Host, *fol. 31r in* Libellus piarum precum (*Trier: ca. 1571–1575*). *Pen and colored inks, gouache and watercolor, ca. 146 × 96 mm.* ATLANTA, MANUSCRIPT, ARCHIVES, AND RARE BOOK LIBRARY, EMORY UNIVERSITY.

bread; he alone knows how, who ordained it so. Here the nature of Jesus is truly twofold, for the pure flesh of Christ is [present] essentially, not according to the species [of bread] ('specialiter') nor only as an image ('solum figura', i.e., 'only figuratively'); [present] in its entirety, it lies concealed under this small encasement.

The title-page (fol. 2r) introduces the first such diagram of the host: it contains a large blue disk impressed with the IHS monogram, the cross, and the triad of nails, in silver-gray outlined in red [Fig. 8.1]. Surrounding this disk is a triple ring of text quoting brief summaries of the ten commandments, as codified by the schoolmen, and concluding with the twofold commandment of love set forth in *Matthew* 22: 36–40 and *Mark* 12: 28–31: 'Love with all your heart God who created everything, and after this, it suffices to love your fellow men'.[9] The latter text begins in the innermost ring and ends at the base of the page where it is written between the warp threads of the woven *catena* that enframes the whole ensemble. This chain signifies the age-old monastic practice of thinking and recollecting by means of linked images, and here stands for the spiritual exercises to be enacted sequentially and systematically by recourse to the *Libellus*. The *tituli* at the top of the page emphasize that service to God is the subject at stake, on which the exercitant is expected to dwell: 'To serve God is life and salvation; these alone are [their] joy. You may reckon that their true end shall be glorious'.[10] The title-page affirms that such service, practised 'in nomine Domini', in consideration of the Holy Name of Jesus, requires adherence to the Ten Commandments and involves, by implication, the penitential recollection of one's sins against these injunctions and the dual ordinance of love.

Throughout the *Libellus*, the Holy Name mainly attaches to the disk-like motifs marked with the IHS monogram, which signify the host and connote the celebration of the Eucharist. It therefore stands to reason that the title-page primarily refers to a Jesuit priest's commitment to perform the liturgy of the Mass. As numerous prayers in the *Libellus* assert, the priest must approach the altar in a spirit of penitence, fully aware of the sins that he hopes to see absolved in and through the sacrifice of Christ that he offers up as an expiation of sin:

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9   'Dilige corde deum toto, qui cuncta ipse creavit. Post haec suf[ficit] proximum cures'.
10   'Vita salus servire Deo est, haec gaudia sola. Vera putes, quorum gloria finis erit'.

Rogo te, domine Iesu Christe, per pascalem victoriam ut sicut tu pendens in cruce nullam sanguinis in te sustenuisti guttam, ita hodie nullius permittas in me permanere peccati maculam. Sed facias me corpus et sanguinem tuum preciosum ita sumere, ut per ipsum merea[r] proficere de gratia in gratiam ut in tua visione merear ascendere de gloria in gloriam.[11]

I ask you, Lord Jesus Christ, through [your] paschal victory, to permit no stain of sin to remain in me today, just as hanging upon the cross you preserved within yourself not a drop of blood. But make me to partake of your precious body and blood in such a way that through you I may deserve to advance in grace and to ascend in sight of you from glory to glory.

Evacuated of blood, the body of Christ is visualized as unstained, even whitened, in a meditative image that signifies the absolution of sin. The communion prayer on fols. 38v–39r avers that the priest fortifies himself against sin when he partakes of Christ's body and blood, thereby ensuring that he keeps the commandments. He achieves this purgative effect by calling to mind the saving wounds of Christ that the Eucharist commemorates:

Da mihi per vivam in te fidem invisibiliter saginari de te, dulciter videlicet recolenti et credenti, benedictam carnem tuam pro me in cruce factam et immolatam, et sanguinem tuum de latere tuo effusum, in remissionem peccatorum meorum. Da spiritu participare, ut tu in me, et ego in te manens, spiritu tuo vegeter et incendar ad currendam viam mandatorum tuorum.[12]

Grant me invisibly to be fed from you through [my] living faith in you, that is to say, while sweetly recollecting and believing that your blessed flesh was crucified and sacrificed for me, and your blood flowed from your side in remission of my sins. Grant me to partake in spirit, to remain in you as you in me, by your spirit to be animated and illumined that I may walk in the way of your commandments.

The frontispiece complements the penitential and Eucharistic argument of the title-page [Fig. 8.10]. It depicts St. Bruno of Cologne, founder of the Carthusian order, absorbed in reading an open book very much like the

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11   *Libellus piarum precum*, fol. 50r–v.
12   Ibidem, fols. 38v–39r.

FIGURE 8.10   *Anton Woensam,* Saint Bruno of Cologne (*ca. 1520*). *Frontispiece, fol. 1r in*
Libellus piarum precum (*Trier: ca. 1571–1575*). *Colored woodcut, ca. 146 × 96 mm.*
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Libellus.[13] The adjacent folio verso quotes passages from *Psalm* 54, *Isaiah* 26, *Tobit* 1, and *Lamentations* 3, having to do with the sinner's desire to meditate in solitude on his weakness of spirit, thus to beget fear of the Lord's indignation, leavened by hope of divine mercy [Fig. 8.11]. These citations conclude with St. Bonaventure's short "Exhortation to Penitence" from the *Psalterium minus Beatae Mariae Virginis*:

> Vilis homo materiae, / surge de mortis tumulo. / Dum spes est adhuc veniae, / te subtrahe periculo. / Excutere de pulvere / dum opus e[st] remedio. / [...] Malorum reminiscere, / viam quaerens in invio. / Ad patriam revertere, / cum penitente filio.[14]

> Man of vile substance, rise from the deathly grave. While there is still hope of mercy, withdraw from danger. Shake off the dust while there is need of remedy. [...] Remember [your] evil deeds, as you seek to make your way through impassable places. Return to the fatherland with the penitent son (or alternatively, 'with the son who causes [you] to repent').

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13   Designed and cut by Anton Woensam, the print was likely commissioned by Peter Blomevenna, Prior of the Carthusian House of Saint Barbara in Cologne (1506–1536), as frontispiece for the 1520 edition of his *Vita sancti Brunonis cum sermone de sancto Brunone confessore initiatore ord*[*in*]*is Carthusiensis* (Cologne, J. Landen: 1520). The woodcut codified the iconography of the saint's newly approved cult: he holds a branch of olive alluding to *Psalm* 51: 10, quoted overhead, and stands above a mitre and crozier signifying his refusal of a bishopric in favor of the contemplative life. The coat of arms of Cologne, his home town, appears at left; the coats of arms of his patrician antecendents appear at right. On this print, see Mader U., "Bruno am Springbrunnen", in Wagner R. – Bock U. (eds.), *Die Kölner Kartause um 1500. Eine Reise in unsere Vergangenheit* [exh. cat., Kölnisches Stadtmuseum] (Cologne: 1991) 163–164; and Jakoby B., "Der Maler und Holzschneider Anton Woensam von Worms und seine Arbeiten für die Kölner Kartause", in Schäfke W. (ed.), *Die Kölner Kartause um 1500* (Cologne: 1991) 373–389, esp. 377. The presence of this image, along with the woodcuts of a *Carthusian Kneeling at the Foot of the Cross* (fol. 92v) and *Saint Hugo of Grenoble* (fol. 156v), testifies to the close relationship between the Carthusian House of Saint Barbara and the Jesuit communities in Trier and Cologne [Figs. 8.23 and 8.29]. Gerhard Kalckbrenner, Prior of the Cologne charterhouse (1536–1566), befriended Petrus Faber and Petrus Canisius as early as 1543, provided the Society of Jesus with significant subventions between 1548 and 1565, and co-sponsored (with the university and the cathedral chapter) the establishment of the first Jesuit house in the city. On the Charterhouse of Saint Barbara and its patronage of the Jesuits, with specific reference to Kalckbrenner, see Kammann B., *Die Kartause St. Barbara in Köln (1334–1953)*, Libelli Rhenani 33 (Cologne: 2010) 335–351.

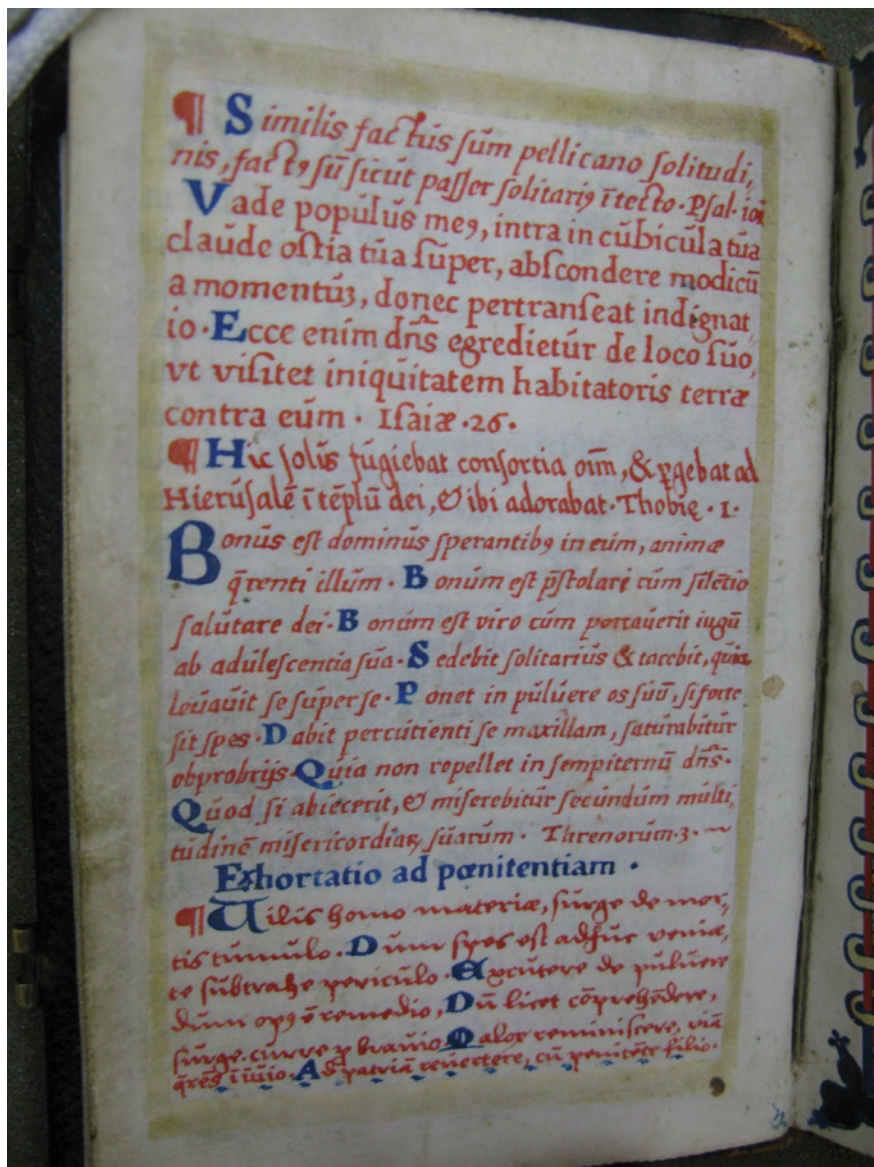14   *Libellus piarum precum*, fol. 1v.

FIGURE 8.11   Prayers Excerpted from Psalm *101*, Isaiah *26*, Tobit *1, and* Lamentations *3, fol. 1v in* Libellus piarum precum (*Trier: ca. 1571–1575*). Pen and colored inks, *ca. 146 × 96 mm.*
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The closing reference to the 'penitente filio' alludes to the parable of the prodigal son, but also to Christ, author of the parable, whose love of the sinner, expressed in his willingness to die as a sacrifice for sin, compels the sinner's repentance. Together, the frontispiece and title-page call attention to the *Libellus*'s primary objectives: the lavation of sins through the priest's meditative engagement with the Eucharist, as a preparation for his performance of the Mass [Figs. 8.1 and 8.10]. The spiritual exercises to be practised require the exercitant to parse abstracted images of the sacrificial bread, the visual character of which proves crucial to understanding, to the extent humanly possible, the mysterious nature of the sacrament. Bound up in this imagery of the host, as we shall see, is a complex thematic of the five wounds as source of corporeal and spiritual nourishment.

Let us return now to the image of the host on fol. 27r, as it relates to the engraved image of the *Man of Sorrows* on facing fol. 26v [Fig. 8.12]. At issue is the question of the *Libellus*'s many bifolios comprising two modes of image: how do these openings constitute an hermeneutic of the Eucharist? The answer partly lies in assessing the very different image of the host on fol. 4r, wherein the two modalities—pictorial and diagrammatic—would seem to coalesce, as a preliminary to their separation elsewhere in the manuscript [Fig. 8.13]. This pasted-in woodcut roundel depicts a host marked with the IHS: Mary and John, poised on patches of dark ground, substitute for the stems of the H, and the crucified Christ, rather than a simple cross, rises from the crossbar, which doubles as the summit of Mount Golgotha. At the foot of the cross, sit the skull and bones of Adam, painted silver. Mary and John are dressed in shades of crimson that resonate with the many red-tinted wounds dotting Christ's body and the flow of blood dripping along his left arm. Below, the three nails are entirely daubed in a similar shade of bright red. In addition, the I and S have transformed into winged angels. The off-white of the page, reserved amongst the fields of painted-in crimson, yellow, and red, effectively functions as the color of flesh. Whereas the simple black woodcut lines flatten the figures of Mary, John, Christ, and the angels, suggesting that they are merely imprinted on the host-like roundel, the intensely vibrant reds enliven the tableau of the *Crucifixion*. The coloring of the drapery enhances the illusion of substance and weight, in counterpoint to the expanse of mottled bright blue that gives an impression of circumambient space. By contrast, the uninflected red of the nails flattens them. The roundel is overlaid on a red field, the folio bordered in crimson. These colors connect to the similarly colored elements within the tableau, making the sheet seem coextensive with the volumetric *Crucifixion* scene, and conversely, making this relatively spacious scene coextensive with the flatness of the sheet.
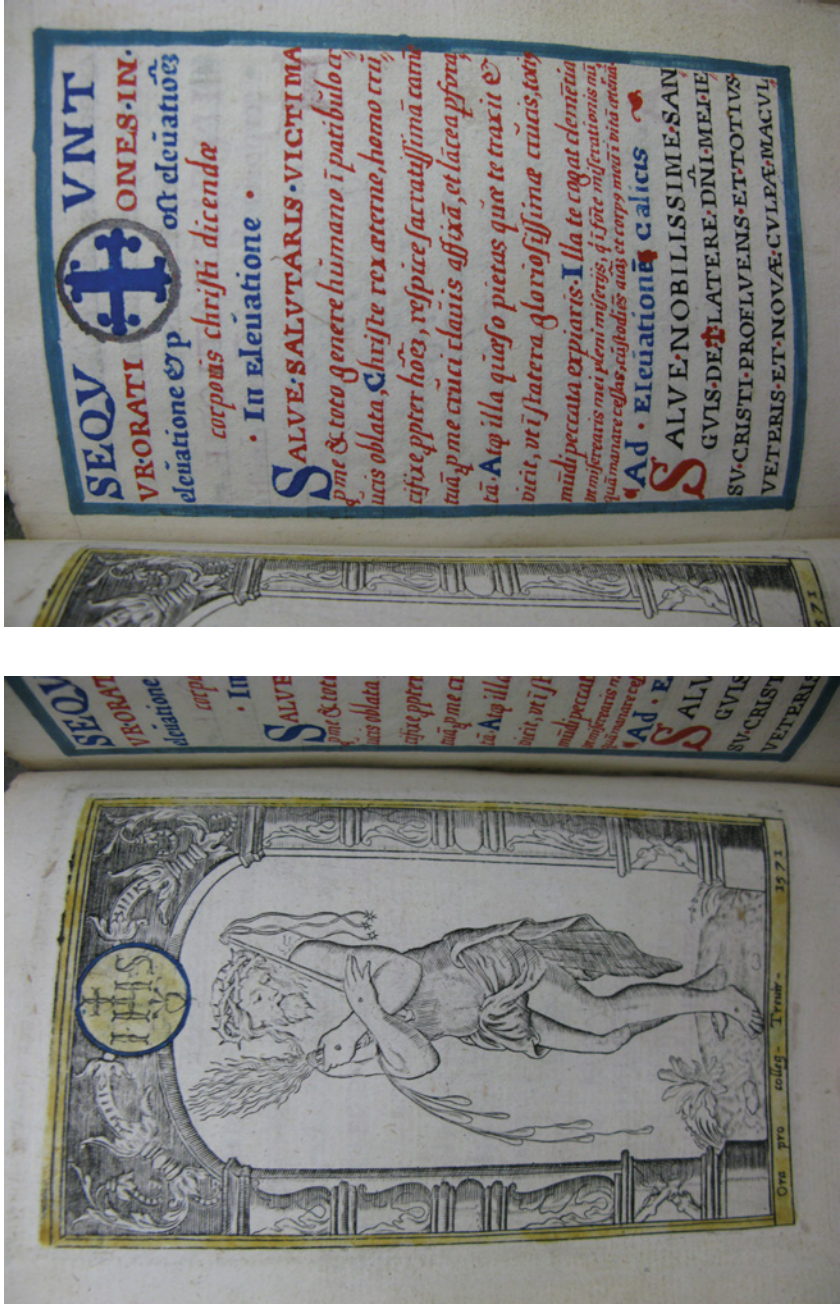
FIGURE 8.12   *Man of Sorrows and Maltese Cross in Host, facing fols. 26v and 27r in* Libellus piarum precum *(Trier: ca. 1571–1575). Engraving (left) and pen and colored inks, gouache and watercolor (right), ca. 146 × 96 mm.*
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FIGURE 8.13   IHS Monogram with Mary and John Flanking the Crucified Christ, *fol. 4r in*
                Libellus piarum precum (*Trier: ca. 1571–1575*). *Pen and colored inks, gouache*
                and watercolor, ca. 146 × 96 mm.
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The oscillation between these effects of space and flatness, insists on the dual status of the image: it represents the flat wafer offered up by the priest during the Offertory and Canon, and elevated after the Consecration, and simultaneously, it represents the oblation that truly inheres in the consecrated host after it has become the sacrificial body, blood, spirit, and soul of Christ, proffered by Christ himself through his instrument, the priest, on behalf of the celebrant, the congregation, and, indeed, the whole Church, for the expiation of sin and the reconciliation of God and humankind. The "Prayer to Christ" that introduces this complex image of the host construes it as a kind of coinage, the payment by Christ of the blood debt ('pretio [...] magno') that held closed the doors of salvation: 'You commanded me to beseech, entreat, and seek to obtain: wherefore, Christ, throw open the doors of compassion to one who comes knocking, the doors you opened with your own blood flowing, wherewith at great price you absolved the world's crimes'.[15] One must imagine Christ gazing down from the host, as if from the cross: 'Look upon me, Christ, you who looked mercifully upon the thief, that I at length may be counted one of the elect'.[16] In response, as the couplets above and below the woodcut instruct, the votary must envisage Christ crucified in the host: 'Behold, sinner, that I am your true lover. I die that you might live; there is no love greater. Behold I die for you; despise [your] sins for me. See, you who pass by, that you are the cause of my sorrow'.[17] The crimson and red that saturate much of the image and the page expand metonymically upon the sacrificial blood pouring from the wounds of Christ, implying that it is shed profusely, soaks everything around it, and provides the framework for the prayers that attach to this subsection of the *Libellus*. The rubrication of the prayer texts on fol. 3v (e.g., 'Ostia quae proprio pandisti sanguine fuso') and initials on fol. 4r ('AVE', i.e., 'Hail', and 'A', i.e., 'Amen') likewise affirms that they have their source in the Holy Blood, the saving power of which they meditatively asseverate [Figs. 8.13–8.14]. The angelic I and S recall that angels reverently assist at the celebration of the Eucharist, as such prayers in the *Libellus* as St. Bernard's "Most Devout Prayer to be Said

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15   Ibidem, fol. 3v: 'Iussisti petere, et pulsare, et quaerere: quare
        Ostia pulsanti pietatis, Christe, reclude,
        Ostia quae proprio pandisti sanguine fuso.
        Quo pretio mundi solvisti crimina magno'.
16   Ibidem: 'Respice me, ut respexisti pie Christe latronem
        Inter ut electos ego sim tandem ultimus Amen'.
17   Ibidem, fol. 4r: 'Aspice peccator, quod ego sum verus amator
        Ut vivas, morior, non est dilectio maior.
        En morior pro te, peccata despice pro me.
        Aspice qui transis, quia tu mihi causa doloris'.

charitatē verā · vt sim homo scdm
cor dei · C ōmēdo tibi fine vitæ m
ea · Cōmēdo peccatores miseros
O ro pro oibꝫ viuis · & pro fidelibꝫ
defunctis A men ·

¶ ORATI · AD · CHRISTVM ·
H eu, nam totam maculaui crimine vitam ·
Q vid faciam miser, aut fugiā quo dulcis Iesu?
Tu domninꝫ meꝫ & Deꝫ es, spes vna salutis ·
A d te igitur fugio supplex, Miserere precatis ·
I ussisti petere, & pulsare, & querere : quare
O stia pulsanti pietatis Christe reclude,
O stia quæ pprio pādisti sanguine fuso ·
Q vo pretio mundi soluisti crimina magno ·
T u me fecisti, lapsum tu restituisti ·
S vin tuꝫ en toties, humilē ne despice seruūm ·
Pastor ouē miserere creatē pie quæso regre,
I mpositāꝗ humeris ad ouilia sancta reporta ·
V t rapiat leo trux inhiat, verū objice dextrā,
A sere meæ tibi, noxas bonitate remittens
N on morti addicti, sed vita q potiuntur,
L aude tuū celebrat Nomē, p secula cuncta ·
R espice me, vt respexisti pie xē latronem
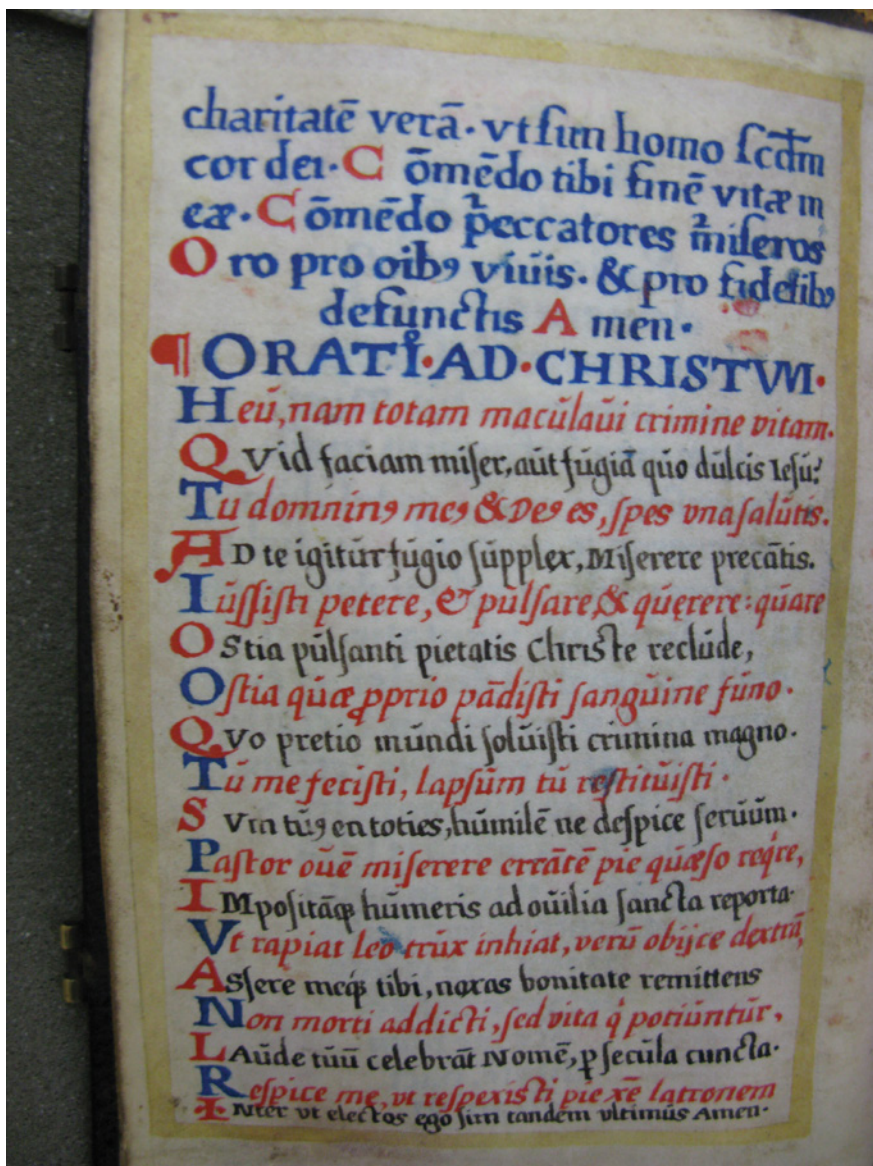I nter vt electos ego sim tandem vltimus Amen ·

FIGURE 8.14   Prayer of Penitence and Supplication, Addressed to Christ, *fol. 3v in* Libellus
piarum precum (*Trier: ca. 1571–1575*). *Pen and colored inks, ca. 146 × 96 mm.*

by the Priest before Mass" on fol. 81r–v, state emphatically. The celestial blue background alludes to the notion, reiterated in such prayers as the "Action of Thanks Following Mass" on fol. 78r, that Christ opens the heaven of his wounds to those who partake of his body and blood in the Eucharist ('miserae animae meae caelos vulnerum tuorum aperuisti').

The image on fol. 4r might rightly be described as a propaedeutic digest of the host that describes its form and reveals its content as part of the meditative apparatus preliminary to the Offertory and Canon of the Mass [Fig. 8.13]. It implicitly admonishes us to treat the host like an image of the crucified Christ, in the terms set forth by the corollary prayer "When You Gaze upon the Crucifix", on fol. 9r–v. One's heart must be wounded by the wounds of Christ that we scrutinize; as his blood has been painted, so too must everything we see be rubricated by his blood; and so closely must we identify with the image of Christ, that his wounds fill our field of vision until nothing but them remains visible to us. Finally, we must ask him to inscribe or, better, delineate the image of his wounds upon our heart, using his most Holy Blood for ink ('scribe [...] vulnera tua in corde meo preciosissimo sanguine'):

> O dulcissime Iesu Christe, cor meum tuis vulneribus saucia, et tuo sanguine inebria mentem meam, ut quocunque me vertam semper te videam crucifixum, et quicquid aspexero, tuo sanguine mihi appareat rubricatum, ut sic in te totus tendens nihil praeter te valeam invenire, nihil nisi tua vulnera valeam intueri. Haec sit consolatio mea tecum, mi domine, vulnerari, tecum despici, et tecum pati. Haec sit mea mihi afflictio, extra te consolari, aut sub te aliquid meditari. Non quiescat cor meum bone Iesu, donec inveniat te centrum suum, ibi cubet, ibi suum terminet appetitum. [...] Scribe, quaeso misericordissime Iesu vulnera tua in corde me preciosissimo sanguine tuo, ut in illis legam dolorem pariter et amorem tuum [...].[18]

> O most sweet Jesus Christ, wound my heart with your wounds and make drunk my mind with your blood, so that wheresoever I turn, I always see you crucified, and whatsoever I see appears rubricated by your blood; and so, inclining toward you, I shall be able to find nothing but you, to see nothing but your wounds. Let this be my only consolation, with you to be wounded, with you to be despised, with you to suffer. Let this be my affliction, to be consoled by anything other than you, to meditate anything besides you. Let my heart not rest, good Jesus, until it find you at

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18   Ibidem, fols. 9r–10r: 'Quando inspicis crucifixi imaginem'.

its center, there reclining, there fulfilling the heart's desire. […] I beseech you, most merciful Jesus, to inscribe your wounds upon my heart in your most precious blood, in order that I may observe in them ('in illis legam') your sorrow and your love […].

The images of the host that follow are markedly distinct, in that they differ *tout court* from a normative representational image: the consecrated host, as noted above, is shown neither as a mimetic image of species nor as a mimetic image of Christ [Figs. 8.9, 8.15–8.21]. Instead, the ornamental and diagrammatic images signify the peculiar and mysterious status of the host that retains the appearance of bread, but is bread no longer, having become the real presence of Christ, a presence neither palpable nor perceptible, or ephemeral. The non-mimetic host images are attempts to portray, ontologically not representationally, the host as Christ.

The Non-Mimetic Images of the Host

This distinctive pictorial mode, applied to the depiction of the host throughout the *Libellus*, fol. 4r excepted, corresponds to a shift in the nature of the prayers after the preliminary chapter. The subsequent chapters concern the Offertory and Canon of the Mass, and mainly consist of spiritual exercises that prepare the priest for the consecration and communion rites, when he actually handles and ingests the body and blood of Christ. They are designed to impress upon him what it is he will be handling and ingesting, namely, the incontrovertibly present yet indiscernible flesh and blood of Christ, brought to pass through the priestly mystery of transubstantiation. The nature of the votary's relationship to this mystery alters in these chapters of the *Libellus*: the *orationes* urge the exercitant to imagine the bread and wine as within reach, to visualize as imminent the rites of Consecration and Communion, to bear witness to the mystery he is about to enact through the agency of Christ. As the *Libellus* constantly stresses—for example, in the "Prayer of Saint Thomas [Aquinas] to Accompany the Elevation"—Christ in the host, since he cannot be seen, tasted, or touched, must be known by faith, hope, and love. His wounds, offered up as an expiation of sin, are as invisible to us as they were to the apostle Thomas, who was absent when the risen Christ first revealed himself to the apostles. The votary therefore pleads for the faculty of spiritual sight that will enable him to discern how the 'true bread', that is, the *hostia sacramentalis*, memorializes the sacrificial death of Christ, even as it confers new life upon the recipient, empowering him to live in and through Christ the Savior:

Adoro te supplex, latens deitas, / quae sub his figuris vere latitas. / Tibi se cor meum totum subijcit: / quia te contemplans totum deficit. / Visus, gustus, tactus, in te fallitur: / sed auditu solo in te creditur. / Credo quicquid dixit dei filius, / verbo veritatis nihil verius. / In cruce latebat sola deitas; /sed hic latet simul et humanitas. / Ambo tamen credens atque confitens / peto, quod petivit latro poenitens. / Plagas sicut Thomas non intueor: / deum tamen meum te confiteor. / Fac me tibi semper magis credere, / in te spem habere, et te diligere. / O memoriale mortis domini: / panis verus vitam praestans homini. / Praesta meae menti de te vivere: / teque illi semper dulce sapere. / Pie pelicane Iesu domine, / me immundum munda tuo sanguine, / cuius una stilla salvum facere / totum mundum possit omni scelere, / Iesu quem velatum nunc aspicio, / quando fiet istud quod iam sitio? / Ut revelata cernens facie, visu sim beatus tuae gloriae. / Amen.[19]

I, a suppliant, adore you, the hidden deity, who truly conceals himself beneath these outward aspects ('sub his figuris'). All of my heart submits itself to you, for it fails to contemplate all of you. Vision, taste, and touch are deceived in you ('in te fallitur'), whereas by hearing alone is faith in you confirmed. I believe whatever the son of God has said, for nothing is truer than the word of truth. The deity of Christ hung concealed on the cross, but here [in the Eucharist] both [his] deity and humanity lie hid. Yet believing and confessing both, I demand what the penitent thief demanded. Like Thomas, I see no wounds, and still I confess that you are my God. Give me always to believe in you more and more, to have hope in you, to love you. O memorial of the Lord's death: the true bread imparting life to man. Grant my mind to live through you; grant it sweetly to taste you always. Merciful pelican, Lord Jesus, wash me clean by your blood, one drop of which could save the whole world from sin. Jesus, whom I now see veiled, when shall that for which I thirst come to pass; when shall I be blessed by the vision of your glory, seeing with the mind's eye your face revealed?

The non-representational images of the host should be construed as visual prompts attuned to those qualities of the Eucharistic bread that transcend mimesis: their non-mimetic features are designed to appeal to the votary's eyes of the spirit, reminding him that he must endeavor to discern, by means of the *Libellus*'s spiritual exercises, what the sacrament makes invisibly present and,

19   Ibidem, fol. 30r–v: "Oratio S. Thome de Aquino in elevatione".

FIGURE 8.16   IHS Monogram in Golden Host within Heart Flanked by the Four Wounds of Christ, *fol. 8ir in* Libellus piarum precum (*Trier: ca. 1571–1575*). *Pen and colored inks, gouache and watercolor, ca. 146 × 96 mm.*
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FIGURE 8.17   IHS Monogram in Heart within Golden Host, *fol. 93r in* Libellus piarum precum (*Trier: ca. 1571–1575*). *Pen and colored inks, gouache and watercolor, ca. 146 × 96 mm.*
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FIGURE 8.18   IHS *Monogram in Host Enframed by Four Evangelists, fol. 101v in* Libellus
piarum precum (*Trier: ca. 1571–1575*). *Engraving and watercolor, ca. 146 × 96 mm.*
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FIGURE 8.19　　IHS Monogram in Host, *fol. 129r in* Libellus piarum precum (*Trier: ca. 1571–1575*). *Pen and colored inks, gouache and watercolor, ca. 146 × 96 mm.* ATLANTA, MANUSCRIPT, ARCHIVES, AND RARE BOOK LIBRARY, EMORY UNIVERSITY.

FIGURE 8.20   IHS Monogram in Host, *fol. 138r in* Libellus piarum precum
(*Trier: ca. 1571–1575*). *Pen and colored inks, gouache and watercolor, ca. 146 ×
96 mm.*
ATLANTA, MANUSCRIPT, ARCHIVES, AND RARE BOOK LIBRARY, EMORY
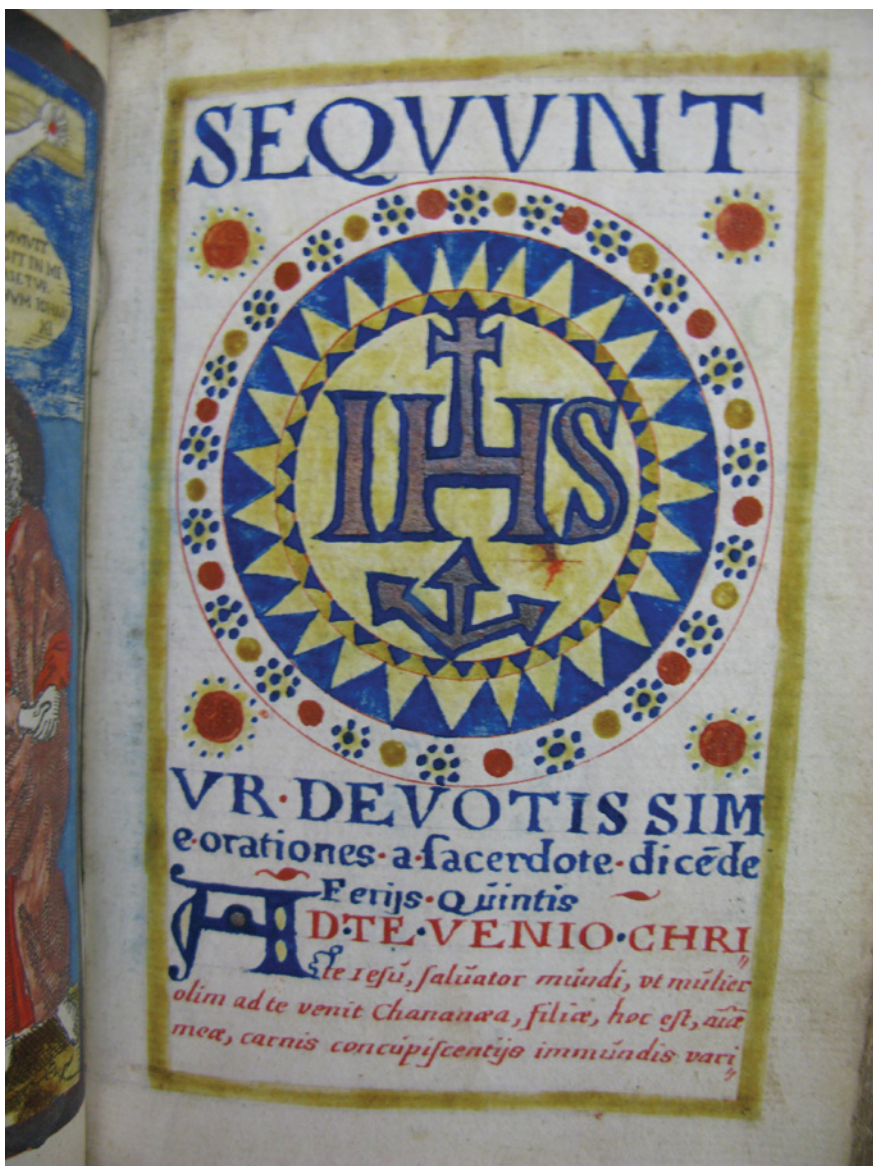UNIVERSITY.

FIGURE 8.21   IHS Monogram in Host, *fol. 144r in* Libellus piarum precum
(*Trier: ca. 1571–1575*). *Pen and colored inks, gouache and watercolor, ca. 146 ×*
96 mm.
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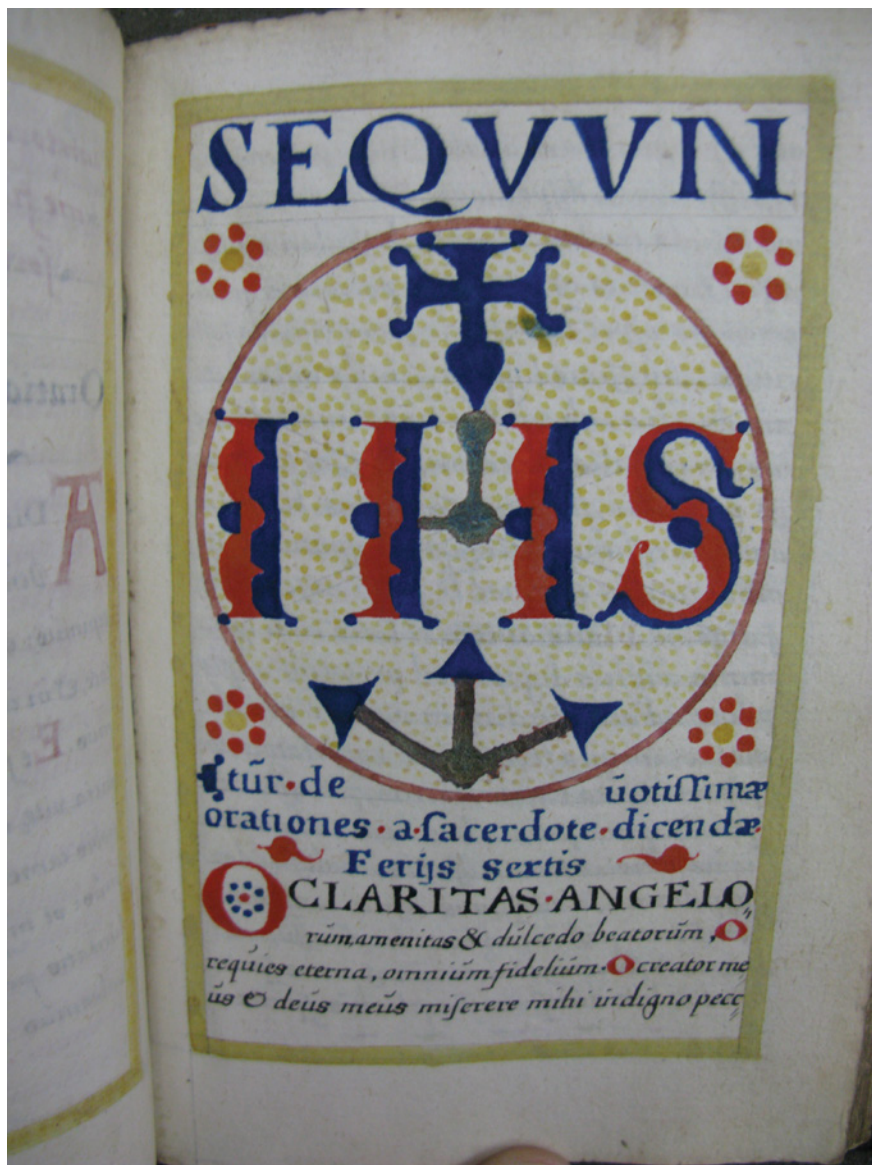UNIVERSITY.

concomittantly, what it denies to corporeal vision. Inscribed with variations on the Holy Name, they denominate Jesus, evoking the fullness of his presence, in *deitate* and *humanitate*, even while, in analogy to the Eucharist, they veil the Holy Face by refusing mimetically to picture Christ. The votary's entreaty, 'Grant [my mind] sweetly to know you always', and his avowal that he as yet discerns partially, seeing Jesus as if he were veiled, constitute a tacit acknowledgment that the faculty of spiritual discernment, even when it touches upon the transcendent *praesentia realis*, does so only for a time, returning finally to its delimited condition.

The *Man of Sorrows* engraving on fol. 26v underscores the distinction between a descriptive image of the host and the diagrammatic ones I have been trying to characterize [Fig. 8.4]. It incorporates a host imprinted with the IHS, cross, and heart pierced by nails, above the figure of Christ holding whip and scourge and displaying the wounds in his hands, feet, and side. The adjacent "Initiatory Prayer for the Canon of the Mass" encourages us to consider how the pictorial image distills the whole of the Passion which Christ, through the priest, offers up and shows forth as a sacrifice most acceptable to God, in pious recognition of the Son's subjection ('acceptissimam tibi hostiam pia recordatione iugi sacrificio offert et repraesentat').[20] The picture, as the prayer puts it, reveals his 'human condition', 'obedience unto death', and 'compliant humility', indeed, the full scope of his Passion and death that make him the perfect *hostiam*.[21] Understood in these terms, the *Man of Sorrows* represents the fitting self-oblation that Christ puts forward by his ineffable mercy during the Mass ('hic se praesentem exhibet'). The torrent of blood flowing from the wound in his side signifies what multiple prayers, such as the "Devout Little Prayer to be Said before Mass" on fol. 83v, assert—namely, that this wound in particular is a source of sacramental grace: 'O Jesus Christ, most loving by reason of the opening in your most sweet side, by the grace of which I, unworthy,

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20 Ibidem, fol. 26r. This prayer forms part of the sequence that begins on fol. 23v: 'Quando Sacerdos tacite intrat in sacrum Canonem, dic: […]'.

21 Ibidem, fols. 25v–26r: 'O benignissime et clementissime pater, cuius filius nostri amore, cum adhuc impij essemus, formam servi accipiens, factus est pro nobis obediens usque ad mortem, mortem autem crucis. Per hunc te humanitatis habitum, per huius humilitatis susceptionem deprecor, per huius sacratissimam obedientiam, per huius beatissimam passionem et mortem, quam Ecclesia tua in hoc sacrificio (quod filius tuus instituit, et offerri in commemoratione sui pro salute nostra praecepit) acceptissimam tibi hostiam pia recordatione iugi sacrificio offert et repraesentat, te oro, miserere mei per eundem filium tuum, qui se nobis ineffabili misericordia hic se praesentem exhibet, in dextera tua nihilominus manens, qui est unica propiciatio, pro peccatis nostris, non pro nostris autem tantum, sed etiam pro [peccatis] totius mundi'.

intend to partake of the most holy sacrament, perforate my heart with your most sweet love'.[22] Compared to the *Crucifixion* on fol. 4r, this image is barely colored, and nor is there shading [Fig. 8.10]; as a result, the flesh of Christ appears whitened, an effect that correlates to the notion, expressed in such *orationes* as the "Prayer to be Said before Holy Communion" on fol. 47r, that the torrents of blood shed from his five wounds have the power to wash and whiten the penitent's soul ('animam meam lavare et dealbare in unda tui sanctissimi sanguinis') [Fig. 8.4].[23]

The roundel above Christ illustrates by contrast the mere form of the host, its species, showing the wafer handled by the priest at Mass and adduced in memory of the Passion. The juxtaposition of host and Man of Sorrows implies that the former renews the sacrifice enacted by Christ and here recalled by an allegorical image signifying all of the Passion. The print, along with its "Initiatory Prayer", should be construed as catechetical: it explains what inheres within the consecrated host when it is offered and displayed during the Mass. On facing fol. 27r, a simpler, diagrammatic image of the host appears near the topmost border [Figs. 8.8 and 8.12]. This image's relation to the contiguous prayer texts is different from that of the *Man of Sorrows*. Its embedment within the word 'orationes' indicates its primary function of prompting empathetic meditation on the wounds of Christ. More than an image descriptive of the host, to be viewed as collateral to a pictorial image of Christ in the Passion, it serves itself to elicit impassioned reflection on the reflexive relation between Christ and the Eucharist, as the proximate prayer "On the Elevation" makes clear: 'Hail, salutary victim, offered for me and the whole human race on the gibbet of the cross, Christ, eternal king, man crucified for men, look upon your most sacred flesh, affixed to the cross with nails for my sake and perforated by the lance'.[24] The close association between this prayer and the embedded image, along with the latter's divergence from the host pictured on the facing folio, makes evident that the emphasis falls not on how the host looks but on what

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22   Ibidem, fol. 83v: 'Oraciuncula devota. O Iesu christe amantissime per foramen dulcissimi lateris tui gratia sacratissimi sacramenti quod ego indignus sumere praesumo, perfora cor meum dulcissimo amore tuo'.

23   Ibidem, fol. 47r. This prayer begins on fol. 46r: "Item alia oratio ante sanctam communionem dicenda, plurimum devota".

24   Ibidem, fol. 27r: 'Sequuntur orati + ones in elevatione et post elevationem corporis christi dicendae. In Elevatione. Salve salutaris victima pro me et toto genere humano in patibulo crucis oblata, christe rex aeterne, homo crucifixe propter hominem, respice sacratissimam carnem tuam, pro me cruci clavis affixam et lancea perforatam'.

the host has become, and also, on what internalizing the presence of Christ in the host entails.

The eight hosts that follow sequentially at intervals of ten to twenty folios retain the format and function of the specimen on fol. 27r, but become gradually larger and increasingly elaborate, as if the votary were drawing ever closer to the wounds of Christ and, consequently, growing more fully cognizant of their nature and meaning [Figs. 8.8–8.9, 8.15–8.21]. All of them are similarly embedded within the titulus or opening lines of a Eucharistic prayer. The abstracted hosts operate metonymically, colors and shapes standing for essential qualities of Christ—priest, victim, and savior—and of his saving sacrifice, that the votary is urged prayerfully to visualize. Take the luminous host on fol. 67r that forms part of a cluster of prayers to be meditated before Mass and also connects to a prior cluster associated with Holy Communion [Fig. 8.15]. The IHS is emblazoned on a circular white field scintillant with red dots; silver rays, likewise dotted in red, emanate from the thin red border encircling this field. (The red dots on silver may be the advertent or inadvertent result of losses in the gilt surface layer, which seems to have been painted on a red ground.) The rays shine against a field of blue rimmed in red. The red dots call to mind many of the attributes of Christ in the Passion, as featured in the "Prayer Preliminary to Holy Communion" that extends from fol. 46r to 52v. They allude, for instance, to the drops of Holy Blood ('guttas sanguinis') that cause the communicant to plead for an intensification of compassion: he begs Christ to help him produce fountains of remorseful tears that flow like blood from out of his heart and eyes upon reception of the Eucharist. The brilliance of the host, signified by the silver rays and epitomized optically by the vibrancy of the red dots, the lustre of the silver gilt, and the mutual intensification of the complementary colors red and blue, betokens the power of the wounded Christ to illuminate the shadows of the sinful soul ('illumina tenebras animae meae'), to irradiate all things with his eternal light ('veni eterni solis radius'), and to transmit his glory by igniting the fire of love in the votary's heart ('per gloriam tuae passionis, ut accendas in corde meo ignem tuae dilectionis').[25]

The shining host, precisely because it functions more as visual template than fully realized pictorial image, acommodates other metaphors ideated by the prayer. For instance, it analogizes to the image of the communion wafer as the blazing candle of the Lord's body, as also to the corollary image of this candle being inserted into the candelabrum of the communicant's body and soul, where its light—a simile for Christ's bodily corpus and many virtues— touches and heals the sinner's wounded spirit:

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25   Ibidem, fols. 48r–49r.

> Rogo te, domine Iesu Criste, per tui sanctissimi corporis passionem ut hodie super cadelabrum animae meae ponas tui dulcissimi corporis candelam: ut accendat tui preciosissimi sanguinis flammam, ut sicut quondam tuis sanctissimis manibus non despexisti tangere et sanare immundissimam lepram, ita non deseras omnibus virtutibus et membris perungere et sanare vulneratam animam meam.[26]

> I beg you, Lord Jesus Christ, by the Passion of your most holy body, today to insert the candle of your most sweet body into the candelabrum of my soul: that it ignite the flame of your most precious blood, and just as formerly you scorned not to touch and heal the most unclean leper, so [now] you forsake not to anoint and heal my wounded spirit with [your] every virtue and with every part of [your] body.

The core of the host, coruscating with motes of red, strongly supports the image of the *sanguis Christi* as as flame. Other images as well coordinate with the host on fol. 67r, three in particular. The intense blue of the IHS and of the border pierced by silver rays accords with the celestial image of Christ's gaping wounds as an open doorway giving access to the heavenly paradise of his heart ('per vulnera [...] aperias mihi iocundissimi tui cordis paradisum et caelum').[27] The parallel crossbars of the letter H and of the cross rising from it, along with the H's stems, concur with the image of sacrificial blood flowing from Christ's side-wound, as a kind of Jacob's ladder planted in the votary's heart, whence it gives access to Christ in heaven ('per vulnus tui sanctissimi lateris: ut hodie ponas in cor meum tui preciosissimi sanguinis corporis scalam: et facias animam meam per ipsam ascendere cum sanctis angelis'). Finally, the circular form of the host, which recalls the shape of a framed convex mirror, corresponds to the notion that the wounded flesh of Christ is written upon the exercitant's memory, and his memory written upon the flesh of Christ ('veni, cuius visceribus mea memoria est inscripta').[28] This conjunction of written flesh and written memory implies that the host is a mirror of the votary: to look upon it is to look at oneself and perforce to assess one's relation as sinner to Christ the Savior. This implicitly specular image of mutual relation in turn connects to the prayer's assertion that the host reflexively mirrors the Lord's love of us and of himself: since it is his very body and soul offered in love of us, he must

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26   Ibidem, fol. 47v.

27   Ibidem, fol. 48v.

28   Ibidem, fol. 49r.

love it no less intensely than he loves us ('qui non me minus diligis quam tuam carnem et tuam propriam animam').[29]

From Host in Heart to Heart in Host

The malleability of the host images, their capacity metonymically to encompass a wide range of Eucharistic imagery focusing on the wounds of Christ, expands and intensifies on fol. 81r, where a golden disk imprinted with the Holy Name nestles within a large red heart bordered by four circles, also red, at upper and lower left and right [Fig. 8.16]. These circles stand for the wounds in Christ's hands and feet and, by association, the central disk for the wound in his side that one of the adjacent *orationes*, the "Devout Little Prayer", identifies as a powerful source of sacramental grace ('gratia sacratissimi sacramenti').[30] The superimposition of disk on heart suggests that the Eucharist has punctured the votary to the core, made a hole in him, so to speak, and this cordiform imagery nicely functions as a proleptic visual analogy to the same prayer's call to Christ to perforate the votary's heart with his sweetest love ('perfora cor meum dulcissimo amore tuo').[31] Again, it is important to stress that the host image, rather than representing these figurative images of wounding, instead accommodates them by means of abstracted forms and colors whose relative position and implied interaction operate via analogy as metonyms for various aspects of Christ as priest and victim, for the penitent votary, and for the ebb and flow of Christ and the votary's mutual relation. Using the terminology of the *Libellus*, such meditative images of the host might well be designated 'instruments for securing discernment of the *corpus Christi*' ('dijudicans corpus tuum'), since they assist the exercitant to visualize and thereby to gauge the nature of his investment in the body of Christ and, conversely, the nature Christ's investment in him.[32]*

   If the presence of the host in the heart, as the "Prayer of Thanks after Mass" on fol. 77r states, is experienced as Christ's wounding of the communicant with his body and blood ('hodie per corpus et sanguinem tuum [me] satiasti'), it nonetheless provides incomparable pleasure, as this same prayer affirms.[33]

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29   Ibidem, fol. 48v.
30   Ibidem, fol. 83v: "Oraciuncula devota".
31   Ibidem.
32   Ibidem, fol. 84v.
33   Ibidem, fol. 77r. This prayer forms part of the sequence that begins on fol. 76r: 'Sequuntur gratiarum actiones post Missam'.

The layering of host upon heart, viewed through this lens, signifies how Christ in the Eucharist comes to rest within the narrow scope of the votary's heart, there to dwell:

> Benedicant te omnes sancti patriarche et prophete tui, quod tu, creator celi et terre, in angustia cordis mei hodie quiescere voluisti, et omnia interiora mea rore tuo largissime benedictionis copiose perfudisti. Benedicant te omnes sancti apostoli et evangeliste tui, quod hodie cum anima mea cenare voluisti et dulcem mansionem apud me faciens usque in finem vite meae mecum permanere disposuisti.[34]

> May all your holy patriarchs and prophets bless you, for that you, creator of heaven and earth, wished today to rest within the defile of my heart and copiously to imbue my innermost parts with the dew of your most liberal benediction. May all your holy apostles and evangelists bless you, for that you wished today to dine with my soul, fashioning me into [your] sweet dwelling, and settled there to stay until the end of my life.

The distinctive shade of red used for the heart, more rose than scarlet, was surely designed to coordinate with this prayer's floral imagery of the *corpus Christi*: the virginal body of Christ is like a rosebush ('tanquam rosam') planted in the exercitant's soul, which is thereby converted into a rose garden cum orchard, wherein the flowers of Christ's wounded limbs may be plucked and gathered by Christ himself ('animam meam plantare voluisti, et eam flores virtutum et fructus gratiarum de tuis membris et vulneribus carpere et colligere voluisti et fecisti').[35] That the prayer pleads for Christ to remain permanently, while the garden imagery it tenders is implicitly seasonal and transitory, speaks to a tension between the votary's aspiration to house the Lord and his capacity durably to encompass him.[36] The abstracted host image, on the other hand, by resisting the mimetic impulse to represent Christ as a sojourner and the soul as his place of visitation, instead provides a screen upon which these images may be projected, and also a dynamic structure or, better, template wherewith they may be brought together and made to interact.

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34   Ibidem, fol. 77v.

35   Ibidem, fol. 78r.

36   Ibidem, fols. 78v–79r: 'ut animam meam et omnia viscera mea tua benedictione et tua dulcissima dilectione perfundas et repleas et usque in finem vite meae mecum permanendo conserves illam gratiam et illam mundiciam, quam mihi contulit et restituit tua incomprehensibilis bonitas'. This prayer begins on fol. 84r: "Devota oratio ante missam".

The host ensconced in the heart can also be seen affectively to convey the '[Jesu] praesentiae gustum', the taste of the Lord's sweet presence experienced by the celebrant during Mass, to quote the "Devout Prayer before Mass" on fol. 86v: 'I entreat you, Lord, to turn your eyes of mercy upon me, making me to feel in devotion of heart the sweetness of your visitation and to experience the salutary taste of your most loving presence'.[37] This prayer refers to Holy Communion as the entry of Christ into the communicant ('in me te'), his indwelling ('vicissem manere velis in me'), and his incorporation of the votary into himself ('sic incorporatus tibi firmiter adhaeream').[38] The "Prayer of St. Anselm to be Said before Mass" on fols. 82v–83v amplifies the imagery of incorporation in ways that bear upon the relation between the heart punctured, which is to say, wounded by the host, and the four circles denoting the wounds in Christ's hands and feet. Based on *Romans* 6: 3–24, the "Prayer of St. Anselm" implores Christ to assist the priest in conforming himself to the likeness of the Lord's death and Resurrection, by means of communion with his body and blood, to be received into the mouth and heart during the Mass. Sacramental conformation further unifies the priest and Christ by ensuring the celebrant-communicant's incorporation into his mystical body, the Church:

> Fac me, dulcissime domine, ita ea ore et corde percipere atque fide et affectu sentire, ut per eorum virtutem sic me rear conformari similitudini mortis et resurrectionis tue [...] ut dignus sim corpori tuo quod est ecclesia et ei incorporari et sim membrum tuum et tu caput meum et maneam in te et tu in me [...].[39]

> Most sweet Lord, make me thus to receive in mouth and heart and to feel with faith and affection those things [done by you for the blotting out of sins], that by their virtue I may deem myself to be conformed to the likeness of your death and Resurrection [...] and be worthy of incorporation into your body, which is the Church, as one of your limbs, with you as my head, and that I may abide in you and you in me [...].

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37   Ibidem, fol. 86v: 'Dirige et tu queso domine oculos tue pietatis in me ut in cordis devocione sentiam tue visitacionis dulcedinem ac desiderantissime praesentie tue gustum experiar salutarem'.

38   Ibidem, fol. 87r.

39   Ibidem, fol. 83r–v. This prayer begins on fol. 82v: "Oratio B. Anselmi ante missam dicenda".

The image of the host in heart on fol. 81r answers to this imagery of incorpora-
tion as reciprocal abiding: that the host doubles as the fifth and final wound
of Christ emphasizes that his sacrificial body has been fully absorbed into the
votary's heart; conversely, the heart's position amongst the four wounds or,
better, within them, demonstrates the votary's incorporation into the saving
wounds of Christ and, by extension, into his mystical body.

The mystery of incorporation implies that Christ and the votary have become
one and the same, a conception upon which the "Devout Prayer before Mass"
elaborates in ways consonant with the image of the host in heart. Whose heart
is this, we might ask, if Christ and the celebrant-communicant abide in each
other? Is this our heart into which the sacrifice of Christ has been subsumed,
or is it, rather, that this heart, having been subsumed into the five wounds,
now functions as one of them and, by implication, as the heart of Christ? The
"Devout Prayer" explores these alternatives by insisting that the sacrifice of
Christ elicits from us the reciprocal sacrifice of ourselves. Seen in light of this
doctrinal trope, as an image of twinned sacrifice, the host in the heart is not
only contained by it but marks it as a cognate sacrifice offered to Christ: 'For
it is necessary that while we offer this [sacrifice of the Mass], we make of our-
selves a sacrifice to you in contrition of heart. And only then, when we have
offered ourselves in sacrifice, will you become a sacrifice for you'.[40] The assimi-
lation of host to heart adverts, in the words of the prayer, that he who ministers
this sacrifice cum self-sacrifice must perforce be both tender and loving ('mihi
ministrare per indulgentiam liceat assistere [...] nam necesse est ut charus sit
qui ministret').[41]

The image of the host in heart initiates the chapter on prayers for Sundays.
Like other host images that function as chapter heads, it is juxtaposed to a
pictorial image, here an engraving of the *Pietà* at the foot of the cross, on fac-
ing fol. 80v [Figs. 8.2 and 8.22]. Inscribed with an excerpt from *Lamentations*
1: 12—'Look and see, you who pass by, if any sorrow is like my sorrow'—the
print portrays Mary, her eyes nearly shut, cradling the wounded body of Christ,
whose flesh is everywhere riddled with wounds.[42] The inscription has a dual
purchase, for it applies equally to Mary and to Jesus and can be imagined as
spoken by either. This *exemplum doloris* urges us compassionately to follow
the Virgin in meditating on the Passion and death of Christ. The contiguous

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40   Ibidem, fol. 85r: 'Nam necesse est, ut dum hoc agimus, nosmetipsos tibi in cordis contri-
      cione mactemus. Et tunc pro nobis hostia vera eris, cum nosmetipsos hostiam feceris'.

41   Ibidem, fol. 85r.

42   'O vos omnes, qui transitis perviam, attendite et videte, si est dolor sicut dolor meus.
      Treno. 1'.

host image, though it incorporates a structural abridgement of the *Pietà*—horizontal IHS beneath the vertical cross, with the nails below, as if removed from the body of Christ—provides not an example but a visual *machina*, an apparatus, upon which to hang our devotions [Fig. 8.16 and 8.22]. It assists in facilitating the visual process whereby internally we become one with the sacrifice of Christ, opening our heart to him, allowing it to be wounded with him, so that his sacrifice becomes ours. The *Libellus*, in the "Prayer of Thanks after Mass" on fol. 113v, part of the chapter on prayers for Tuesdays, explains why such an image requires to be depicted in a mode that is diagrammatic rather than descriptive, ornamental rather than mimetic, and in these senses non-representational. Reception of the sacrament, as the prayer avows, since it brings the communicant into direct contact with Christ, operates in a register beyond the scope of mediating pictorial images:

> Sequuntur gratiarum actiones post missam. [...] Postremo, quomodo tu in curru igneo Eliam transtulisti, ita huius sacramenti perceptione absorbeat me, quaeso, ignita et melliflua vis amoris tui, qui mundo me totum faciat mori, a phantasmatibus et creaturarum imaginibus denudari, a privato amore liberum fieri et in te rapi, in te absorberi, tecumque unum perpetuo fieri.[43]

> Finally, just as you transported Elijah into the chariot of fire, so through reception of this sacrament I pray to be absorbed by the fiery and mellifluous power of your love that causes me wholly to die to the world, to be denuded of all illusory likenesses and images of created things ('phantasmatibus et creaturarum imaginibus denudari'), to be freed of self-love and transported into you, to be absorbed into you, perpetually to become one with you.

Given that all the host images in the *Libellus*, like their accompanying prayers, engage in a thematic of communion, this statement amounts to a manifesto on the book's non-representational Eucharistic images. In portraying the wounded body of Christ as the host and identifying the host with the wound in his side, these images eschew a mimetic mode of representation because rather than conveying the likeness of Christ or of the votary, they attempt instead to narrate how the votary is transported into Christ and, more than this, to effect this transformation.

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43   Ibidem, fol. 113v.

FIGURE 8.22   Pietà *and* IHS *Monogram in Golden Host within Heart Flanked by the Four Wounds of Christ, facing fols. 8ov and 8r in* Libellus piarum precum *(Trier: ca. 1571–1575). Engraving and watercolor (left) and pen and colored inks, gouache and watercolor (right), ca. 146 × 96 mm.*
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The subsequent host image on fol. 93r sustains the dynamic theme of incorporation but reverses the relation between host and heart [Fig. 8.17]. The golden red-rimmed host now encircles a bright red heart imprinted with a silver IHS, cross, and nails. The pictorial image on facing fol. 92v, like the *Pietà* on fol. 80v, depicts an exemplum of meditative prayer: a Carthusian kneels beside a living effigy of the crucified Christ that epitomizes the object of his devotions [Fig. 8.23]. The cover and one leaf of his prayerbook are rubricated in the red of Christ's wounds to show that they constitute the beginning, middle, and end of his spiritual exercises. The host image, by contrast, sets these exercises in motion by tendering a kind of rebus or, better, impresa, the decoding of which prompts reflection on the relation between Christ and the celebrant-communicant. The sacrifice he is about to undertake, if properly executed, promises to unite him indivisibly with Christ, as the corollary "Prayer of St. Ambrose [to be Said] before Mass" declares. The impresa signifies this connection by showing how the divine radiance of Christ in the host subsumes the votary's heart: 'Therefore do I beseech you, Lord, through the most holy and living mystery of your body and blood, by which daily in the Church we are fed and watered, cleansed and sanctified, and made to participate in your high divinity'.[44]

A change in approach to the thematic of incorporation accompanies the shift from host in heart on fol. 81r to heart in host on fol. 93r [Figs. 8.16, 8.17, 8.22, and 8.23]. The emphasis now falls not chiefly on the wounding of the Lord's mortal flesh, but on the relation of that flesh to his incorruptible divinity, a point underscored by the absence of the four subsidiary wounds featured previously. Interposed between these two folios, the image of *Christ Salvator Mundi* on fol. 88v introduces this thematic turn, which the *orationes* reinforce by dwelling on the Eucharistic presence of Christ as eternal priest and celestial sacrifice ('divinum illud et celeste sacrificium [...] ubi tu sacerdos et sacrificium mirabiliter et ineffabiliter') [Fig. 8.24].[45] Glorious in his omnipotence, he lords over all creation, as the inscription accompanying the *Salvator Mundi*, taken from *Psalm* 94: 4, proclaims: 'In your hand, Lord, the ends of the earth'. As a complement to this image of the imperishable Christ, the adjacent "Confession of Sins of Omission with Prayer after Mass" on fol. 91v invites the votary to imagine himself as continually present in the everlasting memory of Christ the Lord

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44   Ibidem, fol. 99r: 'Rogo ergo te, domine, per ipsum sacrosanctum et vivificum corporis et sanguinis misterium, quo cottidie in ecclesia tua pascimur et potamur, abluimur et sanctificamur atque unius summe divinitatis participes efficimur'.

45   Ibidem, fol. 98r.

FIGURE 8.23 Carthusian in Prayer at the Foot of the Cross *and* IHS Monogram in Heart within Golden Host, *facing fols. 92v and 93r in* Libellus piarum precum *(Trier: ca. 1571–1575). Colored woodcut (left) and pen and colored inks, gouache and watercolor (right), ca. 146 × 96 mm.*

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FIGURE 8.24   Salvator Mundi, *fol. 88v in* Libellus piarum precum (*Trier: ca. 1571–1575*).
Engraving, gouache and watercolor, ca. 146 × 96 mm.
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('non me patiaris a tua memoria alienum').[46] The priestly privilege of celebrating the Mass, as the "Prayer of St. Ambrose before Mass" on fol. 98v asserts, extends to mortal men from the supreme agency of Christ: 'Through this your plenipotency do I beg you to grant me, a sinner, to celebrate this heavenly sacrifice with fear and trembling, purity of heart and a fount of tears, with spiritual and ethereal joy'.[47] The transition from the pictorial image of a Carthusian with the effigy of Christ's mortally wounded body, to the heart in a golden host that operates outside the conventions of mimetic representation, communicates the expectation that the votary must resolutely fix his attention on the permanence and imperishability of Christ glorified in the Eucharist [Fig. 8.23].

What then is the significance of the silver IHS, cross, and very large nails imprinted on the heart [Figs. 8.17 and 8.23]? The prominent IHS indicates that the exercitant's sense of the eternal presence of Jesus, as *orationes* such as the "Devout Prayer before Communion" on fol. 93v make apparent, issues from a heart purified by the power of his holy and glorious name. Salvation, envisaged as a kind of infinite praisegiving, results from the purgative effect of the name Jesus upon the votary's sinful but contrite heart:

> […] quae peto mihi ignosci propter gloriam nominis tui benedicti, ut cordis puritate cum omnibus sanctis et electis tuis te laudare et benedicere valeam in eternum. Tue hinc misericordie et bonitati tue immense, o pater amantissime, cum omni qua possum contricione et viciorum detestacione ex toto corde meo, omnia peccata mea et negligencias confiteor […].[48]

> […] I beseech you to forgive [my many grievous sins] through the glory of your blessed name, so that I may eternally laud and bless you along with the saints and all the saved. Therefore, o most loving Father, in fullness of heart I commit to your mercy and goodness all my sins and omissions, with all the contrition and detestation of sin I can muster […].

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46   Ibidem, fol. 91v. This prayer begins on fol. 89v: "Confessio negligentiarum cum oratione post missam".

47   Ibidem, fol. 98v: 'Per hanc omnipotenciam tuam te rogo, concede mihi peccatori hoc celeste sacrificium celebrare cum timore et tremore cum cordis puritate et lacrimarum fonte cum spirituali et celesti gaudio'.

48   Ibidem, fols. 93v–94r. This prayer begins on fol. 93r: "Devota oratio ante communionem".

The name's purgative effect arises in turn from the realization that God's love of sinful humankind was so great that he consented to surrender his only begotten son as a sin-offering, delivering him unto tribulation, sorrow, and most shameful death ('unigenitum filium tuum […] in tribulationem et dolorem, in viam dolorum […] et in mortem turpissimam tradidisti').[49] The imprint of the monogram on the heart subsumed into the host can be seen to signify the Holy Name's purifying function that unifies the communicant with Christ the Lord. The cross and nails allude to the votary's awareness of Christ's self-sacrifice, which generates the process of purgation ('mortifica in membris meis stimulos carnis omnesque libidinosas commociones […] ut sacrificium mundo corde […] valeam offerre').[50] The coterminous IHS and heart suggest, furthermore, that the penitent's heart, in analogy to the sacrifice of Christ, is jointly offered up as a 'sacrificium gratum' during the Mass: 'But you, Lord God, know my will and my desire, how my whole heart grieves to have offended you and done wrong before you and your angels. And so, Lord God, grant me a heart contrite and humbled, which to you is a pleasing sacrifice'.[51]

The coincidence of Holy Name and heart also certifies that the spirit of Christ, as the "Prayer of St. Ambrose before Mass" puts it, has entered the votary, penetrating to his very core ('intret spiritus tuus bonus in cor meum'); written rather than voiced, the name of Jesus, again in the prayer's words, can be understood to resound soundlessly within the heart, speaking wordlessly about the profound mystery of the Eucharist veiled behind the form of the wheaten host ('sine sono et sine strepitu verborum loquatur omnem veritatem tantorum misteriorum, profunda quippe sunt nimis et sacro tecta velamine').[52] Writ large upon the heart, the Holy Name and its attributes—the first and last letters centered within the two lobes, the H reprising the organ's symmetry, the nails echoing its flared shape, the cross marking the juncture of the left and right ventricles—closely attach to the human vessel containing them, just as this vessel attaches to the radiant, encompassing host. These allusions to indivisability tally with the prayer's assertion that the sacrament, which is Christ himself, conjoins man and God, things lowest and highest within the great

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49   Ibidem, fol. 93v.

50   Ibidem, fol. 98r.

51   Ibidem, fol. 94v: 'Sed tu, domine deus, nosti desiderium meum et voluntatem meam, quomodo toto corde penitet me, quod te offendi et malum coram te feci et sanctis angelis tuis. Da ergo, domine deus, mihi cor contritum et humiliatum, quod tibi est sacrificium gratum'.

52   Ibidem, fol. 97r–v. This prayer begins on fol. 96v: "Sancti Ambrosii oratio ante missam".

fabric of being ('ubi yma summis coniunguntur'), making them impartible:[53]
'Let my mind, Lord, feel itself encompassed by the sweetness of your benign
presence and by the vigilance of the holy angels'.[54] Finally and perhaps most
obviously, the conjunction of Holy Name and heart also signifies the intense
love that binds Christ and his ordained minister. The heart's subsumption into
the host intimates that the communicant, if he consumes Christ in a heartfelt
way, will find himself entirely comprised by his Savior, tasting only the sweet-
ness of Jesus, seeking only his love, loving only his beauty ('nullam praeter te
senciat dulcedinem, nullum praeter te quaerat amorem, nullam praeter te
amet pulchritudinem').[55] This love is expressed as the heightened sensation
of mutual presence: '[…] amongst such great mysteries let my heart be con-
firmed by the sweetness of your presence, let it feel itself to be present to you
and let it rejoice in your company'.[56] The prayerful experience of reciprocity,
secured through the votary's engagement with mimetic and abstract images
of the *vulnera Christi*, anticipates the condition of eternal beatitude wherein
he can hope permanently to rejoice in the unmediated company of Christ the
Lord.

The capacity of this host image to accompany, in the sense of seeming to
produce as well as to be produced by these verbal images, identifies it as a
kind of emblematic device deeply imbricated within a richly elaborated visual-
textual apparatus. This holds true not only for the Christological images in the
Libellus, but also for its Marian ones, which function as their virtual pendants.
Take the icons of the *Virgin in the Sun* on fol. 2v (repeated on fol. 14r) and of the
Virgin and Child on fols. 6r and 71r, a version of the famous *Salus Populi Romani*
[Figs. 8.25 and 8.26]. The prayer, "Hail most holy Mary", transcribed below the
Virgin in the Sun, pays homage to her as the immaculate mother of God, who
gave birth to the creator and redeemer of the world, and now reigns as queen
of heaven [Fig. 8.25]. Since she intercedes on behalf of her votaries, helping
them to secure salvation, Mary is also called the 'gateway of paradise' ('porta
paradisi').[57] The image of Mary nursing the infant Christ recalls the image of
St. Bruno on fol. 1r: his pose on earth mirrors hers in heaven, and he, like Mary,
'upholds' Jesus; the prayerbook he carries, like the attention she bestows, sig-

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53   Ibidem, fol. 98r.

54   Ibidem: 'Senciat mens mea domine dulcedinem benignissime presencie tue et excubias
      sanctorum angelorum in circuitu meo'. Also see note 44 supra.

55   Ibidem, fol. 99v.

56   Ibidem, fol. 96v: '[…] confirmetur mens mea inter tanta misteria dulcedine presencie tue
      sentiat se tibi adesse et letetur coram te'.

57   Ibidem, fol. 2v. The "Ave sanctissima Maria mater dei" takes the form of a litany of praise.

FIGURE 8.25   Virgin in the Sun, *fol. 2v in* Libellus piarum precum (*Trier: ca. 1571–1575*).
Engraving and watercolor, ca. 146 × 96 mm.
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nals his total absorption in Christ [Fig. 8.10]. The prayer's reference to Mary as a gateway opening onto paradise constitutes a further analogy to Bruno, who holds open a *libellus*, that is, a version of the very book his image serves to inaugurate.

The scriptural prayers that attach to *St. Bruno in Prayer* underscore these points of convergence: *Isaiah* 26: 20–21 compares contemplative prayer to the action of opening (and then closing) the doors to one's oratory ('intra in cubicula tua claude ostia tua super [te]'); *Lamentations* 3: 25–29 equates such prayer to the action of lifting oneself above oneself ('quia levavit se super se').[58] The four red circles on the cover of Bruno's prayerbook correspond to the four red and yellow-winged angels enframing the Virgin and Child, as also to the four red circles on facing fol. 3r, each centered on a blue dot, that stand for the wounds of Christ [Figs. 8.10, 8.25, and 8.27]. These allusions to his punctured hands and feet double as Marian allusions. The lozenge-shaped prayer, addressed to Mary in the voice of Jesus ('Iesus ad Mariam'), contains references to Mary as a 'beauteous star glowing redly' ('sydus pulchre rutilans') and an 'exceedingly beautiful rose' ('rosa valde venusta'), which call to mind the vibrant rose-red color of the disks [Fig. 8.27].[59]

There is yet another layer of implied comparison between the saving blood of the *vulnera Christi* and the nourishing milk of the Virgin's breasts: praise of the latter directly connects to praise of the former, in the adjacent rubricated "Prayer to Christ":

> [...] Tu benedicta peperisti filium dei, et eum virgineis uberibus tuis lactasti: tua dignitas prorsus ineffabilis est.[60]

> You were blessed to give birth to the son of God, whom you suckled with your breasts: truly, your dignity is incalculable. [...]

> [...] Iussisti petere, et pulsare, et quaerere: quare
> Ostia pulsanti pietatis, Christe, reclude,
> Ostia quae proprio pandisti sanguine fuso [...].[61]

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58   Ibidem, fol. 1v.
59   Ibidem, fol. 3v.
60   Ibidem: "Iesus ad Mariam".
61   Ibidem, fol. 3v: "Oratio ad Christum"; see note 15 supra. Since the verb 'fundere' carries the additional meaning 'to pour forth in abundance', the adjectival participle 'fuso' also implies that the holy blood was shed profusely or copiously.

FIGURE 8.27   Marian Prayer of Supplication Flanked by the Four Wounds of Christ, *fol. 3v in*
                Libellus piarum precum (Trier: ca. 1571–1575). Pen and colored inks, watercolor,
                ca. 146 × 96 mm.
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> You commanded me, Lord, to entreat, beseech, and seek to obtain you: Wherefore
> Open the doors of compassion, Christ, to one who comes knocking,
> The doors that you opened with your own blood flowing [...].

The closely woven fabric of visual and verbal images incorporates as well the pasted-in woodcut roundel that immediately follows on fol. 4r [Fig. 8.13]. The angelic I and S are like doors that have swung open to reveal the crucifixion scene poised on the letter H. The closing couplet of the "Prayer to Christ" anticipates this image, begging him to look down upon the faithful as he once did from the cross upon the good thief.[62] Conversely, the blood-soaked nails, crimson mantles, red-rimmed halos, rose-colored background, and scarlet border resonate with the reference to the redeemer's richly flowing blood in the "Prayer to Christ" ('proprio sanguine fuso').

The *Libellus* as a Tridentine Prayerbook

The thematic of transience and permanence, central to the *Libellus*'s Marian images and prayers, aligns them with its many allusions to the self-sacrifice of Christ as, on the one hand, a discrete historical event sacramentally commemorated in the sacrifice of the Mass, and, on the other, an eternal source of justifying grace, made eucharistically present in the person of Christ. Typical is the prayer that accompanies the engraving of *Christ the Man of Sorrows* on fol. 26v, to be recited in anticipation of the elevation rite [Fig. 8.4]. The votary begins by imagining the crucifixion, detailing its effects upon the sacred flesh of Christ, but at the same time, he visualizes Christ as the boundless source whence the illimitable waters of compassion ceaselessly flow:

> Atque illa, quaeso, pietas, quae te traxit et vicit, ut in statera gloriosissimae crucis totius mundi peccata expiaris. Illa te cogat clementia ut miserearis mei pleni miseriis, qui in fonte miserationis numquam manare cessas, custodiens animam et corpus meum in vitam aeternam.[63]

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62   Ibidem: 'Respice me, ut respexisti, pie christe, latronem / Inter ut electos ego sim tandem ultimus'.

63   Ibidem, fol. 27r.

And I beg you, by that clemency and mercy which drew and impelled you to absolve all the world's sins in the steelyard of the most glorious cross, to bring yourself to have compassion on all my afflictions, ever guiding my body and soul toward life eternal.

This transit from the physical suffering and implied death of Christ, embodied in the form of the Man of Sorrows, to his presence in the sacrament as an infinite source of life-giving grace, signified in the form of the golden host encircled by a border of celestial blue, emanates from the doctrine of the Holy Eucharist promulgated by the Council of Trent. As codified in the Tridentine "Decree on the Most Holy Sacrament of the Eucharist", issued on 11 October 1551, Christ was held to exist in all his parts—body and blood, soul, and divinity—under the species of bread and wine, immediately after the words of consecration. The hypostatic union of his divinity with his body and soul ensures that his presence in the Eucharist is substantial and yet everlasting, bounded as to the flesh and unbounded as to the spirit.[64] Throughout the *Libellus*, the host images may be viewed as attempts to portray, to the fullest extent possible, the doctrine that Christ, 'true God and true man, is truly, really, and substantially contained' in the sacrament of the Holy Eucharist, wherein he is believed by faith to exist not only temporally but also eternally.[65] The non-mimetic mode of these images, in particular their depiction of the host as a disk diagrammatically imprinted with the sacrificial cross and nails, and jointly, as an abstracted sun radiant with eternal light, allusively distills the nature of Christ in the Eucharist or, better, in the words of Trent, his 'mode of existing', which is beyond the scope of verbal description [Figs. 8.9, 8.15–8.21]: 'Nor are the two assertions incompatible, that our Saviour is ever seated in heaven at the right hand of the Father in his natural mode of existing, and that he is nevertheless sacramentally present to us by his substance in many other places in a mode of exisiting which, though we can hardly express it in words,

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64   See "Council of Trent—1545–1563: Session 13, 11 October 1551", in Tanner N.P., S.J. (ed.), *Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils*, 2 vols. (London – Washington, D.C.: 1990) II 693–694, 695. On the Tridentine codification of Eucharistic doctrine, especially as pertains to the Mass, see Theisen R., O.S.B., *Mass Liturgy and the Council of Trent* (Collegeville: 1965); Duval A., *Des Sacrements au Concile de Trent* (Paris: 1985) 21–59, 61–102; and Palmer Wandel, *The Eucharist in the Reformation* 208–255. On the theological underpinnings of Session 13, see Jedin H., *Geschichte des Konzils von Trient*, 4 vols. (Freiburg im Breisgau – Basel – Vienna: 1949–1975) III 268–291.

65   See "Council of Trent", in Tanner (ed.), *Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils* II 693.

we can grasp with minds enlightened by faith as possible to God and must most firmly believe'.[66]

Other properties of the host images can likewise be seen to conform to the Tridentine decree on the Eucharist. For example, the host images are consistently shown whole and entire, by implication unbroken and unconsumed, presumably to indicate, as the decree puts it, that 'it is a sign of sacred reality and the visible form of invisible grace. But [also that] in it there is found the excelling and unique quality that, whereas the other sacraments first have the force of sanctifying at the moment when one uses them, in the Eucharist the author of holiness himself is present before their use' [Figs. 8.9, 8.15–8.21].[67] The seeming resolution of some hosts into multi-colored, constituent dots held in dynamic suspension within the circumference of the encompassing disk perhaps alludes to the doctrine that any part of the Eucharist, however small, contains all of Christ, who 'exists whole and entire under the form of bread and under any part of that form, and likewise whole under the form of wine and under its parts' [Figs. 8.15, 8.20, and 8.21].[68] The containment of these dots within the whole that circumscribes them, and the fact that they consist of primary colors—red, blue, and yellow—whereas the circular bands delimiting the hosts consist of composite colors mixed from these primaries (such as the yellow-shaded purple on fol. 144r), evoke processes of unification and harmonization, calling up the admonition that 'each and all who are marked by the name of Christian should now, at long last, join together and agree in this sign of unity, this bond of love, this symbol of harmony' [Fig. 8.21].[69] The transition in several of the openings from a representational image of a sacred event, such as the crucifixion, to an abstracted image of the host, conjures up the notion that 'Christ the Lord, who has now risen from the dead and will die no more', becomes present in the Eucharist, not only sacramentally but also imperishably, through the cocomitance of his body and soul, and their hypostatic union with his eternal divinity [Figs. 8.12, 8.22, and 8.23].[70] The allusion to perennial Godhead, vested in the modal shift from a mimetic to a non-mimetic image, summons up the tenet that the Eucharist, though partly perceptible to the senses, ultimately appeals to the mind and soul. If properly meditated, it causes the votary to realize what the mediation of species and images can only intimate: '[…] may [they] be able to receive frequently that life-supporting

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66   Ibidem II 693–694.

67   Ibidem II 694.

68   Ibidem II 695.

69   Ibidem II 697.

70   Ibidem II 695.

bread, and […] may [it] be for them truly the life of the soul and the unending health of the mind; thus, strengthened by its force, may they be able after the journey of this wretched pilgrimage to reach the heavenly fatherland, there to eat without veil the same bread of angels which they now eat beneath sacred veils'.[71] The negotiation between two kinds of image, in other words, not only prompts the votary to consider what it means sacramentally to enter into the whole of Christ and be entered by him, but also rehearses the transition from temporal to everlasting union with Christ, anticipated by the Eucharist.

The *Libellus*, in sum, might best be construed as a meditative exploration of the nature of the Eucharist, its mysterious form and substance. It consists, as we have seen, of propaedeutic spiritual exercises designed to prepare the priest—in heart, mind, and spirit—humbly, reverently, gratefully, and lovingly to discern the presence of Christ in the consecrated host, while celebrating Mass. The elaborate text and image apparatus closely accords with the Jesuit identity of its user[s], for the host images, whether mimetic or non-mimetic are also iterations of the Holy Name, which is seen to inform or, better, to produce and be produced by the multifarious images of the sacrificial Christ that proliferate throughout the prayerbook. The oscillation between kinds and degrees of image—embodied and disembodied, mimetic and diagrammatic—serves to underscore both the representability of Christ, whose body and blood the mysteries of the Incarnation and the Passion made present to human eyes and hands, and also his incommensurable divinity, which exceeds the representational capacities of any image. And yet, through the pictorial device of variously abstracted images, it proves possible visually to allude to, if not exactly to represent, the transcendent nature of Christ that inheres fully in the Eucharist, along with his body and blood. The *Libellus piarum precum*, in the systematic and sustained attention it pays to visual images, adumbrates the Jesuit reliance on the *imago* as the meditative instrument best capable of unfolding, within the limits of human understanding, the great mysteries of the Catholic faith, amongst which the liturgical mystery enacted during the Canon of the Mass is here given pride of place. As such, the *Libellus* constitutes an early example of the kind of meditative book soon to be propagated by the order, not least Petrus Canisius's *Mariale* (1577), Jerónimo Nadal's *Adnotationes et meditationes in Evangelia* (1595), and the emblem books of Joannes David (1601–1610).

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71   Ibidem II 697.

Epilogue

Amongst the *Libellus*'s Marian images, the icon of the *Virgin and Child* engages most fully in the relational thematic of time and eternity, discernible in the host images [Figs. 8.26 and 8.28]. The Jesuits revered this famous Marian icon as the visionary image painted by St. Luke himself, even though it had formerly been construed as an *acheiropoieton*.[72] The prayers that accompany the icon in the *Libellus* regard it as a portrait of Mary, the human mother, interacting with her mortal son, who is Christ incarnate. But they also treat it as a quintessential image of *Sponsa* and *Sponsus*, the eternally loving bride and bridegroom, whose courtship and spiritual marriage the *Song of Songs* narrates. The "Salutation to the Glorious Virgin", on fol. 6v, for instance, praises her for meriting copious accolades, as multitudinous as heaven's beatific spirits or the perdurable firmament's countless stars, as innumerable as nature's transitory phenomena, the leaves of trees or blades of grass. She deserves to be viewed through these two lenses, the one fleeting, the other imperishable, because she mediates between God and men, and, having dutifully served as the mortal mother of God, now reigns as the immortal queen of heaven. The votary therefore pleads to be made a participant in the love that united mother and son and continues to unify bride and bridegroom:

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72   On Marian imagery and the Jesuits, with specific reference to the *Salus Populi Romani*, see Mühlen I. von zur, "Kopie nach dem Kultbild 'Salus Populi Romani' von S. Maria Maggiore", in Baumstark R. (ed.), *Rom In Bayern. Kunst und Spiritualität der ersten Jesuiten* [exh. cat., Bayerisches National Museum, Munich] (Munich: 1997) 492–493; Noreen K., "The Icon of Santa Maria Maggiore, Rome: An Image and its Afterlife", *Renaissance Studies* 19 (2005) 660–672, esp. 664; and Melion W.S., "'*Quae lecta Canisius offert et spectata diu*': The Pictorial Images in Petrus Canisius's *De Maria Virgine* of 1577," in Melion W.S. – Palmer Wandel L. (eds.), *Early Modern Eyes: Discourses of Vision, 1500–1800*, Intersections: Interdisciplinary Studies in Early Modern Culture 13 (Leiden – Boston: 2009) 207–266, esp. 240, 261–262. Francisco Borgia, in his capacity as Superior General, secured papal permission to make a copy of the *Salus Populi Romani*, which was itself copied and and widely distributed by the order. On the attribution of the icon, formerly revered as an *acheiropoieton*, to Luke, see Wolf G., *Salus Populi Romani. Die Geschichte römischer Kultbilder im Mittelalter* (Weinheim: 1990) 141–145, 211–227.

FIGURE 8.28   Salus Populi Romani, *fol. 71r in* Libellus piarum precum (*Trier: ca. 1571–1575*).
Engraving, colored ink, and watercolor, ca. 146 × 96 mm.
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FIGURE 8.29   St. Hugo of Grenoble, *fol. 156v in* Libellus piarum precum (*Trier: ca. 1571–1575*). *Colored woodcut, ca. 146 × 96 mm.*
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Saluto autem te in unione amoris, et per cor dilecti filij tui atque omnium te amantium, meque tibi commendo, atque in proprium filium tibi assigno. Oro etiam, ut tu me suscipias, et apud deum facias, ut totus sim tuus, tu tota sis mea post deum domina, gaudium meum et corona, ac mater mea dulcissima et fidelissima.[73]

But in unity of love I salute you and commend myself to you in and through the heart of your beloved son and the hearts of all who love you, and I assign myself to you as your proper son. Prithee, receive me, and in the presence of God make me entirely yours, and become, after God, my absolute overlord, my joy, my crown, my most sweet and faithful mother.

The complementary "Prayer after Elevation [of the Eucharist]", on fol. 28v, identifies the eternal desire of Christ for the salvation of humankind as the wellspring of that love which indissolubly binds him to Mary and, through her, to us: 'And make all vice to perish in me, and the seed of all good to arise, and by the perpetual desire for our salvation, which drew you, holy [Jesus], hither from the bosom of the Father into the heart of the mother, draw from out of me a [like] desire for you'.[74] In this formulation, the timeless love of Christ generates the mystery of the Incarnation that tailors divine love to human capacity, engendering in humankind a timely longing to love Christ in return.

The second appearance of the *Virgin and Child*, on fol. 71r, converts the icon qua icon into a figurative image of the human soul's contingent and impermanent likeness to the timeless and unconditional perfection of God [Fig. 8.28]. The attendant prayer, "Action of Thanks after Mass", earnestly states that the source of this analogy or, better, its fountainhead, is the grace that issued from the sacrificial body of Christ, which the priest now offers anew in the Eucharist ('hodie de omnibus membris et vulneribus tui sanctissimi corporis').[75] The power of sacramental grace 'rewrites' and 'restores' us in the image of Christ, and having done this, it once again betroths us to him and consummates this relation of love:

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73   *Libellus piarum precum*, fol. 6v.

74   Ibidem, fol. 28v: 'et fac in me vicium deperire, et omnis boni germen oriri per desiderium quod ab aeterno habuisti ad nostram redemptionem, trahe omne desiderium meum in te per vinculum amoris quod te sanctum desinu patris contulit gremio matris'.

75   Ibidem, fol. 76r.

Benedictus es sanctissime deus, qui me ad imaginem et similitudinem tuam creasti, omnibus virtutibus decorasti. et hodie per corpus et sanguinem tuum decore imaginis tue misericorditer illustrasti. Et omnes virtutes tuas in me mirabilius rescripsisti et reformasti. Benedictus es, clementissime deus, qui me in lavachro baptizans tibi celesti sponso desponsare voluisti et hodie corpus et sanguinem tuum ad donum nove desponsationis et consummationem legitime tue dilectionis contulisti.[76]

Blessed are you, most holy God, who created me in your image and likeness, ornamented me with every virtue, and now through your body and blood mercifully illuminate me with the beauty of your image. You have wondrously rewritten and restored all your virtues within me. Blessed are you, most clement God, who baptizing me in the baptismal font, wished to betroth me to yourself as to a bridegroom, and today bestowed your body and blood, betrothing us anew and perfecting us in truth of your love.

The icon of the *Virgin and Child*, since it emphatically qualifies as an image, indeed as the image of an image, drives home the point that the grace of this sacrament refashions us in the image and likeness of Christ, and thereby secures our place in the Virgin's affections. The inscription, 'After the image of St. Luke', engraved below, implicitly draws a parallel between Eucharistic image-making and the painting of this icon.[77] And yet, because we are human, our likeness to Christ, having once been sacramentally recovered, will need periodically to be restored. The warrant for this continual process of renewal comes from Christ himself, who, motivated by love, indelibly portrays us within himself, as the prayer affirms: 'And in the recollection of your most propitious heart, within your innermost part, felicitously you have portrayed me'.[78] The icon of the *Virgin and Child*, as a condensate of the ineffable love that transits eternally between Mary and Jesus, signifies the connection between our ephemeral humanity and the abiding image of ourselves to be found within the loving heart of Christ the *Deus Artifex*.

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76   Ibidem, fol. 76r–v.

77   'Ad D. Lucae imaginem'.

78   Ibidem, fol. 76v: 'Et me in memoriam tui cordis felicissimi et in omnia viscera misericordiae tuae feliciter descripsisti'.

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Interior Sight in Peter Canisius' Meditations on Advent[1]

Hilmar M. Pabel

Introduction

In the major publication of his declining years, the *Notae evangelicae* (1591–1593), Peter Canisius, the first Dutch Jesuit, explained the value of Advent. It inaugurated the liturgical year. It was 'also the image (*imago*) of the old synagogue and of the ancient fathers living under the Law and, moreover, the delightful representation (*venusta repraesentatio*) of those who for so many centuries longed for the coming and grace of Christ'. 'There is no season of the year', Canisius continued, 'more suitable to commend the holy mystery of the Lord's incarnation, as the beginning of the redemption of humankind, to all people of every class and age and character and furthermore upon which to meditate day and night with an interior sense of piety (*intimo cum sensu pietatis*)'. Canisius quoted the definition of Advent from the *Liber de divinis officiis* (3.1) by the twelfth-century Benedictine theologian, Rupert of Deutz. Advent, 'the season that precedes the memorial of the Lord's birth', owes its name to the orientation of the entire Church to contemplate 'the coming of the Lord'. His coming means that he, whose majestic presence is everywhere invisible and who took on our visible condition, 'showed himself as visible to physical sight'. The Word was made flesh 'so that he might live visibly among us'.[2]

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2 Streicher F. (ed.), *S. Petri Canisii doctoris ecclesiae Meditationes seu notae in evangelicas lectiones*, 2nd ed., 3 vols. (Munich: 1957–1961) I, 31, 37. See Rupert Tuitiensis, *Liber de divinis officiis*, ed. H. Haacke, Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Mediaevalis, vol. 7 (Turnhout: 1967) 62: 'Tempus quod dominicae nativitatis memoriam antecedit, ideo adventus nuncupatur, quia totus eius ecclesiasticus ordo iuxta contemplationem advenientis Domini dispositus est. Advenire autem Dominus recte dicitur, qui ubique est invisibili praesentia maiestatis, dum assumpto eo, quod visibile est nostrum, visibus carnis visibilem se ostendit. Quod tum factum est, quando *Verbum, per quod omnia facta sunt, quod erat in mundo et mundus per ipsum factus est sed mundus eum non cognovit caro factum* est, ut visibiliter *habitaret in nobis*' (*John* 1:3, 10, 14).

The references to the visibility of Advent—the image and representation of ancient Judaism and Christ's visible presence among human beings—open and close the first preface to Canisius' meditations on the Sundays of Advent and invite an exploration of the sense of sight in his spirituality. I shall limit my investigation to the meditations on Advent in the *Notae*, the most substantial source of spiritual practice and reflection in the work of one of the most prolific Jesuit writers of the sixteenth century. Ignatius of Loyola's *Spiritual Exercises* constitute the appropriate literary and spiritual context for exploring sight in Canisius' meditations on Advent. Beyond noting his initial experience of his faithfulness to the *Exercises*, scholars have only hinted at the Ignatian dimension of Canisius' spirituality.[3] In his meditations on Advent, Canisius alludes to the application of the five senses, a regular method of meditation or contemplation in the *Exercises*.

The meditative or contemplative application of the senses did not originate with Ignatius. He encountered it in a passage from the preface of the *Vita Christi* by the fourteenth-century Carthusian monk, Ludolph of Saxony. Scholars have shown that the passage is a quotation from the *Meditationes vitae Christi* by an anonymous fourteenth-century Franciscan, who urged his readers to make Jesus' actions present to themselves 'as though you were hearing it with your ears and seeing it with your eyes'.[4] The application of the senses, while not original to Ignatius, became a method of prayer that was integral to the *Spiritual Exercises* and consequently to the patrimony of Jesuit spirituality.

The Ignatian application of the senses raises several questions. What is the significance of this regular practice in the *Spiritual Exercises*? One sixteenth-century Jesuit wondered how it differed from the meditations that immediately preceded it, namely seeing and hearing the persons in a scriptural narrative.[5] What senses did Ignatius mean, and what method of application did he have in mind? Did he mean the external, bodily senses or inner, spiritual senses, the senses of the soul—or both? How could anyone smell or taste God's sweetness or the virtues of the soul (Exx. 124)?[6] Surely as spiritual entities God and the

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3   Richstätter K., "Deutsche Mystik und Ignatianische Aszese im Innenleben des hl. Petrus Canisius", *Zeitschrift für Aszese und Mystik* 1 (1925–1926) 25–37, here 35–36; Pelsemacker A. de, "Saint Pierre Canisius: la spiritualité d'un apôtre", *Revue d'ascétique et de mystique* 35 (1959) 167–192, here 184–188.

4   Rahner H., S.J., *Ignatius the Theologian*, trans. M. Barry (London: 1968) 192–193, quotation: 193.

5   Palmer M.E. (trans. and ed.), *On Giving the Spiritual Exercises: The Early Jesuit Manuscript Directories and the Official Directory of 1599* (St. Louis: 1996) 194.

6   Calveras I. – Dalmases C. de (eds.), *Monumenta Ignatiana, series secunda: Exercitia spiritualia S. Ignacii de Loyola et eorum directoria, nova editio*, vol. 1: *Exercitia spiritualia*, (Rome: 1969) 234.

soul were beyond physical sensation. Did the application of the senses intend a transcendence aimed at mystical union with God?

A small group of Jesuits addressed the application of senses and other topics as work proceeded under the Superiors General Everard Mercurian (1573–1580) and Claudio Acquaviva (1581–1615) to produce an official Directory in 1599 for giving the *Spiritual Exercises* in the Society of Jesus.[7] Two main positions emerged in the interpretation of the application of the senses. Both accepted the premise of distinguishing between what Juan Polanco (d. 1576), Ignatius' close collaborator, called the 'imaginative senses' and 'the senses of the higher intellect or mind', more commonly known as the spiritual senses.[8] At issue was the usefulness of the distinction. One interpretation allowed for a mystical application of the senses; the other discouraged it.

Polanco was the most eloquent proponent of the first interpretation. In his own directory, he believed that applying the 'imaginative senses' was appropriate for 'those to whom the Exercises are commonly given'. The imaginative use of sight, hearing, and touch posess no difficulties. But 'as for the senses of smell and taste, beyond the imagination one should ascend to the mind, considering the sweet odor of God's gifts inasmuch as they are at a distance, and the taste of his gifts inasmuch as they are present in the holy soul and refresh it with their sweetness'. The application of these two senses, as well as the other three, lends itself to a spiritual elite: 'those who are more advanced and have experience of the contemplative life'. Invoking the authority of and paraphrasing chapter 4 of Bonaventure's *Itinerarium mentis in Deum*, Polanco relates all five spiritual senses or the senses of the higher mind to the three theological virtues in view of their spiritual restoration of the senses and of the soul's union with Christ.[9]

Gil González Dávila, who helped write the Directory of 1599, was not interested in catering to mystics. He advised against attaching importance to Bonaventure. The Franciscan theologian's ideas about the senses 'are pretty remote from ordinary human sense and too subtle to be given to simple and inexperienced persons like the general run of those who come to the Exercises'.

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7 For a brief outline of the genesis of the Directory, see Guibert J. de, *The Jesuits: Their Spiritual Doctrine and Practice—A Historical Study*, trans. W.J. Young (St. Louis: 1986) 243–247.

8 Palmer, *On Giving the Spiritual Exercises* 132. For seminal studies on the historical and theological development of the spiritual senses, see Rahner K., "Le début d'une doctrine des cinq sens spirituels chez Origène", *Revue d'ascétique et de mystique* 13 (1932) 113–145; "La doctrine des 'sens spirituels' au Moyen-Âge en particulier chez Saint Bonaventure", *Revue d'ascétique et de mystique* 14 (1933) 263–299. For a collection of recent studies on individual thinkers from Origen to modern analytic philosophers, see Gavrilyuk P.L. – Coakley S. (eds.), *The Spiritual Senses: Perceiving God in Western Christianity* (Cambridge: 2012).

9 Palmer, *On Giving the Spiritual Exercises* 132; Bonaventure, *Works of St. Bonaventure: Itinerarium Mentis in Deum*, trans. Z. Hayes (Saint Bonaventure, NY: 2002) 98–101.

González Dávila held that the application of the senses should be 'carried out plainly and simply' and without 'subtleties', for 'this use of the senses is easy'. Paying attention to the 'anagogical senses' did not help the cause of meditation. Curiously, after summarizing Bonaventure's views, González Dávila concluded: 'Employment of the spiritual senses is a sign of spiritual life'.[10]

With the Directory of 1599 'self-control replaced affective mysticism'.[11] It described the application of the senses as 'quite easy and beneficial'. The application of the senses was distinct from the intellectual and discursive method of meditation but could be allied with meditation. Not as lofty as meditation, it 'merely rests in the sensible qualities of things'. By distinguishing the soul's capacity for 'knowledge of higher mysteries' from 'the contemplation of these sensible things', the Directory excluded a mystical conception of the application of senses.[12]

This official determination did not end the debate. Some early modern Jesuits adhered to the interpretation of the Directory; others believed that the application of the senses was superior to and more difficult than meditation and that it involved the spiritual senses.[13] Modern interpreters also disagree about the nature and purpose of the application of the senses. In an essay first published in 1920 and revised for publication in 1937, Joseph Maréchal claimed that the application of the senses, as presented in the *Spiritual Exercises*, entails 'an *intellectual* mode of prayer, both more perfect and more difficult than discursive meditation'. This type of prayer employs the spiritual senses and borders on mystical prayer.[14] In an article on the application of the senses that appeared in the first volume of the *Dictionnaire de spiritualité* (1937), Maréchal distinguished three stages of application: an application of the imaginative senses, a metaphorical application, and an 'application of the "*spiritual senses*" as such'. Ignatius intended the first application in the *Spiritual*

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10   Palmer, *On Giving the Spiritual Exercises* 236, 251.

11   Sluhovsky M., "Loyola's *Spiritual Exercises* and the Modern Self", in Maryks R.A. (ed.), *A Companion to Ignatius of Loyola: Life, Writings, Spirituality, Influence* (Leiden: 2014) 216–231, here 227.

12   Palmer, *On Giving the Spiritual Exercises* 321 and 322.

13   Maréchal J., "Un essai de méditation orientée vers la contemplation: la méthode d''application des sens' dans les Exercises de Saint Ignace", in Maréchal, *Études sur la psychologie des mystiques*, vol. II (Paris: 1937) 365–382, here 369–370; Maréchal, "Application des sens", in Viller M. – Cavellera F. – Guibert J. de (eds.), *Dictionnaire de spiritualité, ascétique et mystique, doctrine et histoire*, vol. 1 (Paris: 1937) cols. 810–828, here cols. 816–822; Marxer F., *Die inneren geistlichen Sinne: ein Beitrag zur Deutung ignatianischer Mystik* (Freiburg im Breisgau: 1963) 35–37.

14   Maréchal, "Un essai de méditation orientée vers la contemplation" 373, 377, 379, 381; emphasis in the original.

Exercises and the second to a certain point. Although he did not mention the spiritual senses, one could say, Maréchal believed, that he had the application of the spiritual senses 'eminently in mind'.[15] A spiritual or mystical orientation has endured among interpreters.[16] Yet the mystical drive of the spiritual senses has had its critics. In emphasizing the making present to the exercitant of the scenes from Christ's life, they in one way or another have argued for an incarnational as opposed to a supernatural conception of the senses.[17] Christopher van Ginhoven Rey insists that the application of the senses is a more intense probing of the images already acquired in preceding contemplations of Christ's incarnate life.[18] Inclined towards the mystical goal of the application of the senses, Hugo Rahner was able to reconcile this goal with an imaginative sensation that puts 'salvation history into the present tense' and thus prepares the soul 'to be taken up into God's love and praise'.[19] In his most recent assessment, Philip Endean concedes that what Ignatius meant by the application of the senses defies clarity and that 'the proffered interpretations are vulnerable to theological or exegetical objection or in most cases to both'.[20]

For Canisius, who left no record of participating in the debate about the application of the senses, meditative perception functions in conformity with an interior devotion, 'with an interior sense of piety'. Thus I call the devout visual perception in the meditations of the *Notae evangelicae* interior sight. Meditative, interior sight leads to spiritual transformation. The object of this sight can be meditative as well as imaginative. Interior sight is transformative by fostering spiritual dispositions, such as the fear of divine judgment or the resolve to admire and imitate the qualities of protagonists in a biblical narrative. It is imaginative when it beholds what is 'imageable' or 'picturable', what one can imagine seeing with the eyes. Ignatian imagination, as Ernest Ferlita

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15   Maréchal, "Application des sens" cols. 826–827.

16   Marxer, *Die inneren geistlichen Sinne*; Sudbrack J., "Die 'Anwendung der Sinne' als Angelpunkt der Exerzitien", in Sivernich M. – Switek G. (eds.), *Ignatianisch: Eigenart und Methode der Gesellschaft Jesu* (Freiburg im Breisgau: 1990) 96–119, here 106–110; Alarcon M., "Aplicación de sentidos", *Manresa* 65 (1993): 33–46.

17   Lepers É., "L'application des sens: *Exercises nᵒˢ 121–126*", *Christus* 27 (1980) 83–94, here 87–91; Rendina S., "La dottrina dei 'sensi spirituali' negli esercizi spirituali di Ignazio di Loyola", *Servitium* 29–30 (1983) 55–72, here 59–62, 67–72; Endean P., "The Ignatian Prayer of the Senses", *Heythrop Journal* 31 (1990) 391–418, here 404.

18   Ginhoven Rey C. van, *Instruments of Divinity: Providence and Praxis in the Foundation of the Society of Jesus* (Leiden: 2014) 39–42.

19   Rahner, *Ignatius the Theologian* 207.

20   Endean P., "Aplicacion de sentidos", in Garcia de Castro J. (ed.), *Diccionario de espiritualidad ignaciana*, 2 vols. (Bilbao – Santander: 2007), vol. I, 184–192, here 190.

rightly pointed out, extends beyond the visible to the invisible.[21] Metaphorical sensation engages in what Joseph Maréchal called a 'symbolic transposition at the intellectual level, a transposition that functions on an affective foundation' and is directed towards 'immaterial objects' and 'conceptual objects'.[22] In Canisius' meditations on Advent, interior sight is metaphorical when it uses visible objects as metaphors for the meditating self and envisages saintly virtues worthy of admiration and imitation. Although the imaginative and metaphorical elements in interior sight are conceptually distinct, they are not in the practice of Canisius' meditations easily separable.

The *Notae evangelicae, Spiritual Exercises*, and Interior Sensation

Scholarship has duly noted the *Notae evangelicae* in Canisius' published oeuvre but has tended to overlook the significance of this Jesuit's last *magnum opus*. The idea for the publication dates back to 1570, when Canisius thought of writing a postil, a cycle of sermons arranged in accordance with the liturgical year. The final product turned out to be a collection of meditations on the gospels appointed for Sundays and for other important days of the liturgical year, including some saints' days. Two volumes comprised the first edition, the first published in 1591, the second in 1593. The complete title reads *Notae in evangelicas lectiones, quae per totum annum dominicis diebus in ecclesia catholica recitantur*. A second edition, also in two volumes, appeared in 1595. Canisius died in 1597 before he could publish a third edition in a three-volume format.[23] Friedrich Streicher, a German Jesuit, completed this project, which was prepared for publication in 1939 but was destroyed in the Second World War. A second edition appeared in 1957–1965.

The 'notes' or meditations furnished Catholic priests with a spiritual foundation for their sermons. Canisius divided the treatment of each Sunday or feast day into four parts: (1) a substantial *argumentum* that briefly summarized the gospel text and offered a longer theological comment, (2) the gospel pericope itself, (3) three meditations each based on a different passage of the pericope,

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21 Ferlita E.C., "The Road to Bethlehem—Is It Level or Winding? The Use of the Imagination in the Spiritual Exercises", *Studies in the Spirituality of Jesuits* 29/5 (November 1997) 1–23, here 5.

22 Maréchal, "Application des sens" cols. 826–827.

23 Pabel H.M., "Meditation in the Service of Catholic Orthodoxy: Peter Canisius' *Notae Evangelicae*", in Enenkel K.A.E. – Melion W. (eds.), *Meditatio—Refashioning the Self: Theory and Practice in Late Medieval and Early Modern Intellectual Culture* (Leiden: 2011) 257–289, here 259–262.

and (4) directions for prayers appropriate to the pericope. At some points in the liturgical year, Canisius provided supplementary material.

In the case of Advent, three prefatory texts precede the meditations for the four Sundays in Advent: (1) 'Notes for meditations that correspond with the advent of the Lord, as we call it', (2) 'Notes on persons deserving consideration as a matter of course in Advent', (3) 'Notes on the divine oracles delivered by the gospel-minded prophet Isaiah almost 800 years beforehand [i.e. prior to the gospels] and for frequent meditation in the holy season of Advent'.[24] My analysis of Canisius' meditations on Advent will explore these prefaces as well as his meditative exposition of the gospel pericopes for the four Sundays of Advent.

Canisius took liberties with these pericopes. For the first Sunday he chose the story of Jesus' entrance into Jerusalem (*Matthew* 21:1–9), a text intended not for Advent but 'close to the feast of Easter', as Canisius well knew. Yet he claimed that 'many churches' made use of this text on the first Sunday of Advent.[25] The Matthean text indeed appears as the gospel for the first Sunday of Advent in a postil published in 1549 by Friedrich Nausea, the humanist theologian and Bishop of Vienna (1541–1552) whose patronage Canisius, as a young Jesuit, sought in 1545.[26] Canisius had already deployed the passage from *Matthew* 21 as the gospel for the first Sunday of Advent in a book of prayers and liturgical readings (1556) and a collection of catechetical sermons in German on Advent and Christmas (1570).[27] For this Sunday the Roman Missal gave the reading of Jesus' foretelling of the signs of the end of the world (*Luke* 21: 25–33).[28] Canisius used this pericope for the second Sunday of Advent. In the *Notae*, the third and fourth Sundays of Advent took, respectively, the gospel pericopes mandated by the Roman Missal for the preceding Sunday, namely John the Baptist's inquiry, sent through two of his disciples, about Jesus'

24   Streicher (ed.), *Meditationes*, vol. I, 30, 33, 38.

25   Ibidem, vol. I, 41.

26   Nausea Friedrich, *In totius anni tam de Tempore quam de Sanctis Evangelia, Postillarum et Homiliarum Epitome sive Compendium* (Cologne, Joannes Quentel: 1549) 1–2; Gatz E., *Die Bischöfe des Heiligen Römischen Reiches: 1448 bis 1648* (Berlin: 1996), 494–496; Braunsberger O. (ed.), *Beati Petri Canisii Societatis Iesu epistulae et acta*, 8 vols. (Herder: 1896–1923) vol. I, 146.

27   Canisius Peter, *Lectiones et Precationes Ecclesiasticae* (Ingolstadt, n.p.: 1556) fols. 11v–12r; *Christenliche und wolgegründte Predig von den vier Sontagen im Advent, auch vonn dem heiligen Christag* (Dillingen, Sebaldus Mayer: 1570) fol. 1r–v.

28   *Missale Romanum ex decreto sacrosancti concilii Triedentini restitutum, Pii V. pontificis max. iussu editum* (Cologne, Gervinus Calenius and the heirs of Johannes Quentel: 1573) 2.

identity (*Matthew* 11:2–10), and John's reply to the priests and Levites sent from Jerusalem to ask him who he was (*John* 1:19–28).

A reference to the five senses in the 'Notes on persons' alludes to the *Spiritual Exercises*. Canisius has the meditating priest affirm, while observing the devout comportment of the Virgin Mary towards the angel Gabriel and her cousin Elizabeth: 'And here I will run through (*percurram*) the five physical senses and will apply them to meditation (*ad meditandum adhibeo*) so that I might more easily be led, in a certain way by hand, from physical things to a knowledge of spiritual and divine things, at least as far as my weakness allows'.[29] This promise recalls Ignatius' recommendation in the *Exercises* to pass 'the five senses of the imagination' through the first two contemplations of the second week, namely the incarnation and birth of Christ (Exx. 121).[30]

The application of the senses, to use the terminology of the first, Latin edition of the *Exercises* (1548), means to see the persons of the narrative; to hear what they are saying or could be saying; to smell and to taste 'the infinite mildness and sweetness of the divinity, of the soul and its virtues, and of everyone in relation to the person who is the subject of the contemplation'; to touch, for example by embracing and kissing 'the places where such persons walk and sit'. The objective in applying each sense to the narrative is to reflect on oneself and derive profit by doing so (Exx. 121–125).[31] Ignatius prescribes the application of the five senses for the other narrative contemplations—the mysteries of Christ's life—of the second week: the presentation of Jesus in the temple, the flight into Egypt, Jesus' obedience to his parents at home and their finding him in the temple, the baptism of Christ in the Jordan, and his journey into the desert (Exx. 132, 134, 158, 161).[32] The application of the senses belongs also to the contemplations of the third week on Christ's passion (Exx. 204, 208) and of the fourth week on the resurrection (Exx. 226).[33]

The meditation on hell in the first week of the Exercises is arguably analogous to the application of the senses in the following weeks.[34] While Jesuit Provincial of Andalusia (1585–1588), González Dávila held that the application of the senses for this exercise was 'a great help in meditating the torments

29   Streicher (ed.), *Meditationes*, vol. 1, 34.

30   *Monumenta Ignatiana: Exercitia spiritualia* 232.

31   Ibidem 232–234.

32   Ibidem 240, 254, and 256.

33   Ibidem 286, 288, and 302.

34   Endean, "Aplicación de sentidos" 185.

of hell'.[35] Hugo Rahner and Joseph de Guibert, two modern Jesuit theologians and experts on Ignatian spirituality, associated the meditation on hell with the application of the senses.[36] The exercitant proceeds 'to see with the sight of the imagination the great fires and the souls like fiery bodies;' to hear 'the weeping, shrieking, crying, and blasphemies against Christ our Lord and against all his saints;' to smell 'the smoke, the brimstone, the refuse, and putrid things;' to taste the bitterness of 'tears, sadness, and the worm of conscience;' and finally 'to touch with the touch, namely, how the fires touch and burn the souls' (Exx. 66–70).[37]

Canisius' echo of the *Spiritual Exercises* comes as no surprise. He entered the Society of Jesus in 1543 immediately after completing them in Mainz under the direction of Pierre Favre, an early companion of Ignatius, who believed that Favre was the ablest director of the *Exercises*.[38] It appears that Canisius was in spiritual retreat for about a month in conformity with Ignatius' plan.[39] The young student at the University of Cologne—Canisius was 22 years old in 1543—was scarcely able to explain 'how my soul and senses have been transformed by the *Spiritual Exercises*'.[40] In 1547, Ignatius called Canisius to Rome to familiarize him with Jesuit life and spirituality. He also directed the recruit in the *Exercises*.[41] Canisius' annual recourse to the *Exercises* anticipated the legislation (Decree 29) of the Sixth General Congregation (1608) of the Society of Jesus: 'Let all, for eight or ten continuous days each year, devote themselves to the Spiritual Exercises'.[42] Jerónimo Nadal, the vigorously itinerant

35   Palmer, *On Giving the Spiritual Exercises* 247. On González Dávila, see O'Neill C.E. – Domínquez J. (eds.), *Diccionario histórico de la Compañía de Jesús: biográfico-temático*, s. v. "González Dávila, Gil", by M. Ruiz Jurado, II, 1783–1784.

36   Rahner, *Ignatius the Theologian* 185–186; Guibert, *The Jesuits* 111.

37   *Monumenta Ignatiana, Exercitia spiritualia* 200 and 202.

38   Begheyn P., "Pierre Favre as Director of the Spiritual Exercises: The Case of Peter Canisius", in McCoog T.M. (ed.), *Ite Inflammate Omnia: Selected Historical Papers from Conferences held at Loyola and Rome in 2006* (Rome: 2010) 71–84, here 72.

39   Brodrick J., *Saint Peter Canisius* (London: 1935; reprint, Chicago: 1980) 36.

40   Braunsberger (ed.), *Epistulae*, vol. I, 77.

41   Oswald J., "Petrus Canisius—ein Lebensbild", in Oswald J. – Rummel, P. (eds.), *Petrus Canisius—Reformer der Kirche: Festschrift zum 400. Todestag* (Augsburg: 1996) 21–38, here 28.

42   Braunsberger O., "San Pedro Canisio y los Ejercicios Espirituales", *Manresa* 1 (1925) 327–339, here 330; Padberg J.W. – O'Keefe M.D. – McCarthy J.L. (eds.), *For Matters of Greater Moment: The First Thirty Jesuit General Congregations—A Brief History and A Translation of the Decrees* (St. Louis: 1994) 232.

exponent of Jesuit identity in the early decades of the Society,[43] and Canisius were 'the main proponents' of the movement for an annual retreat with the *Exercises* for all Jesuits.[44] During and after his leadership as Provincial of the Upper German province of the Society of Jesus (1556–1569), Canisius promoted the *Exercises* and directed exercitants.[45] The notes taken by Sebastian Werro, a Swiss priest, of the five-day retreat that he took under Canisius' direction in 1588, possess, according to the historian of the *Exercises* Ignacio Iparraguirre, 'an exceptional value'. They constitute one of the earliest records of spiritual direction through the *Exercises*. The reduction of the Exercises to five days was Canisius' innovation. Nevertheless, as Iparraguirre pointed out, Canisius' direction demonstrates fidelity to Ignatius.[46]

The young Canisius was capable of applying the senses. His notes on his first experience of the *Exercises* in 1543 show that he meditated on Christ's ascension into heaven. The young Canisius was weeping, his body was shaking, and his spirit was on fire 'in the meditation of Christ taken up into the heavens, especially because he was received by the angels with such joyful cheers'. He perceived the heavenly Christ with the senses of sight, hearing, and smell.[47]

In 1588, Werro's notes capture Canisius directing him in accordance with what Ignatius called the 'the sight of the imagination' (Exx. 47), even if they record no direction from Canisius to apply the senses in the meditations on the incarnation and of Christ's agony the garden. The first requirement for holy meditation and prayer reads: 'For preparation the imagination of the divine presence and of the angels should be set before the eyes'.[48] This requirement recalls the 'composition' for the contemplation to attain love at the end of the fourth week of the Exercises, in which the excertitant must see how he stands before God, the angels, and the saints (Exx. 232).[49]

Ignatius explains that a composition means 'seeing the place' in the first preamble of the meditation in the *Exercises* on the three sins—the sin of the

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43   O'Malley J.W., *The First Jesuits* (Cambridge, MA: 1993) 12–13.

44   Iparraguirre I., *Historia de los ejercicios de San Ignacio*, vol. 2: *Desde la muerte de San Ignacio hasta la promulgación del Directorio oficial (1556–1599)* (Bilbao – Rome: 1955) 312–313, quotation: 313.

45   Braunsberger, "San Pedro Canisio" 332–339.

46   Iparraguirre I., *Historia de la práctica de los Ejercicios Espirituales de San Ignacio de Loyola*, vol. 1: *Práctica de los Ejercicios Espirituales de San Ignacio de Loyola en vida de su autor (1522–1566)* (Bilbao – Rome: 1946) 186.

47   Braunsberger, "San Pedro Canisio" 330.

48   *Monumenta Ignatiana*: *Exercitia spiritualia* 186; Hernández E., "Los Ejercicios Espirituales de Verronio", *Manresa* 5 (1929) 184–205, here 193.

49   *Monumenta Ignatiana: Exercitia spiritualia* 306.

angels, the sin of Adam and Eve, the mortal sin of a person condemned to hell. He distinguishes between a 'visible' and an 'invisible' contemplation or meditation. The focus of the former is a 'physical place' beheld with 'the sight of the imagination' (*vista de la ymaginación*) or, as the Latin *editio princeps* reads, 'in accordance with a type of imaginative vision' (*secundum uisionem quondam imaginariam*). Ignatius gives the example of 'a temple or mountain, where Jesus Christ or Our Lady is situated'. In an invisible contemplation, 'the imaginative sight' (*la vista ymaginatiua*) sees, in the case of the meditation on the sins, the soul 'imprisoned in this corruptible body and the entire conjoining (*compósito*) in this valley as in exile among savage animals—I say the conjoining of soul and body' (Exx. 47).[50]

Canisius outlined compositions for Werro's meditations. As he directed Werro in the Ignatian meditation on sins, the second exercise of the first week, he articulated the composition: 'to perceive the soul, as it were, set in a prison and in the midst of enemies'. Ignatius' composition was the soul imprisoned in a body among wild animals (Exx. 47, 56).[51] Following Ignatius' cue (Exx. 56), Werro was to remember and consider the spatial and social circumstances of his sins: 'in what places I lived, what occupations I held and business I conducted, and with whom I lived'.[52] Combining Ignatius' vision of the concluding colloquy with Christ (Exx. 53) at the end of the first exercise of the first week—the meditation on the first, second, and third sins—with the idea of the colloquy of mercy at the end of the meditation on sins (Exx. 61), Werro promises: 'I will look intently upon (*intuebor*) Christ nailed to the cross (*in Cruce fixum*), merciful in so many ways'.[53] For the composition of the meditation on Christ the king, Canisius instructs Werro 'to look at (*spectare*) the places in which Christ taught'. In the same meditation in the *Exercises*, with 'the imaginative sight' the exercitant sees 'the synagogues, villages, and cities where Christ our

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50   Ibidem 184 and 186. Wietse de Boer has noted the influence of medieval confessors' manuals with their attention to the five senses as sources for Ignatius' penitential application of the senses to the invisible contemplation of sins and hell, their 'ultimate consequence'. See De Boer W., "Invisible Contemplation: A Paradox in the *Spiritual Exercises*", in Enenkel K.A.E. – Melion W. (eds.), *Meditatio—Refashioning the Self: Theory and Practice in Late Medieval and Early Modern Intellectual Culture* (Leiden: 2011) 235–256, here 241–249, quotation: 249.

51   *Monumenta Ignatiana: Exercitia spiritualia* 186, 192.

52   Ibidem 294; Hernández, "Los Ejercicios Espirituales de Verronio" 195.

53   *Monumenta Ignatiana: Exercitia spiritualia* 192, 196; Hernández, "Los Ejercicios Espirituales de Verronio" 195.

Lord preached' (Exx. 91).[54] In the second contemplation of the third week, Ignatius leaves it to the imagination of the exercitant to visualize the Garden of Gethsemane, 'whether wide or large, of one form or another' (Exx. 202). Canisius specifies that the garden is 'at the foot of the Mount of Olives; it is full of grottos and suitable for prayer and for that reason often visited by Christ'.[55]

Canisius elaborates on Ignatius' directions for the contemplation to attain love on the fifth day of Werro's retreat. Werro entitles the exercise 'on loving God in return with the whole heart'. In the second point of the contemplation, Ignatius calls for the exercitant to see God's presence in creatures, e.g. in the elements, plants, and animals, in human beings, and finally in himself and to reflect on this (Exx. 235).[56] Canisius constructs colloquies with God in terms of four categories of creatures: rocks, trees, animals, and pagans and Turks. Each colloquy serves as a reflection. It begins with a visualization of the creatures and ends with a probing question. If trees, for example, offer God the first fruits of their flowers, 'why therefore will I not also offer the first fruits of my spirit to your love?' 'I have seen', Canisius instructs Werro to say, 'the pagans and Turks worship their God, who is nothing, [and] produce signs of love for him, [and] sacrifice to him. How much more will I do this?'[57] As we shall see in Canisius' meditations on Advent in the *Notae*, he often directs imaginative vision to a spiritually transformative purpose.

Canisius shaped the spirituality of Catholic clergy in an early modern European philosophical and theological culture that both prized vision as the noblest and most reliable of the five senses and that at the same time was beginning to doubt the supremacy of sight.[58] At the beginning of the sixteenth century, in his *Liber de sensibus* (1509), Charles de Bovelles argued that hearing was superior to sight. His argument drew much of its inspiration from Aristotle, who argued for the superiority of hearing over sight in the acquisition of knowledge.[59] Christian theology had to acknowledge the importance

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54   *Monumenta Ignatiana: Exercitia spiritualia* 216; Hernández, "Los Ejercicios Espirituales de Verronio" 196.

55   *Monumenta Ignatiana: Exercitia spiritualia* 286; Hernández, "Los Ejercicios Espirituales de Verronio" 199.

56   *Monumenta Ignatiana: Exercitia spiritualia* 308, 310.

57   Hernández, "Los Ejercicios Espirituales de Verronio" 201.

58   Clark S., *Vanities of the Eye: Vision in Early Modern European Culture* (Oxford: 2007) 9–31.

59   Frangenberg T., "*Auditus visu prestantior*: Comparisons of Hearing and Vision in Charles de Bovelles's *Liber de sensibus*", in Burnett C. – Fend M. – Gouk P. (eds.), *The Second Sense: Studies in Hearing and Musical Judgement from Antiquity to the Seventeenth Century* (London: 1991) 71–94, here 89.

of hearing since, as any theologian knew from *Romans* 10:17, faith came from hearing: *fides ex auditu.*

The auditory discourse in Canisius' meditations is much more prominent than their visual dynamic, arguably a departure from the *Exercises*, in which 'vision was front and center'.[60] True, under Canisius' direction the meditating priest will on occasion watch, marvel, notice, and observe.[61] Yet an auditory agenda pervades the meditations on Advent. They register hearing (*audire*) and especially speaking (*dicere, loqui, fati*). The production of speech manifests itself too in verbs of declaring, affirming, conversing, discussing, shouting, singing, reciting, teaching, preaching, professing, pronouncing, echoing, resounding, praying, and repeating. Most often the Scriptures in direct quotation or paraphrase are the object of these oral verbs.

Some dissonance emerges thanks to Protestants, the frequent *bêtes noires* of the *Notae*. The verse about the sending of priests and Levites from Jerusalem to interrogate John the Baptist (*John* 1:19) leads to the insight on the fourth Sunday of Advent that religion must always be a matter for priests. That is how it was under 'the old synagogue'. It is God's pleasure and a necessity for the Church that 'a consensus on teaching among clergy and also theologians (*ministris ac doctoribus*)' should guarantee 'religious order' and 'the unity and also the stability of the faith'. 'For among the sectarians', Canisius continues, 'no consensus in doctrines is found. Consequently, those who do not agree among themselves are caught in a mental and vocal uproar and, furthermore, just as in an out-of-tune choir, everyone sings his own song'.[62] Thus in the antagonistic rhetoric of the Reformation era, the 'sensory misuse and misgovernance'[63] attributed to heretics not only encompasses defective perception, as Matthew Milner has emphasized, but also extends to turbulent sensory production.

Consonance, however, is the norm in the *Notae*. Canisius establishes a vocal harmony between the meditating priest and the Church Fathers and especially the Scriptures. The priest utters the words of patristic and biblical authority. In the meditations on Advent, he speaks with the words of Athanasius, of the bride in the Song of Songs, of Peter the apostle, of the psalmist, and of 'the royal prophet' in *Psalm* 142 (Vulgate).[64] On the first Sunday of Advent, Canisius has

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60   De Boer, "Invisible Contemplation" 236.

61   Streicher (ed.), *Meditationes*, vol. 1, 33, 35, 42, 60; 46, 45, 47, 69, 70.

62   Ibidem, vol. 1, 67.

63   Milner M., "To Captivate the Senses: Sensory Governance, Heresy, and Idolatry in Mid-Tudor England", in de Boer W. – Göttler C. (eds.), *Religion and the Senses in Early Modern Europe* (Leiden: 2013) 307–327, here 308.

64   Streicher (ed.), *Meditationes*, vol. 1, 34, 42, 43, 53, 55.

the priest say: 'With Paul I will frankly profess: "Who will separate us from the love of Christ" (*Romans* 8:35). "I know whom I have believed and I am sure that he can keep safe for that day what has been entrusted to me" (*2 Timothy* 1:12)'. On the fourth Sunday of Advent, he affirms: 'With Paul I will confidently say: "I am not ashamed of the gospel" (*Romans* 1:16). "Do I seek to please human beings? If I were still pleasing human beings, I would not be Christ's servant" (*Galatians* 1:10)'.[65]

The concatenation of quotations happens regularly throughout the *Notae*. Guibert complained that the *Notae* were 'sometimes diffuse and overloaded with quotations from Scripture and the Fathers'.[66] That is how they may strike us today, but, to borrow a key term from the title of the third preface to the meditations on Advent, Canisius fashions an oracular piety in the *Notae*. He makes the clergy a captive audience of the Scriptures and the Fathers even to the point of in effect hearing themselves repeat written religious authority.

Canisius' method of giving the *Spiritual Exercises* was consistent with this auditory approach. Werro's notes reveal several scriptural references as well as references to Ambrose, John Chrysostom, and Augustine.[67] In the meditation on sins, Werro resolves not to be ungrateful to Christ, to die to himself, and to obey Christ's will for him. The notes then give voice to two scriptural passages: *Philippians* 1:21, misidentified as coming from *Galatians* 1, and *Acts* 9:6: '"For me to live is Christ and to die is gain". Gal. 1. I will say with Paul: "Lord, what do you want me to do?" Acts 9'. After promising to take upon himself Christ's yoke, Werro quotes a famous passage from Augustine's *Confessions* but confuses it with a similar passage in the *Soliloquies*: '"Grant, Lord, what you command, and command what you will." Aug. Soliloq. 18'.[68]

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65   Ibidem, vol. 1, 43, 69.

66   Guibert, *The Jesuits* 201.

67   Hernández, "Los Ejercicios Espirituales de Verronio" 194, 197, 198, 199.

68   Ibidem 194. The quotation from *Acts* 9:6 is not usually found in modern translations of the Bible. It is a variant reading in the Vulgate Bible that Erasmus of Rotterdam incorporated into his edition of the New Testament (1516) without foundation in the Greek manuscripts and that consequently found its way into later publications of the Bible, such as the Vulgate Bible authorized by Pope Clement VIII in 1592. See *Biblia sacra iuxta vulgatam versionem*, 4th ed., ed. R. Weber (Stuttgart: 1994) 1712, n. on *Acts* 9:7; Erasmus of Rotterdam, *Opera omnia Desiderii Erasmi Roterodami*, VI-2: *Novum Testamentum ab Erasmo recognitum, II, Evangelium secundum Iohannem et Acta apostolrum*, ed. A.J. Brown (Amsterdam: 2001) 294, 295 n. on *Acts* 9:5–6; *Biblia sacra iuxta vulgatam Clementinam nova editio*, 8th ed., ed. A. Colunga – L. Turrado (Madrid: 1985) 1074. Werro quotes Augustine: 'Da Domine quod iubes et iube quid vis'. For the quotation from the *Confessions* (X, 29, 40), see *Sancti Augustini Confessionum libri XIII*, ed. L. Verheijen, Corpus Christianorum Series Latina,

Canisius' emphasis on the sense of hearing is not a product of distrust in sight but a form, as it were, of a sensory Counter-Reformation. His treatise on the Virgin Mary, *De Maria virgine incomparabili et Dei genetrice sacrosancta* (1577), 'a repository of verbal and pictorial images deployed to underscore the legitimacy and justify the efficacy of visual devotion', includes an apology for sacred images against their Protestant detractors.[69] Canisius, the defender of sacred images, in the auditory agenda and oracular piety of the *Notae* arguably took the fight to the enemy. Protestants, especially Reformed Protestants, asserted the supremacy of religious sound—God's Word made audible in preaching—over the idolatrous deceptions of sight directed to the elevation of the Eucharistic host at Mass, to pictures and statues of Christ and the saints, and to miracles.[70] Yet Canisius, who polemicized against Protestants as 'corrupters of the Word of God', claimed Scripture exclusively for Catholic truth against Protestant heresy.[71]

Seeing Places

The first step in an Ignatian sensory contemplation after recalling the biblical narrative is to see the place. Canisius begins the 'Notes on persons' with a familiar Ignatian device: a composition, the imagination's spacial rendering of the narrative. He writes in the person of the meditating priest: 'In this holy time, I will make the effort to go often on pilgrimage into Palestine and turn to the province of Galilee and there look for the town of Nazareth, in which I will gladly visit the home of the Virgin Mary, perhaps living with Joseph, her betrothed, and already pregnant by the Holy Spirit'.[72] This setting elaborates on Ignatius' composition for the contemplation on the incarnation: 'the house and rooms of Our Lady in the city of Nazareth in the province of

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vol. 27 (Turnhout: 1981) 176: 'Et tota spes mea non nisi in magna valde misericordia tua. Da quod iubes et iube quod vis'. In the *Soliloquies*, Augustine writes: 'Iube, quaeso, atque impera quidquid vis' (1, 5). See *Patrologiae cursus completus*[…] *series latina*, 221 vols., ed. J.-P. Migne (Paris: 1844–1855) XXXII, 872.

69   Melion W.S., "'*Quae lecta Canisius offert et spectata diu*': The Pictorial Images in Petrus Canisius's *De Maria Virgine* of 1577/1583", in Melion W.S. – Wandel L.P. (eds.), *Early Modern Eyes* (Leiden: 2010) 207–267, here 263.

70   Clark, *Vanities of the Eye* 161–192.

71   In 1583, Canisius combined his two polemics against the Lutheran Magdeburg Centuriators, a treatise on John the Baptist (1571) and the *De Maria virgine* (1577), in a single volume: *Commentariorum de verbi Dei corruptelis tomi duo* (Ingolstadt, David Sartorius: 1583).

72   Streicher (ed.), *Meditationes*, I, 33.

Galilee' (Exx. 103). Werro's notes point to the same composition for the incarnation of Christ: 'The place: region: Galilee, city: Nazareth, the bedchamber of the Virgin Mary'.[73] Canisius makes no further comment about Mary's home as an appropriate imagined place for meditation in Advent other than to support with quotations from *Isaiah* (62:5) and *Jeremiah* (31:22) the living together of the betrothed before their nuptials in accordance with Jewish custom.[74]

Besides the Bible, patristic authority contributes to interior vision in Canisius' meditation on Advent. Patristic authority for Canisius was chronologically extensive, reaching from Origen and Tertullian in the third century to Bernard of Clairvaux in the twelfth. During Advent and at Christmas, Canisius appends one or more substantial patristic quotations to the final section on prayers relevant to his meditations. This usually does not occur throughout the liturgical year. Of particular interest for seeing places are Canisius' appeals to the authority of Basil the Great and Augustine, more accurately Pseudo-Augustine.

Canisius deploys Basil's frightful eschatological vision that ends in an imagination of the final judgment and of hell at the end of the meditation on the second Sunday in Advent. The meditating priest should recall 'again and again' Basil's commentary on *Psalm* 33:12 (Vulgate): 'Come children listen to me; I will teach you the fear of the Lord'. On this verse he preached 'harshly' (*graviter*) about the final judgement. Basil begins his eschatological vision with Christ. He imagines 'that horrible and intolerable tribunal of Christ, at which will preside the judge upon his high and exalted throne'. All of creation trembles before 'his glorious presence'. One by one we will be brought forward. We must each render an account of what we have done in life. 'Terrible and misshapen angels', Basil promises, 'will attend those who have committed many evils in life'. These angels wear 'fiery faces'. They exhale fire. They display 'the severity of their intention and will, similar in facial appearance to the night because of grief and hatred towards the human race'. Basil imagines

> the deep pit, the impenetrable gloom, the fire lacking in lustre—possessing the power to burn but deprived of light; then the brood of worms, poisonous and flesh-devouring, eating insatiably without ever feeling that they have had their fill, inflicting unbearable pains with that gnawing; finally that disgrace and everlasting confusion, which is the most oppressive of all punishments.

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73   *Monumenta Ignatiana*: *Exercitia spiritualia* 224; Hernández, "Los Ejercicios Espirituales de Verronio", 197.

74   Streicher (ed.), *Meditationes*, I, 33.

Basil consequently issues two commands: 'Fear these things and, instructed by fear, hold back the soul from sinful desires as if with a sort of bridle'.[75]

On the fourth Sunday of Advent, turning the clergy's attention to preparation for the celebration of Christmas, Canisius produces two quotations from Augustine, or so he thought. Each quotation comes from a different sermon 'on the coming of the Lord'.[76] The authorship of the sermons is now considered uncertain, however. Each quotation has a setting: a house prepared for the celebration of a birthday and a wedding feast. Both images function as metaphors of the meditating self, exhorted to a state of worthiness to receive the coming Christ. If a nobleman wants to celebrate his birthday or that of his son, he needs to make his house look respectable: 'The house, even if it had been dark, is whitewashed; the floors are cleaned with brooms and adorned with a sprinkling of various flowers'. If this is the way to prepare for your own or your son's birthday, asks Pseudo-Augustine, 'how much and what sorts of things should you prepare as you are about to welcome the birthday of your Lord? If you prepare such things for a mortal, what kinds of things should you prepare for the Eternal One?' An invitation to the birthday party of a king or of a paterfamilias impels us to be assiduous about wearing fine clothes. Similarly we need to adorn our soul with virtues—simplicity, temperance, chastity, charity, and almsgiving—in order to 'proceed with an untroubled conscience to the birthday festival of the Lord, the Saviour'. Christ's response to such a celebration of his birthday is the desire 'not only to visit but also to rest and dwell for ever' in our souls. Pseudo-Augustine also compares Christ's nativity with 'the spiritual wedding to his bride, the Church'. The incarnation is a procession 'with his bride'. Pseudo-Augustine urges: 'Invited, therefore, to such nuptials and about to enter the banquet of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit, see with what sort of garments we should be adorned'. A summons to a spiritual and physical cleanliness follows: 'And for that reason let us cleanse, as far as we can with God's help, both our hearts and bodies so that the heavenly inviter himself may detect in us nothing squalid, nothing foul, nothing mean, nothing unworthy of his eyes'.[77]

Seeing Persons

Seeing the actors in a biblical narrative is fundamental to Ignatian contemplation. In his 'Notes on persons', Canisius concentrates on Mary, Joseph, Gabriel,

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75   Ibidem, I, 56.

76   For the sermons, see *Patrologia Latina*, XXXIX, 1973–1977.

77   Streicher (ed.), *Meditationes*, I, 72.

and Jesus. Christ and John the Baptist come most fully into view in the meditations on the gospel pericopes. Canisius' biblical actors are exemplars, inasmuch as they display praiseworthy characteristics perceivable by interior sight for internalization and imitation.

Mary becomes the first focus of the priest's interior vision. The meditating priest will contemplate, look at, and imagine seeing her: *contemplabor, spectabo, videre mihi videbor*. Not her outward appearance but her spiritual dignity holds the gaze of meditation. To contemplate this woman is to behold a 'royal virgin' and 'the choicest daughter of the great patriarch Abraham and of King David'. She is holier than her holy parents Joachim and Anne, and from the very beginning led a life that was 'most pleasing to God' and corresponded 'most nobly (*optime*) and most beautifully with the mother of God'. The meditating priest will look upon Mary as 'always averse to the worldly love and fleshly desire and spiritual pride' and thus as the 'model of chastity, of humility, and furthermore, of every virtue that can never be sufficiently commended'. He will see the 'incomparable virgin' so completely dedicated to God 'that even before the handing down of the Gospel she philosophizes in the spirit of the gospel (*evangelice philosophetur*) and is the leader of gospel-minded virgins (*antesignana virginum evangelicarum*)'. In watching 'the observable words and manners of the virgin mother of God', especially her conversations with Gabriel and her cousin Elizabeth, the meditating priest will notice that Mary 'conducts herself with such wisdom, care, propriety, discretion, and modesty that it is truly necessary to acknowledge her as prudent, blessed, full of God, [and] full of grace'.[78] The reverence for Mary is consistent with Canisius' *De Maria virgine* in which he presents the Virgin as eminently worthy of visual contemplation as the reflection and exemplar of the holy virtues bestowed upon her by God.[79] Throughout the year but especially during Advent, the meditating priest promises 'to venerate and, moreover, to admire' Mary.[80] He also resolves that just as John the Baptist *in utero* 'acknowledged the presence of the mother of his Lord and God, so I … will consider the same mother of the Lord present to me and, moreover, humbly ask that she obtain for my spirit a new grace of purification and sanctification and secure for me and mine a beneficial coming of her son'.[81]

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78   Ibidem, vol. I, 33–34.

79   Melion, "'*Quae lecta Canisius offert et spectata diu*'" 225–258.

80   I follow the reading of Peter Canisius, *Notae in evangelicas lectiones*, vol. I (Fribourg, Abraham Gemperlin: 1591), 34: 'Meum igitur erit, si alias toto anno, hoc imprimis tempore Deiparam colere atque suspicere'. Streicher (ed.), *Meditationes*, I, 34 reads 'suscipere' instead of 'suspicere.' 'Suscipere' must be a misprint.

81   Streicher (ed.), *Meditationes*, I, 34.

Joseph, 'the truly just man and unique friend of God', is a teacher. He 'admonishes and also instructs me', the meditating priest acknowledges, 'especially to comply with my vocation in all chastity and piety and to fulfill the responsibility of a just man before God and human beings'. He will learn from Joseph 'to dismiss all human thoughts' about how Mary conceived Jesus, bore him in her womb, and gave birth to him without loss of her virginity. Joseph teaches him 'to admire the most holy virgin and to revere in her the novelty of such a miracle, the depth of the mystery, and the supreme goodness of God'.[82]

At the end of the 'Notes on persons', Canisius returns to Mary and Joseph, 'the most holy spouses', in whom 'an uncommon purity of mind and body glowed'. Great was their expectation of Christ's birth. Accordingly, Canisius has the meditating priest express his desire, like Mary and Joseph, to recognize 'with the open eyes of faith this happy time in which God visits us and thinks thoughts of peace'. Burning with desire for his redeemer, the priest will prepare himself to welcome Christ's coming 'so that with the shepherds of Bethlehem I myself too may rejoice in the birth of the Saviour'.[83]

As a person worthy of contemplation in Advent, the angel Gabriel also serves to indicate the significance of Mary. The meditating priest resolves: 'Furthermore, I must behold and esteem the angel Gabriel, as if a new and distinguished envoy' of the Trinity. He shall remember how Gabriel 'eagerly, joyfully, reverently, and also respectfully greeted the virgin'. Gabriel's greeting, rejected by many 'today', becomes a commendable example for the priest who promises to repeat 'with heart and mouth' much more frequently than before the angelic greeting: *Ave Maria gratia plena Dominus tecum, benedicta tu in mulieribus.* The priest affirms: 'Not for my sake only but also in the name of "those in heaven and on earth and of those who are under the earth" (*Philippians* 2:10) will I use the angelic words'.[84]

The meditating priest turns to Christ, 'the boy concealed in the virgin's womb'. To imagine a child hidden from sight is a sensory paradox, but Canisius' imagination here is deeply theological and decidedly devout. The meditating priest addresses a colloquy to Christ, which consists mostly of a series of rhetorical questions that ponder why Christ humbled himself to descend from heaven and to be born among human beings in their misery and to be accounted nothing more than the son of a carpenter and a carpenter himself. The colloquy begins by identifying Christ with the words of the last O Antiphon,

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82   Ibidem, I, 35.

83   Ibidem, I, 36–37.

84   Ibidem, I, 35.

recited at the end of Advent on 23 December: 'O Emmanuel, our king and law-giver, the hope of the nations and their saviour'. In the first and second editions of the *Notae*, the colloquy, imagining the unborn Christ, appropriately ends with a quotation from *Isaiah* 45:15: 'You are truly the hidden God, the God, the saviour of Israel'. For a third edition, Canisius appended a lesson. Tracing a 'long descent from the tribe of Judah, from patriarchs, prophets, priests, kings, and princes' and 'coming forth from the unstained virgin', Christ teaches 'that we should learn to serve more than to command and also to be pupils rather than teachers'.[85]

Canisius is clearly aware of the difference between the majestic and humble Christ, and yet he unites these two different aspects by reason of their visibility. At the end of the 'Notes on the divine oracles', he points out:

> Some infer from the Scriptures a fourfold coming of the Lord. Two indeed are visible: the first in humility for the redemption of the world, the second in majesty to pronounce judgment. Similarly, two are invisible: one in the mind through grace, the other manifesting itself at the death of every believer—if we may speak in the manner of the scholastics.[86]

The notion of a fourfold Advent had become traditional by Canisius' day. In his voluminous *Rationale divinorum officiorum* (6.2.2), the thirteenth-century canon lawyer and liturgist, Guillaume Durand, posited four Advents or 'a fourfold coming of the Son of God' (*quadruplex adventus Filii Dei*). The first is Christ's coming 'into the flesh' (*in carnem*), the second 'into the mind' (*in mentem*) when he descends 'daily through the Holy Spirit in the hearts of believers', the third at the death of each person (*in morte cuiuslibet*), and the fourth 'in majesty (*in maiestate*), which will be on the day of judgment'.[87] The fifteenth-century Hungarian Franciscan theologian, Pelbart of Temesvár (d. 1504), followed the same order of Christ's comings in his first sermon on the first Sunday of Advent: *in carnem, in mentem, ad hominis mortem, ad iudicium dando sententiam finalem*.[88] In 1536, Friedrich Nausea rearranged the order of Christ's

85   Ibidem, I, 35–36.

86   Ibidem, I, 40.

87   *Guillelmi Duranti rationale divinorum officiorum V–VI*, ed. A. Davril – T.M. Thibodeau, Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Mediaevalis, vol. 140A (Turnhout: 1998) 133.

88   Pelbart of Temesvár, *Pomerium sermonum de tempore:* [...] *hiemalis* [...]*estualis* (Nürnberg, Johannes Stüchs: 1519), fol. Aviᵛ On Pelbart, see Kosztolnyik Z.J., "Some Hungarian Theologians in the Late Renaissance", *Church History* 57 (1988) 5–18, here 8–18.

comings. Two of these were visible, two invisible, he pointed out in a sermon on the first Sunday of Advent. The first coming occurred in the past. This was the incarnation. The second coming lies in the future when Christ 'will come in supreme glory and majesty to judge the living and the dead'. In the third, 'he comes every day into our hearts through the Holy Spirit'. In the fourth, a 'future and always present advent', Christ 'comes at the death of any human being'.[89] Canisius was therefore not the first expositor to make Christ's coming a matter of what one could see or not see, but, unlike Nausea in 1536, he clearly delineated the visible and the invisible and made perception more prominent than temporality in understanding Advent.[90]

In his meditations on Advent, Canisius privileges the visible Christ. Indeed, in his summary of the gospel pericope for the second Sunday of Advent, he relates the view of the martyrs Justin and (Pseudo-)Hippolytus who affirm two comings of Christ in Scripture: 'the first one, to be sure, according to the flesh' and the next one 'for that truly glorious and resplendent final judgment'. But Canisius offers glimpses more than a steady gaze. The gospel pericope for the second Sunday of Advent (*Luke* 21:25–33) describes 'the most sorrowful signs that will immediately precede the end of the world and Christ's coming for final judgment'. Canisius only briefly refers to 'Christ the judge of the living and the dead', sitting on 'the seat of his majesty to judge the entire world'.[91] He prefers to elaborate visually on 'the most sorrowful signs' than to give a visual exposition on the passage, 'then they will see the Son of man coming in majesty' (*Luke* 21:27). The sense of hearing and not of sight arguably underpins 'the dreadful tribunal of Christ' in a series of supporting quotations from Scripture. A quotation from *2 Corinthians* 5:10 about the 'tribunal of Christ' 'echoes' (*consonat*)

> the apostolic saying: 'Frightening is the anticipation of judgment (*Hebrew*s 10:27) and it is horrible to fall into the hands of the living God

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89 Nausea Friedrich, *Sermones adventuales* (Cologne, Quentel: 1536), fol. 1ᵛ.

90 In a later collection of sermons, Nausea identifies 'two physical and visible' comings of Christ in a sermon on the second Sunday of Advent. The first is from the past: born of the Virgin Mary, Christ came in humility to save human beings. The second is a future coming: Christ 'will come from highest heaven on a visible cloud [. . .] to judge the living and the dead'. See Nausea, *In totius anni tam de Tempore quam de Sanctis Evangelia, Postillarum et Homiliarum Epitome sive Compendium* 8. Nausea does not mention the invisible comings in the Advent sermons in this publication.

91 Streicher (ed.), *Meditationes*, I, 49.

(*Hebrews* 10:31), who will shed light on the hidden things of the darkness and will lay bare the plans of hearts (1 *Corinthians* 4:5) and will requite each person according to his works' (*Romans* 2:6).[92]

Like John the Baptist, the protagonist of the gospel pericope for the fourth Sunday of Advent (*John* 1:19–28), 'Christ the Lord was an earnest preacher of repentance'. Not surprisingly, Canisius immediately directs his readers to listen to Christ, who 'publicly declared about himself: "I have not come to call the righteous but sinners to repentance" (*Luke* 5:32)'.[93]

Canisius' most imaginative portrayal of Christ opens the first meditation on the first Sunday of Advent, informed by Christ's entry into Jerusalem (*Matthew* 21:1–9). The first word—*mirabor*—introduces a visual astonishment: 'I will marvel', says the meditating priest, 'at how vast is the difference between Christ the Lord and the princes of the world'. The latter, in order to manifest their power over their subjects, show off their 'splendour and pomp too' when they enter 'any royal city', making their way with 'weapons and a military escort and horses in ornamental armour'. As he enters Jerusalem, 'where he was declared king', Christ, however, 'neglects all royal magnificence and offers a remarkable token of voluntary humility, amazing gentleness, and also constant kindness'. He willingly contents himself to ride in public on 'a paltry ass', accompanied by his 'poor disciples'. As he is acclaimed king of Israel, 'he sheds bitter tears and laments the common lot of the entire people'. As a foil for the high and mighty, Christ exemplifies the humility with which Canisius characterizes his first coming. The picturing of Christ in concretely visible and spiritual terms—riding on an ass in serene humility—ends with a discourse of interior touch and hearing. Canisius directs the meditating priest to 'recognize and indeed embrace with deepest feeling the humble, peaceful, and gentle coming of Christ'. Isaiah, Zachariah, and the other prophets 'have foretold' (*praedixerunt*) this advent of Christ and the 'venerable apostles have preached (*praedicarunt*)' his coming, as the Israelites experienced it, 'to the whole world'.[94]

John the Baptist first comes into full view in Canisius' meditations on the third Sunday of Advent. The Jesuit takes only a quick look at Christ's prophetic precursor in the 'Notes on persons'. Before he was born, John, from the womb

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92   Ibidem, I, 51–52. The quotation at the head of the meditation, 'Tunc videbunt Filium hominis venientem in maiestate', truncates the passage in the *Vulgate*: 'Et tunc videbunt Filium hominis venientem in nube cum potestate magna et maiestate'.

93   Ibidem, I, 70.

94   Ibidem, I, 42.

of his mother Elizabeth acknowledged 'the presence of the mother (*matrem praesentem*) of his Lord and God'. Thus the meditating priest, in no way comparable with John, asks of Mary, in whose presence he places himself, for the grace of a purified and sanctified spirit and a beneficial coming of Christ.[95] On the third Sunday of Advent, John 'in chains' sends two disciples to enquire of Christ whether he is the one who will come or whether they should wait for another (*Matthew* 11:2–3). In his opening *argumentum* for this text, Canisius specifies the setting: 'John the Baptist confined in Herod's prison'. He appeals to the authority of (Pseudo-)Augustine, who calls John 'a type of the old law, confined, as it were, in some prison of ignorance and in need of the true light of the teaching and grace of Christ'. John is sent on ahead 'as a lamp before the sun, a servant before the Lord, a friend before the bridegroom, a herald before the judge, a voice before the Word'. These metaphors cohere well with John's self-description—'I am a voice of one crying out in the wilderness' (*John* 1:23)—'since he announced and proclaimed the word (*quia verbi annuntiator et praedicator erat*)'. Peter Chrysologus, the fifth-century bishop of Ravenna, heaps up more metaphors for John, combining them with his creaturely status and his relationship to Christ. John is 'a school of virtues, teacher of life, pattern of holiness, standard of justice, mirror of virginity, exemplar of chastity, route of penance, discipline of faith, someone greater than a human being and equal to the angels, the silence of prophets, the lamp of the world, the witness to the Lord and, furthermore, the precursor of Christ the judge'.[96]

Canisius begins the meditation for the third Sunday of Advent by impressing upon the meditating priest the greatness of John the Baptist. He appeals to the authority of Christ. John 'is truly "a burning and shining light" (*John* 5:35), "a prophet and more than a prophet" (*Matthew* 11:9, 10)'. Tertullian and Gregory Nazianzus provide more metaphors for John, respectively 'a sort of boundary between the old and the new' and 'an established mid-point (*medium*) or go-between (*mediator*) of the old and the new'.[97]

In his revision for a third edition of the *Notae*, Canisius added one more authority after Tertullian and Gregory Nazianzus: the eleventh-century Benedictine monk, cardinal, and Church reformer, Peter Damian. The latter expressed the exceptional qualities of John the Baptist, who was 'everywhere greater, in all things exceptional, wonderful above all people'. A series of rhetorical questions indicate how unique he was largely on the evidence of Scripture:

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95   Ibidem, I, 34.

96   Ibidem, I, 57.

97   Ibidem, I, 58.

> Who [i.e. whose birth] was so gloriously announced? Has anyone been
> told of (*legitur*) who has been filled with the Holy Spirit in such a special
> way in his mother's womb? Have you read about anyone leaping in his
> mother's womb? Have you seen the Church of God celebrate anyone's
> birth? Which boy longed for the wilderness like this? Has anyone been
> told of (*legitur*) who lived so sublimely? Who first brought to light repen-
> tance and the kingdom of heaven? Who baptized the king of glory? To
> whom did the Trinity first reveal itself? Whom has the Church honoured
> like this? See if all these exceptional things are not so unique that no
> mortal would dare to gape at the aforesaid honours.[98]

Peter Damian rules out a stupid stare in order to reinforce a reverential regard.
The quotation constructs a profile of dignity. Although Canisius does not com-
mand the meditating priest to see John, the profile brings to view a person of
sacred history, distinguished not for what he symbolizes but for what he did
and for what happened to him. The view afforded by Peter Damian may be
hazy, but it is malleable enough to allow the reader to picture, for example,
John baptizing Jesus.

On the third Sunday of Advent, Canisius ends the prayers with two quo-
tations relevant to John the Baptist from a favourite Greek Father, John
Chrysostom. Canisius integrates the quotations from the *Homilies on Matthew*
within a discourse of vision for the sake of imitation. Chrysostom 'not only
places John's penance before our eyes (*ob oculos*) but also requires us to imi-
tate him'. John led a most pure life. He was 'brighter than the sky and more
exalted than the prophets, and no human being was greater than he was, and
he enjoyed such a great friendship with God'. Yet he patiently endured toil,
'despising quite deeply the fleetingness of delights and subjecting himself to
every harshness of life'. We cannot match this since, after receiving 'so many
benefits from Christ' and committing a thousand sins, we do not imitate John's
self-discipline in the least. Instead, we devote ourselves to eating and drinking,
'giving off a strange smell or rather producing a stench'—the only olfactory ref-
erence in Canisius' meditations on Advent. We are like women of the theatre.
In our uncompromising lethargy we turn ourselves into 'the prey of the devil'.
Chrysostom commands: 'Let us refrain from this lazy and profligate life'. 'By his
food, clothes, and dwelling' John taught us the incompatibility of 'the tears of
confession' and 'physical pleasures'. Chrysostom does not demand but advo-
cates John's austere lifestyle. In the absence of embracing such a life, those who
live in cities, presumably incapable of the monastic asceticism suitable for the

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98   Ibidem.

wilderness, should at least exhibit 'works of penance'.[99] What Canisius wants the meditating priest to see through Chrysostom is a Christian and monastic ideal: John the paragon of human perfection and avowed adversary of attachments to temporal pleasures. The most concrete points of reference are the sky, tears, and the food that John eats, the clothes he wears, and the place where he lives. The physical appearance of John is far less important than the spiritual impression that he makes.

On the fourth Sunday of Advent, Canisius underlines another spiritual quality of John through a literally hard simile. In the gospel pericope, John the Baptist denies before the priests and Levites from Jerusalem that he is the Messiah or a prophet. Instead, he is 'the voice of one crying in the wilderness' (*John* 1:23). Given that it is rare for human beings to be consistent in what they say and do, John is all the more praiseworthy 'because like a rock and cliff (*tamquam petra et rupes*) he stood firm in the true faith and the teaching and confession of the faith'. Nobody could mistake him for a 'pliable reed'. 'And so', Canisius affirms, 'neither the favours and honours offered by the mighty, nor the applause of the people, nor the wrath and chains of Herod could ever shake his indomitable soul and, moreover, turn it away from the duty of truth and justice'. The comparison of John with a rock inspires the meditating priest to govern his feelings so that prosperity does not carry him away or adversity shatter him. His resolve leads to an oracular pronouncement:

> Always content with my lot and unbroken, I will say with the apostle: 'I have learned to be satisfied with my circumstances. I know what it means to be brought low and what it means to enjoy abundance, to have enough to eat and to be hungry, to have wealth and to suffer poverty. I can do all in him who strengthens me' (*Philippians* 4:11–13).

The priest will also follow John's example of proclaiming and holding fast to 'one and the same teaching and confession of faith'.[100]

Seeing the Narrative

In the *Spiritual Exercises*, Ignatius leaves room for the sensory imagination to elaborate on a gospel narrative. In the contemplation of Christ's birth, for example,

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99   Ibidem, I, 63–64.
100   Ibidem, I, 68.

> it will be here to see with the imaginative sight the road from Nazareth to Bethlehem, considering the length, the width, and if such a road might be level or [lead] through valleys and hills, similarly looking at the place or cave of the birth, how large, how small, how low, how high, and how it was prepared (Exx. 112).[101]

A few times in the meditations on Advent, Canisius likewise makes the narrative much more visually specific than in the gospel text. An elaboration of the gospel narrative first occurs on the first Sunday of Advent with Jesus' triumphal entry into Jerusalem. As he rode into the city on a donkey accompanied by a foal, the gospel text reports: 'a very large crowd spread out their clothes on the road. But others were cutting down branches from the trees and strewing them on the road. Now the crowds that went before and followed were shouting, saying: "Hosanna to the son of David; blessed is he who comes in the name of the Lord" (*Matthew* 21:8–9).' Canisius amplifies the celebratory scene. He specifies the actors as the citizens of Jerusalem and the apostles and describes their actions:

> They spontaneously climb trees, they cut off branches, they take off their garments and spread them on the road, they bring flowers, they cover the donkey. They proceed in orderly fashion and, whether great or small, together they publicly acclaim Christ and escort him all the way to the temple, not refraining in the meantime from joyous and reverential praise on their route.

This elaborate description goes beyond the gospel narrative in several details. The climbing of trees, the carrying of flowers, the covering of the donkey, the festive procession to the temple all enhance the picture of the popular celebration of Christ's arrival.

Canisius' purpose is didactic. He crafts the contemplation to foster devotion to Christ. He sets up the celebratory representation by observing that the citizens of Jerusalem and the apostles undertook many things in order to manifest their love for Christ 'and, moreover, to suggest to us also that we should rejoice in being especially eager and zealous for the glory that is Christ's due'. After embellishing the visible record, Canisius comments that those who praised Christ did so as never before and quotes from Luke's Gospel the praise of the multitudes: 'Blessed is he who comes in the name of the Lord, peace in heaven and glory in the highest' (*Luke* 19:38). Canisius then proceeds to the lesson that

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101   *Monumenta Ignatiana: Exercitia spiritualia* 228.

the meditating priest should learn. In worship he should profess his reverence for and thanks to Christ both privately and publicly, leaving 'no room for human shame and also fear'.[102]

For the second Sunday of Advent, Canisius offers a meditation on the celestial and terrestrial distress that will precede the eschatological appearance of the son of man 'with great power and majesty' (*Luke* 21:25–33). The meditating priest internalizes Canisius' message: 'Not only will I happily embrace the grace and mercy of Christ promised to me but I will also dread the justice of such a judge set forth in the Gospel'. Jesus spoke of 'the fear and expectation' that 'the signs in the sun and moon and stars and the affliction of peoples on earth' will cause.[103] To underline the necessity of fear Canisius embellishes the scene:

> For the sun and the moon (the main lights of the world) with the planets, stars, and other signs of the world, astonishingly darkened, will produce tremendous fear. The corrupt air will everywhere give rise to the most serious plagues and diseases. On the sea and rivers unusual storms and floods will kill many people. Frequent and fierce earthquakes will destroy uncountable houses, fortresses, towers, and cities. Heaven and earth will resound with terrible crashing. Finally, the elements with all creatures will assume so dreadful a sight and will stir up in all people such unprecedented lamentation that it is truly said by the prophet: 'Behold, the day of the Lord comes, cruel and full of indignation and wrath and rage to reduce the earth into a wasteland and to grind up its sinners from the earth' (*Isaiah*: 13:9).[104]

Terror at Christ's second coming produced a confessionalized response. It is not enough to believe that he wishes to save all human beings. One must constantly engage one's 'faith in his second coming' at which 'he will judge every person according to his works'. Justification by faith alone is inadequate: an obvious critique of Protestants. The meditating priest will give no ground to the 'new adversaries', who, 'happy with their new faith', lack good works, foolishly boast of 'the certainty of present grace', suppose that Christ will judge them mercifully, banish from their hearts and the hearts of others the fear of

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102   Streicher (ed.), *Meditationes*, I, 44.
103   Ibidem, I, 50.
104   Ibidem, I, 50–51.

God owing to their highly unsophisticated concept of the same, and place 'the entire business of salvation in bare faith'.[105]

On the third Sunday of Advent, Canisius considers the fate of John the Baptist. Shackled, John makes the meditating priest wonder at 'the old and odious spirit of the world' that persecutes the best sort of people. Canisius shifts his focus to another story about John, the story of his beheading. Herod the king 'or rather the tyrant', unable to endure John's 'just censure', 'throws him into a foul prison and clearly suppresses the office of the prophet-teacher'. Herodias, 'the impure concubine', plans his demise by enticing her 'prostitute daughter' to win a prize 'worthy of her lewdness', namely the decapitation of John 'to slake her cruel lust'. Canisius has drenched the story of John the Baptist's demise in moral indignation to evoke wonder at the judgment of 'God, most supreme', for the just cannot escape suffering and devout Christians must endure persecution.[106]

Conclusion

In 1595, the same year in which Canisius published the second edition of the *Notae evangelicae*, Martin Nutius printed in Antwerp the first edition of Jerónimo Nadal's *Adnotationes et meditationes in evangelia quae in sacrosancto Missae sacrificio toto anno leguntur*. Nadal completed his meditations on the gospel readings of the liturgical year between 1574 and 1577 while in Hall near Innsbruck.[107] But he did not publish the work before he died in Rome in 1580. Canisius knew of it. Writing to Mercurian, the Superior General, on 16 September 1577, when Nadal had already returned to Italy, Canisius hoped he would publish his book in Venice, yet he knew this would not happen unless Mercurian would 'earnestly urge' Nadal to do so. Other than Canisius' brief description of Nadal's book in the letter to Mercurian as 'quite elaborate and approved by many', we do not know what he thought of it.[108]

As in Canisius' *Notae*, Nadal's presentation of each Sunday divides into four parts: an image that illustrates the gospel narrative, the gospel pericope, an *adnotatio*, and a *meditatio*. Depending on the *mise en page*, either the image

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105   Ibidem, I, 50, 51.

106   Ibidem, I, 60.

107   Bangert W.V. – McCoog T.M. *Jerome Nadal, S.J. 1507–1580: Tracking the First Generation of Jesuits* (Chicago: 1992) 342.

108   Braunsberger O. (ed.), *Epistulae*, VII, 418.

or the pericope appears first. Brief captions keyed to capital letters placed within the image appear immediately beneath the image and before the pericope. The captions 'identify the subjects portrayed in the image, recording key events in the history of human salvation based on the liturgical gospels' and guiding in alphabetical order the votary's 'transit through an itinerary of places mapped pictorially as the *peregrinationes* (pilgrimages) of Christ, the Virgin, and their followers'.[109] The *adnotatio* contains notes for contemplating the various aspects of the image. These notes, proceeding according to the letters of the captions, provide detailed descriptions of the objects and actions in the image. These descriptions often comment on the spiritual significance of the captioned elements. For each Sunday of Advent, the *meditatio* is shorter than the *adnotatio*. Nadal casts the Advent meditations either as a prayer addressed to Jesus or as a dialogue between the votary and Jesus. At other times of the liturgical year, meditations, addressed to 'brothers', resemble short, hortatory sermons.

Exceptionally, a meditation can consist of several parts. The wedding at Cana (John 2:1–11) is the gospel passage appointed for the second Sunday after Epiphany. Nadal begins the meditation with a brief exhortation in the first person plural. A longer, second meditation considers, in the manner of the *Spiritual Exercises*, the composition, the persons of the narrative, and what they say and do. A brief reflection on what can be gained from the meditation concludes Nadal's treatment of the Sunday.[110]

Canisius' *Notae* certainly differ from Nadal's *Adnotationes* despite their shared Ignatian spiritual heritage. Canisius did not employ any illustrations to assist interior, meditative vision. His is strictly a textual performance. The abundant references to Scripture and to the Church Fathers supply the meditating priest with material for learned sermons. An introspective soliloquy constitutes the rhetorical form of Canisius' meditations.

Canisius would have appreciated, however, Nadal's oracular piety in Advent. The notes for the first Sunday of Advent on the eschatological pericope, *Luke* 21:25–33, begin with a series of prophetic pronouncements from the Old Testament that demonstrate 'the immense calamities' that 'precede the

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109   Melion W.S., "Introductory Study", in Nadal Jerónimo, *Annotations and Meditations on the Gospels*, vol. 1: *The Infancy Narratives*, trans. and ed. F.A. Homann (Philadelphia: 2003) 1–96, here 2.

110   Nadal Jerónimo, *Adnotationes et meditationes in evangelia quae in sacrosancto Missae sacrificio toto anno leguntur* (Antwerp, Martin Nutius: 1595) 44–47.

universal judgment'.[111] The meditation for that Sunday harnesses scriptural hearing. The votary addresses Jesus:

> […] and the Father will say in our hearts to you: 'You are my son; today I have begotten you' (*Psalm* 2:7). And this: 'in the splendour of the saints from the womb before the dawn I have begotten you' (*Psalm* 110:3). That what your beloved thundered to us from so far on high we shall also discern (or taste: *sapiamus*) in you: 'In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God. This was in the beginning with God. And the Word was made flesh and dwelt among us; and we have seen his glory, the glory as of the only son from the Father, full of grace and truth' (*John* 1:1–2, 14). Amen.[112]

The meditation for the third Sunday of Advent includes a paraphrase on the testimony of John the Baptist (*John* 1:20–23).[113]

Nadal, like Canisius, uses visual language in his meditations. To contrast Jesus, the powerful and majestic judge to come, with Jesus, the child born in poverty, the votary begins the meditation for the first Sunday of Advent: 'Behold, Lord Jesus, you have come, but as a lowly, gentle, boy, a baby boy, crying and shivering, born of a poor, little mother in a stable, completely destitute'. On the fourth Sunday of Advent, Jesus describes the extreme austerity of John the Baptist: 'He lived in the wilderness since boyhood. He wore shabby and also very rough clothes. His food was wild honey and locusts. He carried out the most severe penance until he was thirty years old'. Jesus on the same Sunday asserted metaphorically: 'I alone am the army and sword of the living God'.[114] In the notes to the illustration of the gospel pericope for the second Sunday of Advent (*Matthew* 11:2–10), Nadal directs the votary to contemplate Jesus, as well as the disciples of John the Baptist and 'furthermore, the disciples of Christ standing by'. The votary should contemplate 'Jesus in fact first healing many people, then pointing out those whom he had healed'. In the meditation, the votary prays to Jesus:

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111 Ibidem 2.

112 Ibidem 4. The printed marginal reference for the passage 'in the splendour of the saints from the womb before the dawn I have begotten you' is to *Psalm* 110, not the Vulgate Bible's *Psalm* 109.

113 Ibidem 9.

114 Ibidem 4, 14.

> Uncover and shed light on the keenness of the interior senses so that in
> our hearts and spirits we may understand and, as if present, see what
> the disciples of John perceived: the wonders of your divine hand. Grant,
> Lord, that from this we may be raised up to those things which are signi-
> fied by and carried out in these outward healings and powers. For the
> mind of those who will accept this outward appearance will be illumi-
> nated by divine light.

The reference to divine illumination does not lead, however, to a prayer of mys-
tical union but to a recognition of the interior, spiritual benefit that underpins
the physical healing. The lame have not only gained the power to walk. They
advance 'towards salvation in the intention of their heart', while the deaf hear
with the 'ears of the heart' and the feeble enjoy physical and spiritual strength.[115]

The discourse of meditative sight in Canisius' highly textual *Notae* resem-
bles that of Nadal's more explicitly visual *Adnotationes* in that it looks towards
spiritual transformation. That is the objective of interior perception for Nadal
and Canisius. The point of seeing John the Baptist, as Nadal's *adnotatio* for the
fourth Sunday of Advent makes clear, is 'that we embrace penance'. Accordingly,
the *meditatio* for the same Sunday associates the imitation of John the Baptist
with a petition to Jesus 'that we not neglect the exercise of penance'.[116] Canisius
too emphasizes the imitations of John's austerity while using lithic metaphors
to urge emulation of John's adamantine religious resolve.

In the *Notae*, the priest's interior sight rendered places, persons, and narra-
tives vividly present and produced an inner response: a desire to visit Mary's
home, a dread of final judgment, an admiration of Mary's dignity and Christ's
humility, a commitment to imitate John the Baptist. The alert presence to
the objects of Canisius' Advent meditations and the proposed inner reflec-
tions correspond to an interpretation of the Ignatian application of the senses
consistent with the disciplined spirituality of the Directory for the *Spiritual
Exercises* rather than Polanco's mystical impetus. Canisius meant the 'interior
sense of piety' to inculcate in a priest spiritual dispositions such as devotion to
Mary, humility, asceticism, and a rejection of heresy. Advent, rendered visible
by Canisius, prepares a priest for Christmas and Christ's coming at the end of
time through spiritual commitments to Christian virtues required for daily life.

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115   Ibidem 6.
116   Ibidem 13, 14.

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Le pacte précaire de l'image et de l'écrit dans le livre illustré d'époque moderne : Le cas de *La Peinture Spirituelle* (1611) de Louis Richeome

Pierre Antoine Fabre

Je voudrais avancer ici de quelques pas, en me centrant pour l'essentiel sur deux gravures, dans l'exploration d'un problème central pour la culture religieuse européenne de la première modernité, un problème dont nombre des participants de ce volume sont de profonds connaisseurs :[1] celui de l'articulation entre l'écrit et l'image visuelle dans les ouvrages imprimés et illustrés du premier XVIIᵉ siècle. Je ne peux que signaler ici que ce problème n'est pas spécifiquement attaché à la culture religieuse, mais que cette culture l'intensifie en fonction des enjeux particuliers, dans cette culture, de l'autorité de l'écrit et de la parole et de ses transformations. Comment de nouvelles relations, comment de nouvelles correspondances sémiotiques se nouent-elles, dans une époque pour laquelle l'instance de la parole n'est plus l'instance unique, ni même centrale, pour l'interprétation de l'image visuelle ? Je retiens ici l'interprétation dans son sens premier, ce qui vient se placer entre, ici entre l'image et celui qui la regarde. L'instance de la parole, c'est ou c'était la médiation de la prédication, comme guide d'orientation du regard des « illettrés », auxquels l'image n'a jamais parlé sans médiation, ou, plus précisément, auxquels on n'a toujours tenté de prêter une médiation, une interprétation, en dissimulant le plus souvent ce geste sous l'apparence d'une image immédiatement parlante, la « Bible des illettrés ». Que devient cette médiation quand l'écrit commence de relayer la parole dans la production « autorisée » du sens de l'image ; et quand la mission de cet écrit est d'autant plus urgente que l'Eglise catholique s'efforce, non sans tensions internes, de traduire dans les faits concrets les décisions du Concile de Trente sur la finalité « instructive » de l'image chrétienne ?[2]

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1 Je pense en particulier à Ralph de Koninck et Walter S. Melion, qui ont l'un et l'autre fondé une partie de leur travail sur la ‹ rumination › de l'un des écrits illustrés les plus ambitieux, complexes et influents du dernier XVIᵉ siècle : les *Evangelicae historiae imagines* de Jérôme Nadal. Les réflexions qui suivent doivent beaucoup à leurs recherches, et à leur amitié.

2 Je me permets de renvoyer sur ce point à l'analyse du décret tridentin de décembre 1563 que j'ai proposée dans *Décréter l'image* (Paris : 2013) ; ainsi qu'à une série de trois études qui

Toutes ces choses sont bien connues. Connu aussi, mais déjà moins, le fait que, dans cette nouvelle alliance moderne de l'écrit et de l'image, la tradition jésuite tient une place particulière puisqu'elle y implique sa propre culture spirituelle, fondée par Ignace de Loyola et ses contemporains, avec les *Exercices spirituels*, d'une part sur l'articulation de la parole et de l'interlocution orale, et d'autre part sur l'activité de l'imagination ; une *parole imaginante* donc (dire ce que je vois *dans ma tête*), qui se trouve placée au double antipode de l'écrit et de l'image – d'où les difficultés de l'élaboration d'un projet artistique dans la Compagnie de Jésus (l'un des enjeux des recherches sur la genèse des *Evangelicae historiae imagines* – voir note 1 – est l'explicitation de ces difficultés) ; d'où aussi le fait que, pour cette culture, l'articulation entre l'écrit et l'image s'expose à des incertitudes particulièrement fortes, comme l'a bien montré Ralph Dekoninck dans *Ad imaginem*, en révélant toutes les raisons de la publication tardive, en 1640, soit près d'un siècle après l'approbation du texte par le pape Paul III, en 1548, d'une édition illustrée des *Exercices spirituels*.[3]

Je ne peux que signaler ici que les incertitudes de la « nouvelle alliance » dans la production imprimée illustrée liée à la Compagnie de Jésus ne sont pas seulement visibles, si je puis dire, dans les images ; elles le sont aussi dans le texte, et il faut être très attentif à l'insistance, comme par une survivance proprement gestuelle, dans le sens d'Aby Warburg, d'une destination orale dans l'écrit ; nous en trouverons des exemples plus loin. Mais je ne pousserai pas plus loin le travail ici sur ce terrain, qui rencontre le problème beaucoup plus général du statut de l'*écriture* dans la littérature spirituelle moderne, par rapport à la conversation spirituelle, certes, mais aussi par rapport à l'Ecriture sacrée et sa première tradition patristique.[4]

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ont prolongé ce petit ouvrage dans les différents recueils publiés ou à paraître à l'occasion du 450e anniversaire de la fin du Concile : « Le problème de l'image dans le dernier acte du Concile de Trente : documents inédits du mois de novembre 1563 », dans Mériaux C. (éd.), *Dramatiques conciliaires* (Lille : à paraître) ; « Qu'est-ce que la postérité du Concile de Trente ? Le cas du » culte des images "", dans Catto M. – Prosperi A. (éds.), *Trent and Beyond* (Bologne : à paraître) ; et « Une théorie en mouvement. Lainez et les ‹ images › entre Paris et Trente (1562–1563) », dans Violet Soen V. – François W. (éds.), *The Council of Trent : Reform and Controversy in Europe and Beyond* (1545–1700). *Vol. 3 : Between Artists and Adventurers* (Leuven : à paraître).

3 Dekoninck R., ‹ *Ad imaginem* ›. *Statuts, fonction et usages de l'image dans la littérature spirituelle jésuite du XVIIe siècle* (Genève : 2005).

4 C'est un problème que je n'ai cependant jamais séparé dans mes recherches de celui de l'image, et c'est probablement ce double ‹ foyer › qui a fait pour moi de l'œuvre de Louis Marin, lecteur d'écrits *et* spectateur d'images une source d'inspiration continue. Je reviendrai plus loin à un aspect de cette œuvre.

Il reste que, comme production religieuse d'une part, et comme production post-ignatienne d'autre part, les imprimés illustrés jésuites justifient deux fois l'exploration de ce que j'ai appelé le « pacte précaire » de l'écrit et de l'image.

Dans ce cadre, je retiens *La peinture spirituelle ou l'art d'admirer et louer Dieu en toutes ses œuvres* de Louis Richeome, jésuite français, né en 1554, mort en 1625. Pourquoi Louis Richeome ? Sans doute principalement parce que, en tant qu'auteur, en 1597, d'un *Discours sur les saintes images* (dont Ralph Dekoninck et moi-même achevons la première édition critique), Richeome ne fut pas seulement un praticien des images comme écrivain d'ouvrages illustrés, mais aussi un théoricien des conditions de leur légitimité dans le catholicisme tridentin et que cette double qualité – qui n'est pas ordinaire[5] – lui donne évidemment ou nous donne à travers lui une vue panoramique sur l'ensemble du champ. Pourquoi *La peinture spirituelle*, publié à Lyon en 1611, mais conçu et écrit à Rome, où Richeome est assistant des provinces de France auprès du Général des jésuites de 1608 à 1615 ? Parce que Rome est, dans ce moment, avec Anvers, le foyer central pour la production et la diffusion d'une orthodoxie iconographique catholique, et que la *Peinture spirituelle* s'inscrit, dans ce mouvement, comme l'un des agents de cette propagation ou *propaganda* par les images. Elle s'y inscrit sous la forme de la production d'un prototype,[6] puisque ce livre est consacré à la description du noviciat jésuite de Sant'Andrea al Quirinale, à Rome, description de la disposition intérieure de ses espaces, des peintures qui décorent ses salles et ses couloirs, de ses jardins, aussi ; mais, de la même manière que le pèlerinage de Loreto était transformé par le livre du même Richeome sur le *Pèlerin de Lorette* comme le modèle possible pour un pèlerinage intérieur, cette description est transformée par le livre comme un guide prescriptif pour tout noviciat dont celui-ci serait, comme noviciat romain, le modèle suprême.

Ajoutons, pour le contexte de la préparation et de la publication de ce livre, que Claudio Acquaviva est alors le général de la Compagnie, et que son généralat, de 1581 à 1615, marque l'achèvement de l'édifice institutionnel de la Compagnie de Jésus dans tous ses étages, constitutionnel, historiographique, pédagogique, spirituel, artistique avec les *Imagines* déjà évoquées ; et que les

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5   Richeome pourrait être comparé de ce point de vue à Francisco Pacheco, peintre et auteur du célèbre *Arte de la Pintura* (1644), bien que Richeome ne soit nullement peintre lui-même, contrairement à ce que prétendit naguère Henri Bremond (voir ci-dessous note 11).

6   J'utilise à dessein ce mot de ‹ prototype ›, hérité de la théologie byzantine de l'image où il désigne le modèle idéal de l'image matérielle, car le noviciat, comme nous allons le voir, est aussi un conservatoire d'images que le livre propose comme des modèles pour d'autres images possibles, des images-prototypes.

années 1609 et suivantes, avec la béatification puis la canonisation d'Ignace de Loyola en 1622, sont des années d'intense accélération de la construction d'une iconographie du fondateur de l'Ordre – on sait avec quelles difficultés, pour ce qui concerne son portrait en particulier.[7]

Je voudrais rapidement arriver à une gravure, celle qui représente les « trente-neuf martyrs du Brésil » (je m'expliquerai sur ce choix). Mais il faut, comme pour toute visite de livre, passer par son frontispice.

Le problème historique et théorique du frontispice

Pourquoi un problème historique et théorique ? Parce qu'il y a deux manières de concevoir l'histoire du frontispice dans la production imprimée du XVIIe siècle. Soit comme l'histoire d'une progressive expansion de l'image dans les marges envahissantes d'un texte, comme le fait avec un brio savant Marc Fumaroli dans *L'Ecole du silence* ;[8] soit comme un conflit de territoire entre l'image et le texte sur une surface neutre, exposée à ce conflit, celle de la page, comme l'a développé Louis Marin dans ses divers travaux sur le frontispice, et tout particulièrement, ce qui est intéressant pour nous, dans les frontispices des contes de Perrault où intervient un troisième acteur, la référence de la parole – du conte raconté – dans le conte écrit.[9] Je ne peux évidemment pas développer ce point. Mais ces deux lectures, la première historique, la seconde théorique en ce sens qu'elle construit un modèle en fonction duquel se déclinent des dynamiques non-linéaires, traversées par une contradiction centrale – ces deux lectures nous permettent deux lectures possibles du frontispice de la *Peinture spirituelle* de Richeome [Fig. 10.1].

Selon la *première lecture*, le frontispice présente le titre de l'ouvrage, son dédicataire, le général des jésuites, son auteur, Louis Richeome, son imprimeur

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7   Voir Fabre P.A., « Le profil d'un fondateur. Genèse du portrait d'Ignace de Loyola », *Trois* 10.2 (Montréal : 1995) 5–24, et, tout récemment, Dekoninck R., « La fondation d'une imagerie jésuite entre théorie et pratique, entre Rome et Anvers », dans Fabre P.A. – Rurale F. (éds.), *The Generalate of Claudio Aquaviva* (Leiden – Boston : à paraître).

8   Fumaroli M., *L'école du silence. Le sentiment des images au XVIIème siècle* (Paris : 1999) 325–343, en part. 336–337, 342 : ‹ Jusqu'aux alentours de 1635, en dépit de la place faite à l'ornement, les frontispices conservaient un caractère fonctionnel […]. L'inscription du titre aura tendance à se rétracter au cours du XVIIe siècle pour laisser place à un envahissant programme iconographique […] Désormais, le frontispice devient une illustration en soi […]. Le frontispice tend à devenir la première des illustrations de l'ouvrage ›. Fumaroli fait d'ailleurs des *Peintures morales* de Le Moyne (1640), l'un des seuils de cette transformation, repérant bien la forte position des publications jésuites dans la période.

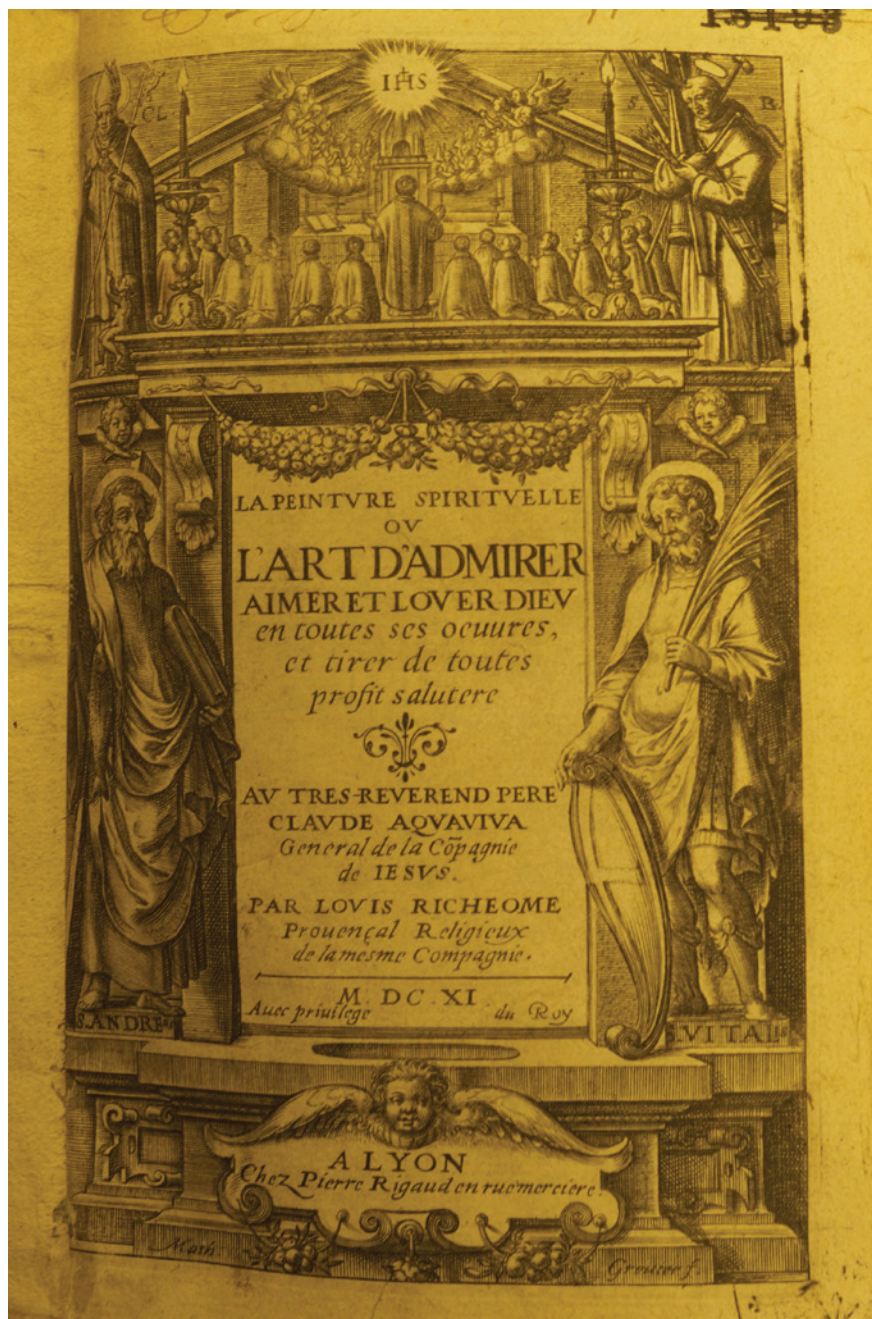9   Marin L., « Les enjeux d'un frontispice », *L'esprit créateur* (1987) 49–58.

FIGURE 10.1   *Matthieu Greuter, Frontispice dans Richeome*, La peinture spirituelle [...]
(Lyon, Pierre Rigaud : 1611). Engraving, in-12. Paris, Bibliothèque du Centre Sèvres.

et, au bas de la page, j'y reviendrai, son graveur. Ce texte est encadré par deux figures, celles des saints André et Vital, respectivement apôtre et soldat romain chrétien martyrisé. Chacun d'eux est surmonté par Clément : Clément I, pape du 1er siècle mais aussi, sous le nom de Clément VIII, donateur de l'église de san Vitale au noviciat jésuite romain en 1595 ;[10] et par saint Bernard ; ils encadrent eux-mêmes la représentation d'un cercle de jeunes religieux, entourant un prêtre célébrant, devant un autel surmonté du monogramme de la Compagnie de Jésus, IHS.

Mais la double détermination de Clément, premier et huitième, fait surgir, et s'amorce ici une *seconde lecture*, saint Vital non pas seulement comme le martyr de l'ancienne Rome – ce que nous retrouverons aussi pourtant plus loin – mais comme l'église san Vitale ; celle-ci, à son tour, renvoie la figure de gauche, saint André, non pas seulement à l'apôtre, mais à l'église du même nom. Or, et là est le cœur de ce que j'appellerai la conversion sémiotique du frontispice du texte à l'image, ces deux églises font apparaître la partie centrale du frontispice, non pas seulement comme la surface d'un texte, mais comme la surface d'une image possible, *une surface visuelle et non plus textuelle*, l'espace de l'intervalle de ces deux églises, sant'Andrea et san Vitale, les deux églises du noviciat, et cet intervalle est très précisément celui du jardin du noviciat, que signale, en bordure, la frise fleurie qui le surmonte et dont la signification n'est plus seulement maintenant ornementale, mais aussi pré-figurative de ce jardin, les noms des saints devenant les noms de ces églises (ils en deviennent ainsi, par une sorte de refondation en acte dans le frontispice, les saint patrons) ; un jardin auquel sera consacré l'un des chapitres centraux de la *Peinture spirituelle* et l'une de ses illustrations décisives [Fig. 10.2]. Alors, le centre de la page

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10   Dans une analyse remarquable de ce frontispice, Judi Loach identifie le personnage de gauche à saint Claude, contrairement à un autre interprète de l'ensemble ; voir Loach J., « An Apprenticeship in ‹ Spiritual Painting › : Richeome's *La Peinture spirituelle* », dans Melion W.S. – Dekoninck R. – Guiderdoni-Bruslé (eds.), *Ut pictura meditatio : The Meditative Image in Northern Art*, Proteus 4 (Turnhout : 2015) 337–399, en part. 381–389. Malgré les arguments passionnants de Loach, fondés sur une hypothèse très profonde concernant la première destination du livre de Richeome, le noviciat de Lyon (saint Claude du Jura relève comme saint Bernard de l'espace ‹ géo-hagiographique › de la province jésuite de Lyon), je reste partisan des deux papes, Clément I et VIII, par rapport à l'économie interne des figures dans la gravure. Mais la question reste ouverte. Voir aussi Holtgen K.J., « The Illustrations of Louis Richeome's *La Peinture spirituelle* (1611) and Jesuit Iconography », dans Poza S.L. (éd.), *Florilegio de estudios de emblemática* (El Ferro : 2004) 447–458. Je me permets également de renvoyer pour une discussion plus serrée de ces interprétations à Fabre P.A., « Le vertige d'un frontispice », dans Cantillon A. – Fabre P.A. (éds.), *A force de signes. Travailler avec Louis Marin* (Paris : à paraître).
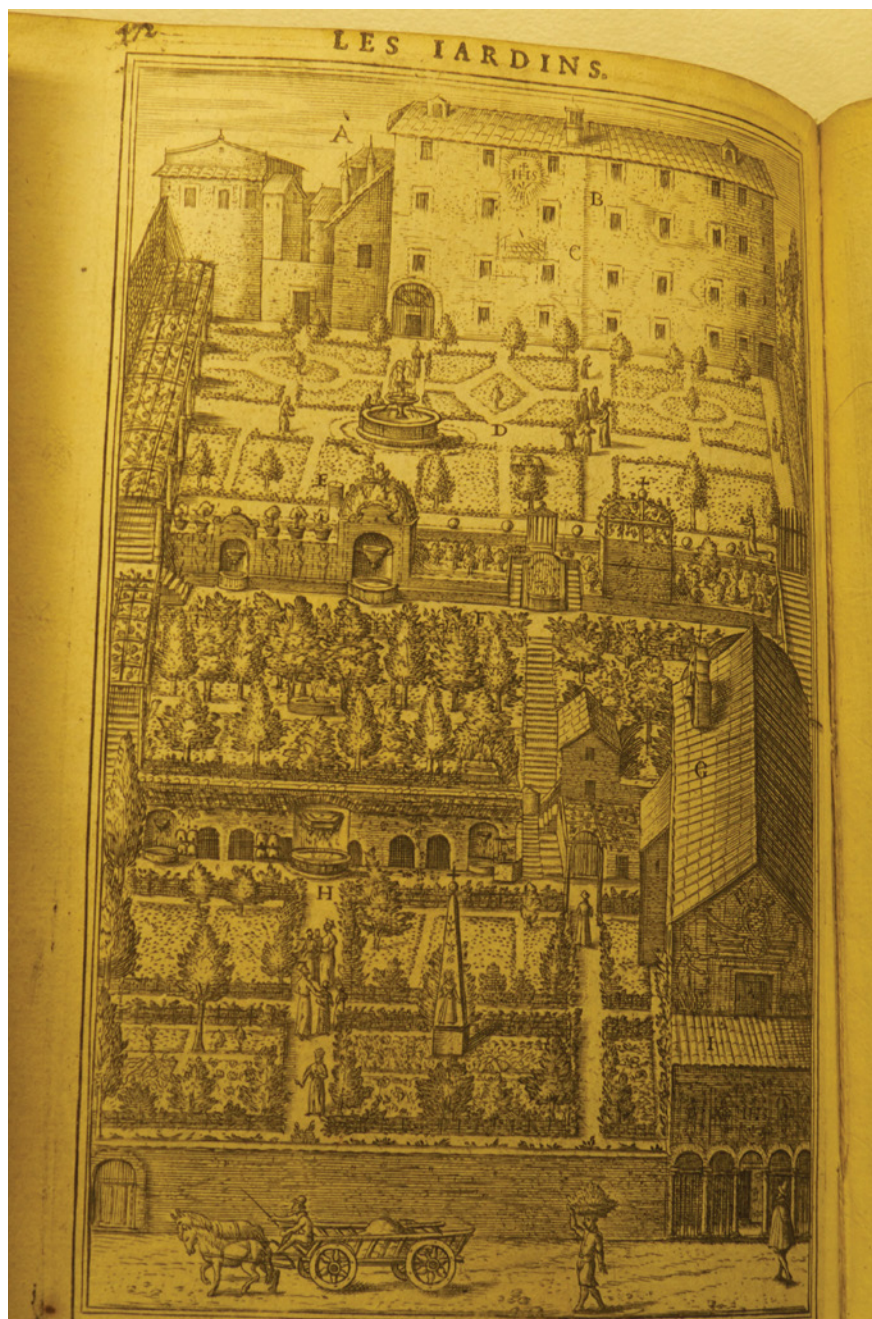
FIGURE 10.2   *Matthieu Greuter, « Les Jardins », dans Richeome*, La peinture spirituelle [...]
(*Lyon, Pierre Rigaud : 1611) 472. Engraving, in-12. Paris, Bibliothèque du Centre
Sèvres.*

n'est plus la surface d'un texte, elle n'est pas non plus l'espace représentation-nel d'un jardin, mais elle est, en partage et en conflit, comme sont les lieux de conversion, une surface d'échange entre l'écrit et l'image. C'est en ce sens aussi que le frontispice est un frontispice, parce qu'il dévoile cette surface.

Je reviendrai brièvement au jardin, par lequel le frontispice plonge dans le massif du livre. Mais je voudrais d'abord faire observer, sur ce frontispice, la place éminemment discrète du nom du graveur, Matthieu Greuter, au plus bas étage d'une hiérarchie d'autorités, c'est-à-dire l'auteur et les autorités qui l'auto-risent, Louis Richeome passant, sur ce frontispice, d'une catégorie dans l'autre (et c'est me semble-t-il, l'une des fonctions essentielles du frontispice, dans la lutte pour le contrôle de la page lisible-visible, écrite-figurée), puisqu'il peut apparaître aussi bien comme l'auteur du livre, comme écriture, que l'auteur du livre comme recueil d'une série d'images (une série de frontispices ouvrant à chacun des chapitres) que Greuter a seulement « faites » (Greuter *fecit*). Cette opération sera longtemps confirmée par l'historiographie de la Compagnie de Jésus, jusqu'à Henri Bremond au moins qui déclare de Richeome en 1920 dans son *Histoire littéraire du sentiment religieux*, sans en produire la moindre preuve : « Car il était peintre […] Richeome envoyait à ses illustrateurs des canevas, des cartons inépuisables ».[11] En vérité, Bremond touche ici au cœur de notre problème. Il déclare aussi (ce dont on trouverait difficilement une confir-mation concrète dans le *Discours des saintes images*), que Richeome eut « un goût très vif pour l'oeuvre des artistes chrétiens et les tableaux imaginaires ». Et dans tout le développement qu'il consacre à l'auteur de la *Peinture spirituelle* (1607) et des *Tableaux sacrés* (1611), Bremond ne cesse tout à la fois de creuser *et* de suturer une ligne de faille entre « l'oeuvre des artistes chrétiens » et les « tableaux imaginaires », entre l'image matérielle et la production de l'imagination – ligne de faille dont on sait, et je l'ai rappelé, qu'elle traverse le socle fondateur de l'institution spirituelle de la Compagnie de Jésus par la question, lancinante jusqu'en 1640 et au-delà, de l'illustrabilité des *Exercices spirituels* ignatiens. Ainsi, par exemple, Richeome « aime si fort à voir des images et à les décrire que lorsqu'il n'en trouve pas assez dans cette maison où il nous promène, il en invente de sa grâce » : où nous croyons franchi le passage et le saut du monde des « artistes chrétiens » dans celui des « tableaux de l'imagination ». Mais c'est immédiatement après que Bremond nous affirme :

11   Bremond H., *Histoire littéraire du sentiment religieux en France au XVIIᵉ siècle*, 4 vols. (Paris : 1927 ; réimp., Grenoble : 2006) IV, 92–93, et pour les citations suivantes.

« Car il était peintre [...] Richeome envoyait à ses illustrateurs des canevas, des cartons inépuisables ». Mais, ajoute Bremond dans un nouveau retournement de cette valse véritablement vertigineuse des images matérielles et des images mentales : « Il lui aurait fallu un Pinturicchio ou un Gozzoli. Ne les ayant pas, il les *supplée*,[12] invitant ses lecteurs à enrichir de mille nouveaux traits, à colorier mentalement ces gravures impuissantes » (je souligne).

Nous retrouvons dans tout ceci sous la plume de Bremond le monstre mythique qui hante les fondations de l'édifice jésuite, cette créature à deux visages, le visage de Jérôme Nadal, commanditaire des *Evangelicae historiae imagines*, et le visage d'Ignace de Loyola qui, sur son lit de mort, aurait chargé son « fils spirituel » d'illustrer ses *Exercices* : monstre mythique, contrat originaire, mais dont Louis Richeome hérite en ligne directe lorsque le frontispice de sa *Peinture spirituelle* l'autorise à être l'auteur des images faites par Greuter. Matthieu Greuter, qui non seulement a réellement existé, mais qui, né en 1564 et après un début de carrière à Lyon, s'est installé à Rome de 1606 à sa mort en 1638 et a donc très probablement été un collaborateur immédiat de Richeome pendant la préparation de la *Peinture spirituelle*, bien qu'aucune source documentaire ne nous donne plus d'informations sur ce sujet.

La situation du jardin

Je ne peux que faire un très bref passage par le jardin du noviciat, que j'ai longuement visité ailleurs.[13] Je ferai seulement observer que le livre de la *Peinture spirituelle* – et ce serait une raison supplémentaire de son choix ici – peut également être lu comme un traité d'apprentissage précis de la lecture articulée du texte et de l'image, et particulièrement de l'utilisation d'un procédé très utilisé dans cette période, le découpage de l'image par des lettres qui renvoient à une légende elle-même articulée sur le texte qui les développe. De ce point de vue, la représentation gravée du jardin du noviciat, dont nous venons de voir le lieu effectif dans le frontispice, joue également un rôle central dans cet apprentissage, puisque c'est, sur l'ensemble des 11 gravures qui

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12   On retrouvera ce mot sous la plume de Richeome dans une circonstance voisine ; voir ci-dessous.

13   Fabre P.A., « Lieu de mémoire et paysage spirituel : les jardins du noviciat de Sant'Andrea del Quirinale selon la *Peinture spirituelle* de Louis Richeome », dans Besse J.-M. (éd.), *Les jardins, art et lieu de mémoire* (Besançon : 1995) 135–148.
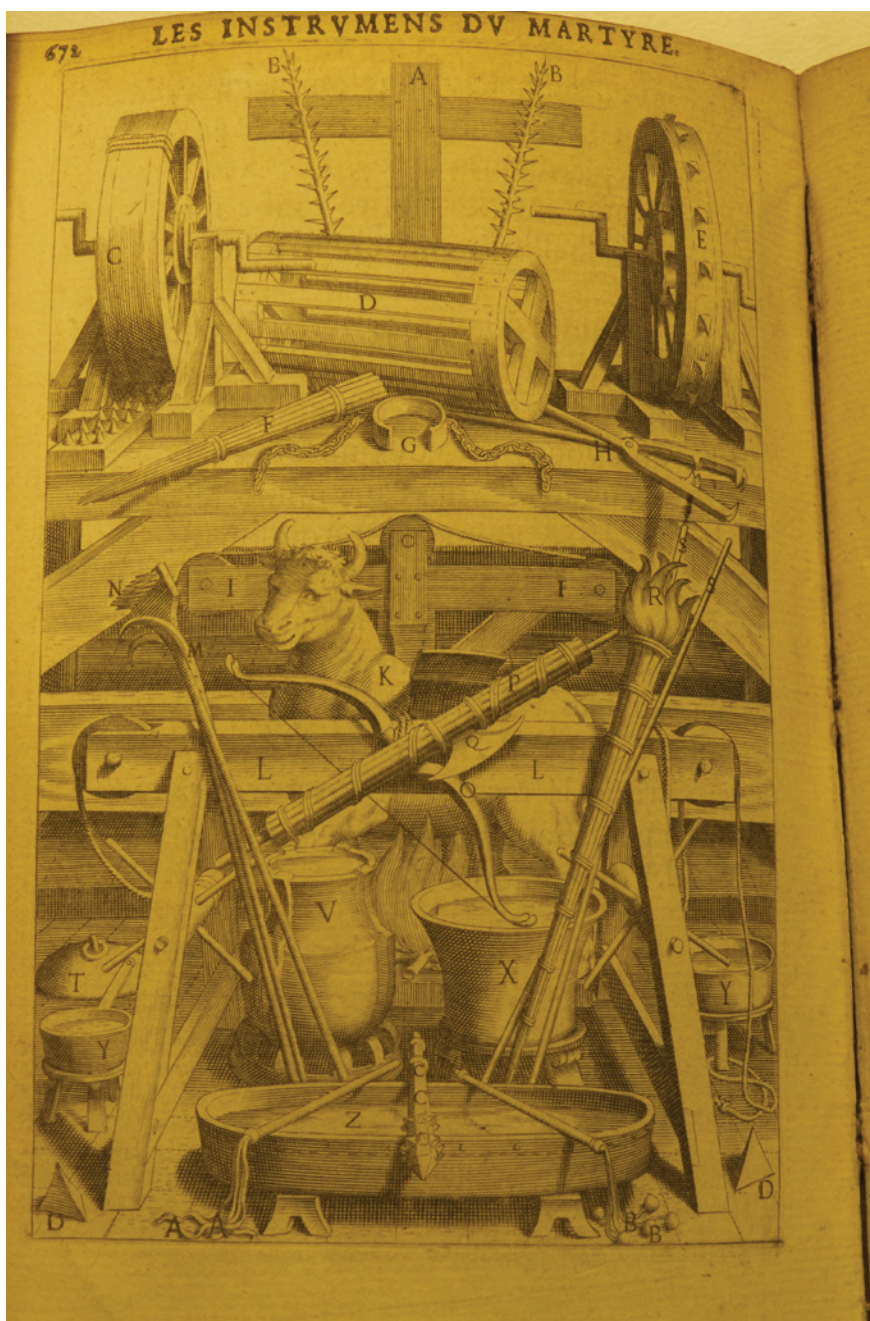
FIGURE 10.3   *Matthieu Greuter, « Les Instruments du Martyre », dans Richeome,* La peinture
                spirituelle [. . .] (*Lyon, Pierre Rigaud : 1611*) *672. Engraving, in-12. Paris,
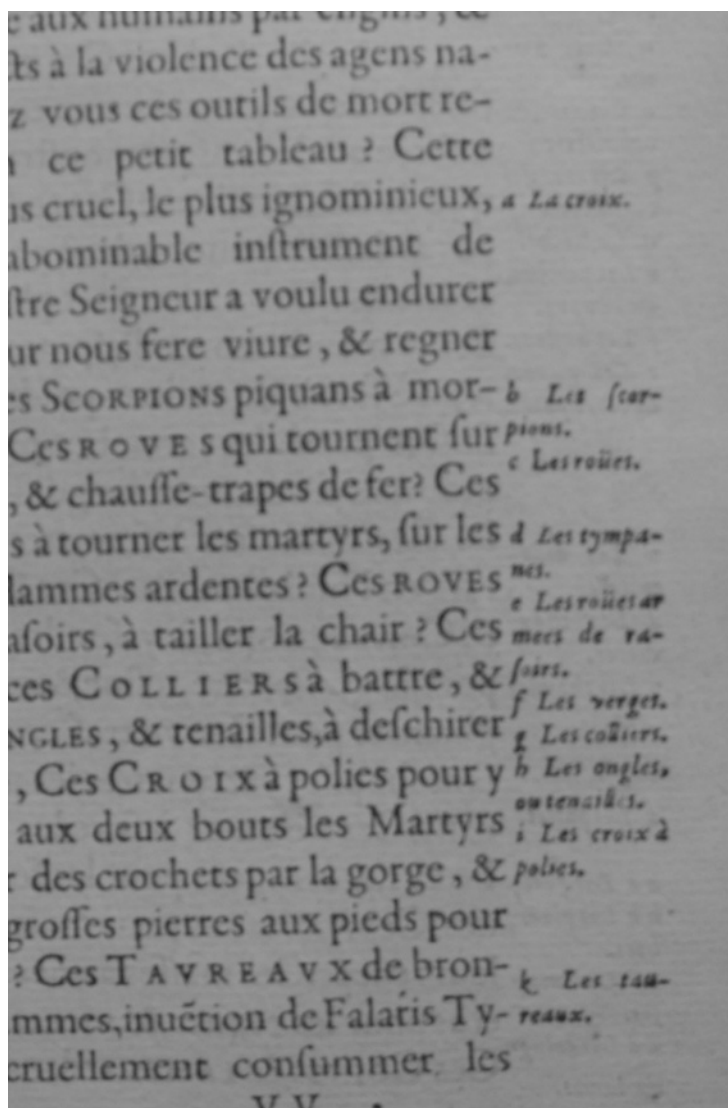   Bibliothèque du Centre Sèvres.*

FIGURE 10.4   *Richeome*, La peinture spirituelle […] (*Lyon, Pierre Rigaud :*
                 1611) *675. Engraving, in-12. Paris, Bibliothèque du Centre Sèvres.*

scandent les quelque 700 pages du livre, la huitième gravure et première *lettrée* de l'ensemble. Mais il faut attendre la neuvième gravure, qui rapporte les « instruments du martyre » [Fig. 10.3], pour que ce lettrage se retrouve dans l'*ekphrasis* textuelle qui relaie l'image [Fig. 10.4], la gravure lettrée sans légende du jardin répercutant au cœur du recueil l'instabilité de son frontispice, dans le

conflit de territoire de l'écrit et de l'image sur la surface de la page : en effet, de la même manière que le frontispice présente des lettres, des mots, des noms, *et présente aussi* des figures, des ornements, sur une page partagée, la gravure du jardin présente des lettres qui ne sont pas les représentantes d'un texte mais qui, très curieusement, dans un étrange lapsus, sont comme lâchées sur l'image.[14]

Les trente-neuf martyrs du Brésil

Mais venons maintenant au « Martyre des trente-neuf allant au Brésil » [Fig. 10.5]. Pedro de Ribadeneira raconte dans sa *Vida de San Ignacio de Loyola*, publié en latin en 1572 et en espagnol en 1581, l'épisode dont se nourrira la méditation de Richeome au cinquième chapitre de son ouvrage :

> El bienaventurado Padre Ignacio de Azevedo […] yendo por provincial de la Compania a la provincia de Brasil con otros treinta y ocho companeros, padres y hermanos de la misma Compania, a predicar y ensenar el santo Evangelio, fue muerto a manos de hugonotes y corsarios hereges franceses, cuyo capitan era Xaques de Soria, el qual los mando matar en odio y aborrecimiento de nuestra santissima fe catolica, ano de mil y quinientos setenta.[15]

Richeome transcrit :

> Le Seigneur a voulu par sa bonté salarier de bonne heure ses serviteurs […] Ils voulaient vivre et mourir pour lui, il a repu et rempli leur désir en leur ouvrant la porte du repos eternel […] et pour le port du Brésil leur donnant le port de la Palme, c'est-à-dire la victoire du Ciel.[16]

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14   On peut faire l'hypothèse que la prolifération égarante des images du jardin telles que Richeome les décrit (mille images de fleurs, d'arbres, d'animaux) et qui font du jardin un tissu continu de ‹ tableaux › au point de ne faire plus qu'*une* image (voir note 15), l'image du Créateur, finalement rencontré au flanc de la pyramide qui met un terme, comme dans un labyrinthe, à l'errance du promeneur – on peut faire l'hypothèse que cette *situation* dramatique ait semé le trouble dans la coordination de l'ensemble : *lapsus calami.*

15   Dalmases C., S.J., *Fontes Narrativi IV*, Monumenta Historica Societatis Iesu 93 (Rome : 1965) 359.

16   Richeome, *La peinture spirituelle* 208.

FIGURE 10.5   *Matthieu Greuter, « Le Martyre des trente-neuf allant au Brésil », dans Richeome,*
La peinture spirituelle [...] (Lyon, Pierre Rigaud : 1611) 190. Engraving, in-12.
Paris, Bibliothèque du Centre Sèvres.

La sainteté du jésuite portugais n'est pas affirmée, mais elle est espérée dans l' ‹ anticipation › de son martyre : la ‹ Palme ›, en effet, signifiera la reconnaissance du meurtre du jésuite comme martyre et, par voie de conséquence, son droit d'accès au titre de Bienheureux. Richeome mobilise ici, par ce seul mot, le contexte de la controverse archéologique et ecclésiologique, ouverte dans les années 1570 avec la redécouverte des catacombes chrétiennes de Rome, sur l'authenticité des corps de ces cimetières comme corps martyrs (et saintes reliques), parmi lesquels Saint Vital, controverse dans laquelle le signe de la palme sera progressivement affirmé – jusqu'à la déclaration pontificale de 1668 – comme preuve nécessaire et suffisante du martyre.[17] Mais la Palme est évidemment aussi le port des Iles Canaries au large duquel le navire catholique est attaqué par les ‹ Huguenots et corsaires français ›, à la frontière de l'Ancien et du Nouveau Monde, d'un monde dans lequel les catholiques sont condamnés par leurs adversaires comme des idolâtres et d'un monde dans lequel ces mêmes catholiques pourchassent l'idolâtrie indigène. Ainsi l'autre frontière, celle que dessine la Palme entre les chrétiens de Rome et ceux de Genève, est-elle ici essentielle : c'est elle qui, pour Richeome catholique romain, fonde la légitimité des cultes catholiques, et non pas seulement celui des ‹ saintes reliques ›, mais aussi celui des ‹ saintes images ›, ces images que l'on redécouvre dans les cimetières de Rome et qui attachent l'image chrétienne à l' Eglise primitive.

L'ensemble de ces déterminations explique, tout à la fois l'engagement rapide – le livre de Richeome en participe – et la progression lente (le cas n'étant pas simple de ce martyre d'entre deux mondes, de ces ‹ martyrs du Brésil ›, comme on les appellera souvent, tués par des protestants aux Canaries[18]), de la promotion à la sainteté d'Ignacio de Azevedo et de ses compagnons, qui ne seront finalement béatifiés puis canonisés qu'au xixe siècle.[19] L'engagement

17   Je me permets de renvoyer sur ce point à Fabre P.A. – Ticchi J.-M., « Marcantonio Boldetti ou l'apologétique souterraine », dans Baciocchi S. – Duhamelle C. (éds.), *Corps saints des catacombes* (Rome : à paraître). Ce volume consacré à l'histoire de la distribution des corps saints romains entre la fin du xvie siècle et le xixe siècle donne de nombreuses indications sur l'implication des jésuites dans ce grand chantier de la catholicité moderne.

18   En témoigne par exemple les paroles que place dans la bouche de l'un des corsaires le récit écrit par Julio Cesar Cordara vers 1750 (et publié en 1854, comme tant d'autres productions hagiographiques qui transitent ainsi entre l'ancienne et la nouvelle Compagnie de Jésus en fonction de la relance des procès en sainteté) : ‹ Tue, tue ces papistes scélérats, qui vont au Brésil pour y semer la fausse doctrine ! › Voir Cordara J.C., *Istoria della vita e gloriosa morte del Beato Ignazio de Azevedo e di altri trentanove beati martiri della Compania di Gesú*, ed. B. Morini (Rome : 1854) 84.

19   Voir sur cet aspect Osswald M.C., « O martírio de Inácio de Azevedo e dos seus trinta e nove companheiros (1570) na hagiografia da Companhia de Jesus entre os séculos

rapide de la cause provoque aussi une iconographie nombreuse, dans laquelle la gravure de Greuter marque sa singularité, comme nous allons le voir.

Les « Trente-neuf martyrs » ouvrent une nouvelle étape de la *Peinture spirituelle* comme apprentissage ou comme ‹ noviciat › de l'image, apprentissage dont le passage par le frontispice puis par les jardins nous a fait apparaître la force structurante dans l'ensemble de l'ouvrage. Le chapitre précédent avait placé le lecteur devant un ‹ tableau imaginaire ›, comme l'a écrit Bremond après Richeome ; un tableau imaginaire pour le lecteur, puisque, qu'il ait été ou non présent dans la salle de récréation,[20] il n'est pas représenté par une gravure dans le livre de Richeome : ‹ Tournez vous à gauche et regardez la peinture de ce tableau : elle vous représente la première arrivée du Bienheureux François Xavier au Japon ›.[21] En revanche, au chapitre suivant, le lecteur se trouve bien *face-à-face avec une gravure*, face-à-face pour la première fois expressément désigné comme tel par le texte. Le « Tableau cinquième » dit :

> Nous étions, mes bien aimés, és Iles du Japon en Orient, au precedent tableau, et contemplions un Prince Payen recevant des seigneurs chrestiens : nous voici en un moment portez a l'Occident *pour voir* en contrepoinct un Archipirate, Huguenot, portant le nom Chrestien, qui donne sur le theatre de l' Ocean une Tragedie lamentable […].[22]

Ce premier face-à-face occupe aussi, si l'on se réfère à l'ensemble de la série des gravures effectives du livre, une place singulière, aussi singulière que la gravure du jardin (voir note 15 et Annexe). Jusqu'ici, les gravures nous ont montré un ‹ tableau ›, désigné comme tel par le texte, ou un ‹ tableau ›, représenté dans une image, l'image servant de support au tableau, comme dans la gravure du Réfectoire par exemple [Fig. 10.6] (les Jardins ne viendront qu'ensuite nous faire voir une image d'une autre nature) ; les « martyrs du Brésil » *renversent la relation*, puisque, comme nous allons le voir, c'est une ‹ image ›, définie comme telle dans le récit, qui va surgir dans le ‹ tableau ›, lui aussi défini comme tel, c'est-à-dire comme un tableau effectivement présent dans les salles du

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XVIe XIX », *Cultura* 27 (2010) 163–186 ; également à suivre les recherches en cours d'Anne McGinness.

20   Nous n'avons pas d'autre source que le livre de Richeome pour décider de ce point et la prudence s'impose donc, et ceci d'autant plus que, comme nous le allons le voir, Richeome lui-même joue en permanence du rapport de l'image telle qu'elle est visible et telle qu'elle est vue, réfléchie dans l'œil du spectateur/lecteur.

21   Richeome, *La peinture spirituelle* 153.

22   Ibidem 191.

FIGURE 10.6   *Matthieu Greuter, « Le réfectoire spirituel », dans Richeome,* La peinture
              spirituelle [...] (*Lyon, Pierre Rigaud : 1611) 64. Engraving, in-12. Paris,*
              Bibliothèque du Centre Sèvres.

noviciat, alors que l'image, elle n'est que représentée dans ce tableau.[23] Elle est doublement *ailleurs*. Et nous allons voir à quel point elle l'est. Mais nous allons voir aussi que, dans l'opération qu'effectue le texte sur le tableau, cette image ne sera pas seulement représentée, elle sera aussi présentée à nouveau à son lecteur, elle sera *re-présentée*. Elle sera tout à la fois absente (ailleurs) et présente (re-présentée) ; et c'est dans cette double détermination, pourrait-on dire ontologique, qu'elle trouvera son sens dans ce qui est aussi en train de se jouer dans la *Peinture spirituelle*, le statut de l'image dans sa perplexité post-tridentine, dans la perplexité d'un décret tridentin qui l'a placé tout contre (contre et tout près de) la relique.

Traversons – trop rapidement – la « Narration du massacre » des jésuites sur le navire qui les emmène vers le Brésil :

> **Voyez-vous** ce Pirate campé sur le chasteau de la poupe [...] ? Regardez le piteux degast de ces agnelets esgorgez [...]. Voyez leurs plaies ruisselantes [...]. Voyez ces innocents donnez en proie aux poissons [...]. Voyez ces corps consacrez à Dieu en leur vie et victimes donnees à Dieu en leur mort [...]. Ils les précipitent donc tous, et Simon de la Coste avec eux, comme la peinture vous représente. Regardez le dos de cet element chargé et honoré de ces humaines dépouilles, et jettez vos yeux mouillés sur les corps de vos frères, et advisez entre tous celui que vous avez remarqué tantot sans savoir son nom : c'est le petit Alexius Delgadus, tendrelet de quinze ans et homme parfait en vertu [...]. Mes bien aimez, encore que vos yeux ne puissent tenir les larmes jettans leurs regard sur les figures de ce tableau [...] ne regardez plus, la larme à l'œil, leurs corps ensanglantez flottant sur le bransle des ondes [...].[24]

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23   Cette *dis*position visuelle (*double* position d'une ‹ image › et d'un ‹ tableau ›) est déployée avec méthode dans la série des gravures de la *Peinture spirituelle :* le cœur battant de cette disposition est entre la gravure du « Sommeil et de la mort » et la gravure des « Jardins », moment central de la pérégrination du lecteur dans le noviciat, entre l'épreuve de la mort et la consolation du Martyr, qu'il trouve au sortir des « Jardins » avec les « Instruments du Martyre ». Cœur battant : en passant de l'infirmerie dans les jardins, on passe d'un chapitre introduit par un tableau de fiction (‹ je vous mets ce tableau de la mort et du sommeil ›, écrit Richeome, p. 463) à l'image d'un lieu, le jardin, qui pour la première fois n'est *ni* un tableau, fictif ou supposé effectif, *ni* un tableau dans un lieu (le réfectoire, l'église). Le lecteur se trouve pour la première fois confronté à une image qui n'est pas l'image *d'une autre image*, et qui n'est pas non plus une image dans un lieu. Le frontispice des « Jardins » est une image-lieu : or nous savons que la révélation du lieu de soi-même ‹ tel que je suis devant Dieu › est l'accomplissement des *Exercices spirituels* (voir en annexe une synthèse schématique de la série des gravures de la *Peinture spirituelle*).

24   Richeome, *La peinture spirituelle* 204–211.

La méditation visuelle parcourt toute une carrière, depuis l'inscription d'une déception du regard – voyons-nous ces plaies ruisselantes ? voyons-nous Simon de la Coste ? – jusqu'à la confusion de la vue et au renoncement à voir par où le lecteur rejoint l'interrogation initiale de la « Narration » : ‹ Voyez-vous […] ? › – adresse au lecteur dans laquelle s'inscrit aussi, comme je le notais en commençant, le geste de la parole. Mais dans ce temps d'intermittences du regard, l'image elle-même poursuit sa course :

> […] le P. Provincial a été cruellement atteinct d'un coutelas, qui luy a fendu la teste ; c'est lui qui portait *l'image de la Vierge*, qu'il a tenue ferme jusqu'au dernier soupir, comme la peinture vous dict […]. Ils vont aux chambres, et fouillent tout : il restoit encor des nostres environ trente qui estoyent les plus jeunes et avoyent toujours este en priere sous le tillac. Ils les treuvent agenouillez devant une image.[25]

L'image s'anime (un coutelas ‹ lui a fendu la teste ›), l'image se multiplie (‹ sous le tillac ils les trouvent agenouillez devant une image ›). L'essentiel est ici que cette découverte va correspondre à une ré-vision de l'image, donc non pas à l'image comme objet mais à l'image comme production subjective du lecteur, articulant le souvenir de l'image aperçue une première fois et celle que le texte va appeler à revoir.

A l' ‹ image de la Vierge › que le Provincial portait, nous allons revenir. Mais si nous essayons d'abord, devant la gravure que le livre nous présente, de nous porter à la simplicité de la description, deux phénomènes majeurs retiennent notre attention. Or nous allons voir qu'ici, loin d'être simple, la description nous conduit vers des lieux extrêmement complexes.

D'une part, cette gravure représente une destruction, et cette représentation pourrait sembler s'accomplir ou se performer dans un effacement de l'image elle-même, submergée par le chaos qu'elle donne à voir, poussée à la limite de l'indiscernable. Comparons pour nous en convaincre la gravure de la *Peinture spirituelle* avec celle du *Théâtre des cruautés* de Richard Verstegan (*Théâtre des cruautés des hérétiques de notre temps*, en 1587, quelques années plus tôt avant le livre de Richeome, qui a très probablement connu cet ouvrage fameux[26]), pour le même épisode [Figs. 10.5 & 10.7] : le Père Ignacio de Azevedo est propulsé au premier plan de la représentation, désigné d'une lettre (A, seule lettre inscrite sur le plan de l'image), et glosé ainsi dans le commentaire porté en regard :

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25   Ibidem 200–202.

26   Voir sur Verstegan Richard, *Théâtre des cruautés des hérétiques de notre temps* (Anvers, Adrianus Huberti : 1587), l'édition critique attentive de Frank Lestringant (Paris : 1995).

FIGURE 10.7   *Richard Verstegan*, Théâtre des cruautés des hérétiques de notre temps (*Anvers, Adrianus Huberti : 1587*) (*Paris, Chandeigne : 1995*) 111. *Gravure anonyme.*

> Entre toute cette heureuse troupe il y eut le Père Ignace qui en était chef, lequel, après avoir reçu beaucoup d'injures et traits de la cruauté de ces barbares inhumains, [A] fut jeté en la mer, tenant entre ses bras une image de la Vierge Marie, mère de notre Sauveur, lequel il tint si ferme qu'on ne lui put faire lâcher, et rendit ainsi avec ses compagnons son heureux esprit à Dieu [...].

C'est ici le commentaire qui transfigure la représentation de l'image de Marie, en conduisant le passage de cette image (‹ [...] l'image de la Vierge Marie, mère de notre sauveur [...] ›) à ce qu'elle représente (‹ [...] de notre sauveur, lequel [...] *et non pas laquelle*[27] – il tint si ferme que [...] ›).

   Précisons que toute une partie de l'iconographie des martyrs des Canaries sera exclusivement centrée sur l'exposition de l'image de Marie, comme par

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27   En effet, ‹ lequel › renvoie au ‹ sauveur ›, et non pas à l' ‹ image de la Vierge ›. On remarquera que, par la même occasion, le récit de Richeome recentre sur Jésus l'icône byzantine de la *theotokos*, mère de Dieu.

exemple dans ce tableau anonyme du XVIIIe siècle [Fig. 10.8].[28] Dès le *Théâtre des cruautés*, cette orientation est manifeste, et fait un contraste saisissant avec le choix de la *Peinture spirituelle*.

Mais d'autre part, et c'est là, je crois, le point crucial, sur lequel je n'ai une vue claire que depuis peu, grâce en particulier à des échanges précieux avec une historienne de l'art, italo-chilienne, Sandra Accatino, avec laquelle j'ai, une nouvelle fois, regardé de très près cette gravure[29] – mais, donc, est-ce l'image elle-même qui *performe* la destruction, ou est-ce l'*ekphrasis* de Richeome qui lui fait suite ? La gravure, comme telle, ne peut pas être décrite comme une image confuse. Elle est puissamment architecturée. De la peinture primitive, nous ne savons rien.[30] Nous savons en revanche que Matthieu Greuter doit travailler sur un format étroit, le format in-12° du livre de Richeome. Et dans ce format, il trace de grands axes pour le regard : le mât central plonge vers ce que le texte nous révélera comme la figure du Provincial, Ignacio de Azevedo ; les diagonales de la proue et de l'ancre, surdimensionnée par rapport à l'ensemble, plonge vers les noyés ; la jeune silhouette tête nue et sans soutane, sur le rebord du navire, est elle-même désignée entre la base des mâts ; mais nous ne savons pas qui elle est – ou bien, si le lecteur, informé de la tragédie, le devine, il sera rapidement ébranlé dans ces certitudes sensibles par le texte.

Tout autre est en effet – et c'est le deuxième phénomène qu'il nous faut décrire – le destin de l'image dans l'*ekphrasis* de la *Peinture spirituelle*. Le commentaire de Louis Richeome glisse en effet, dans une première incise : ‹ Mais *qui est* ce bon Père, ayant la tête fendue, qui tient l'image de la Vierge entre ses bras ? ›, puis, dans une seconde, comme nous l'avons vu : ‹ A été cruellement atteint le P. Provincial d'un coutelas qui lui a fendu la tête. C'est lui qui portait l'image de la Vierge, comme la peinture *vous dit* ›. Le supplice de l'image touche ici à son comble. Que nous ‹ dit › la peinture (qui n'est pas une peinture, mais une gravure) ? Que celui qui portait l'image de la Vierge était le P. Provincial ? Elle ne nous le montre pas. Mais l'ironie du commentaire nous expose, du coup, à revoir l'image, non pas en tant qu'elle représenterait le P. Provincial portant

28   Voir pour cette image et toute une série de représentations qui jalonnent les efforts des familles des jésuites ‹ martyrisés › et de la Compagnie de Jésus elle-même pour obtenir leur béatification, Osswald, « O martírio de Inácio de Azevedo » 166.

29   A l'occasion d'un séminaire sur la culture visuelle de l'ancienne Compagnie de Jésus à l'Université Alberto Hurtado de Santiago du Chili en août 2014. Je remercie très vivement ma collègue de ces conversations, décisives pour ce travail.

30   Les informations les plus précises sur ce sujet nous viennent de Bailey G.A., *Between Renaissance and Baroque : Jesuit Art in Rome (1565–1610)* (Toronto : 2003) 38–106, en part. 41 sur le sujet des sources disponibles ; mais Bailey lui-même recourt pour l'essentiel dans son effort de reconstitution de la décoration du noviciat – à Louis Richeome.

FIGURE 10.8   *Anonyme portugais*, O Beato Inácio de Azevedo com a imagem da Madona di San Luca nas mãos, *XVIIIᵉ siècle. Collection particulière.*

l'image de la Vierge, mais en tant qu'elle se présente à nouveau à moi, qui vient de la voir, en tant qu'elle se *re*-présente, selon la voie intensive que Louis Marin a su faire apparaître dans ses propositions sur le concept de ‹ représentation ›.

C'est ce qu'on peut appeler ici une *résistance* de l'image. Mais cette résistance a été appelée *par le texte lui-même*, qui, par l'insistance de son interrogation – ‹ avez-vous vu ? › – a semé le doute sur ce qui avait ou n'avait pas été vu *et doit être, donc, revu.*[31]

Il faut peut-être laisser se dessiner devant nous, dans cette venue en présence, la forme d'un rituel : une répétition, réglée par un texte – le texte qui nous reconduit à l'image –, et qui, par l'application de cette règle, produit le surgissement d'un effet de présence. Mais il faut tenir les deux fils : celui d'une image échouée dans la représentation qu'elle supporte, celui d'une image sauvée de cet échec, mais par cet échec. L'exercice d'un rituel – auquel inviterait le rosaire déposé à la limite de la représentation et, du même coup, sur le bord de l'image, à son pied [Fig. 10.3][32] – pourrait être ici compris comme la convocation de la puissance de l'image et comme la conjuration de sa violence – la violence, ici, de la monstration d'un corps confus, que seul l'écrit nomme comme ‹ Père Provincial ›. Seul l'écrit nomme aussi, ‹ jetté en la mer ›, ‹ le petit Alexius Delgadus ›, baptême de l'image à laquelle l'écrit ainsi donne un nom,

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31   Il faut rappeler ici le surprenant placement *en fin de volume* par Louis Richeome dans l'un de ses autres grands ouvrages illustrés, *Tableaux sacrés des figures mystiques du sacrement de l'eucharistie* (1601), d'un « Avertissement » qui, en tant que tel, aurait du avertir, c'est-à-dire prévenir, en début de parcours : ‹ « S'il y a quelque chose des tableaux gravés qui ne correspondent aux tableaux parlants, le lecteur *suppléera le défaut de la peinture*, s'il lui plaît, *la corrigeant avec la parole du texte*, qu'il suivra en tout comme meilleure guide du sens de l'histoire » ›. On remarquera d'ailleurs dans le titre de l'ouvrage (différence des tableaux et des figures, les premières représentant les secondes qui, déjà, sont des formes de représentation du mystère) et dans cet Avertissement (où le texte *parle*) autant de confirmations de notre analyse : la parole *anime* l'image muette, comme – mais seulement *comme* ! – la formulation rituelle du ‹ Ceci est mon corps › transsubstantie le pain.

32   Ce rosaire insiste dans l'histoire de l'image : on le retrouve brandi par l'une des victimes du massacre dans l'ouvrage de Tanner Matthias, *Societas jesus apostolorum imitatrix* (Prague, Adalbertum Konias Georgium : 1675) 171 (gravure de Melchior Küssel, Fig. 6). Je remercie Rui Carita, professeur à l'Université de Madère, de m'avoir fait découvrir cette gravure dans son ouvrage *El colegio de Funchal* (Madère : 2014). Le rosaire n'apparaît pas dans l'ouvrage de Richeome. C'est probablement une interpolation de la *propaganda* jésuite pour le culte marial du rosaire, très intense dans tout le XVIIe siècle catholique (et anti-protestant) pour ce qu'elle suscite d'une transformation rituelle du récit évangélique. Il n'est pas indifférent de ce point de vue que l'ouvrage de Tanner et la gravure de Küssel soient publiés à Prague.

accomplissement d'un rite oublié par l'agresseur huguenot, qui ‹ porte [qui porte seulement, mais n'incarne pas] le nom Chrétien › :

> Ils les précipitent donc tous, et Simon de la Coste avec eux, comme la peinture vous représente. Regardez le dos de cet element chargé et honoré de ces humaines dépouilles, et jettez vos yeux mouillés sur les corps de vos frères, et advisez entre tous *celui que vous avez remarqué tantot sans savoir son nom : c'est le petit Alexius Delgadus*, tendrelet de quinze ans et homme parfait en vertu.[33]

Or il se trouve que l'image découverte dans la gravure de Richeome et qu'elle a constitué comme son support, l'image par laquelle est venue la répétition du regard, rituel de transfiguration de l'image mécaniquement reproduite, l'image devant laquelle l'auteur de la *Peinture spirituelle* et son lecteur se sont trouvés confondus dans le lieu de la contemplation – cette image, c'est l'icône (‹ la voyez- vous ? ›, demande Richeome) de Santa Maria Maggiore, reproduite par le peintre du général Borgia pour Ignazio de Azevedo avant son départ pour le Brésil et ‹ le port de la Palme ›.[34]

Le déploiement d'un série chrono-iconique

L'approfondissement de l'écart et de la tension entre l'écriture de Richeome et les gravures qui l'accompagnent (bien que l'emploi de ce verbe soit déjà lui-même une interprétation de la relation entre l'écrit et l'image, et le choix d'une ancillarité de l'image par rapport à l'écrit), l'approfondissement, donc, d'une relation entre ces deux termes a révélé ce que je proposerai d'appeler un déploiement chrono-iconique,[35] qui excède très largement ces seuls deux

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33   Richeome, *La peinture spirituelle* 204.

34   La puissance visuelle de cette image-icône, *son pouvoir de faire voir*, sont si grands que, selon le récit de Cordara cité plus haut que, quand l'image disparaît dans la mer avec Azevedo, les quatre corsaires qui les avaient jeté l'un et l'autre par dessus-bord ‹ restèrent *aveugles* au même instant › (voir Cordara, *Istoria della vita e gloriosa morte del Beato Ignazio de Azevedo* 86, je souligne). Voir sur l'extraordinaire destin de l'icône de Santa Maria Maggiore, D'Elia P., « La prima diffusione nel mondo dell'imagine di Maria Populus Romani », *Arte e Fede* 2 (1954) 301–311.

35   En dérivation de la chronophotographie, qui désigne les séries d'images fixes qui décomposent une image mobile, et qui furent très utilisées dans les débuts du cinématographe pour faire apparaître le rapport de l'image photographique à l'image cinématographique.

termes. C'est une proposition de méthode, qui vise à placer dans une même série différenciée des ‹ images › – gravées, peintes, lus, imaginées, rappelées – qui, selon les cas, sont assignées à des sphères totalement étanches les unes aux autres ou, au contraire, confondues entre elles, comme le ‹ Richeome › de Bremond nous l'a fait voir.

Il faut en effet considérer :

1.   la peinture, disparue, peut-être due à Bernardo Bitti,[36] du noviciat de Sant'Andrea al Quirinale, représentant le martyr des trente-neuf jésuites ;
2.   la gravure de Matthieu Greuter, actif à Rome après 1608 et donc très probablement effectuée en connaissance de cette peinture, mais sans nécessairement connaître le ‹ tableau › d'écriture de Richeome ;
3.   le ‹ tableau d'écriture › ou *ekphrasis* textuelle de Richeome, qui lui aussi a connu la peinture, mais qui n'a peut-être pas travaillé en fonction de la gravure ;
4.   la gravure de Greuter telle que le lecteur de la *Peinture spirituelle* la voit au frontispice interne du ‹ tableau cinquième de la salle ›, pour reprendre l'intitulé du chapitre ;
5.   la gravure de Greuter telle que le lecteur se la rappelle lorsqu'il lit l'*ekphrasis* de Richeome (et je devrais également ici, en toute rigueur, faire une place au souvenir de la peinture elle-même pour une part des premiers lecteurs de la *Peinture spirituelle*, en 1611, qui avaient pu connaître la décoration du noviciat) ;
6.   la gravure de Greuter telle que le lecteur la revoit, revenant au frontispice en regard de cette lecture ;
7.   les répliques de Greuter sur tout le cours de l'iconographie des ‹ martyrs du Brésil ›, par exemple dans la gravure de Tanner en 1675 [Fig. 10.9] ;
8.   l'allégorie de l'Eglise catholique comme Nef qui, dans la gestation du récit peut-être, puis plus probablement encore dans l'iconographie du massacre de 1570, court en sous-main de l'événement [Fig. 10.10].

Ce déploiement nous permet d'apercevoir quelque chose : l'*ekphrasis* de Richeome produit sur la gravure de Greuter, et, à travers elle, sur la peinture qui en est, en quelque sorte, le ‹ prototype ›,[37] un double effet d'opacification et de révélation. Elle l'opacifie dans la mesure où elle construit dans la mémoire du

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36   Bernardo Bitti (1548–1610), actif à Rome à l'époque de la construction du noviciat du Quirinal, deviendra ensuite l'un des plus importants peintres religieux du Pérou colonial ; voir Bailey, *Between Renaissance and Baroque* 46.

37   Voir sur ce mot et les raisons de son emploi, la note 6.

FIGURE 10.9   *Matthias Tanner*, Societas jesus apostolorum imitatrix (*Prague, Adalbertus
                 Konias Georgius : 1675*) *171.*

FIGURE 10.10   *Théodore Galle*, Navis Institoris, *dans Jan David*, Pancarpium
                Marianum (*Anvers, Joannes Moretus : 1607*). *Bibliothèque
                Nationale de France (je remercie Carlos Peña Alvarez de
                m'avoir fait connaître cette gravure*).

lecteur une image confuse, obscure, une image qui ne montre rien, alors même que la gravure, comme telle, n'offre pas ce spectacle ; mais en même temps elle la révèle puisqu'elle conduit le lecteur, en la revoyant, à la produire comme le support ou l'instrument de ce que j'ai cherché à faire apparaître comme une répétition rituelle et, dans ce mouvement, fait voir ce que l'*ekphrasis* ne désigne pas : le rosaire posé sur le rebord interne de l'image, à la limite de l'espace de représentation et de la surface du livre.

Ce double effet d'opacification et de révélation est important parce qu'il réeffectue dans le livre, dans l'ouvrage imprimé et illustré, et sous l'autorité du texte, une double vie de l'image telle que les temples chrétiens l'avaient connu dans une très longue tradition : une image retirée et une image exhibée, un retable fermé et un retable ouvert, dans une intermittence dont le texte vise, ici, à régler le *tempo* ; reprise d'une longue tradition qui fait aussi revenir, comme par surprise, un autre événement : le fait que le lecteur, le lecteur moderne, lecteur d'ouvrages imprimés et illustrés, en tournant les pages touche les images, c'est-à-dire réeffectue une autre tradition, celle du contact des images comme vecteur de la communication de leur puissance. Je suspens cette méditation sur ce dernier point, qui, me semble-t-il, bouscule quelque peu le grand paradigme du triomphe de l'image visible et intouchable dans le catholicisme post-tridentin. Et cet ébranlement est une conséquence de ce que j'ai appelé le pacte précaire de l'écrit et de l'image dans la première modernité.

Annexe

Les 12 gravures de la *Peinture spirituelle*, essai schématique

1. Frontispice
2. *Martyre de saint André*, gravure d'un tableau ; sans lettres et sans légendes
3. *Le réfectoire spirituel*, gravure d'un lieu décoré de tableaux ; sans lettres et sans légendes
4. *La vision du Bienheureux Père*, gravure d'un tableau ; sans lettres et sans légendes
5. *Le martyre des trente-neuf allant au Brésil*, gravure d'un tableau représentant une image peinte ; sans lettres et sans légendes
6. *Les anges*, gravure d'un tableau ; sans lettres et sans légendes
7. *Les causes des maladies*, gravure d'un tableau ; sans lettres, avec légendes
8. *Le sommeil et la mort*, gravure d'un tableau fictif ; sans lettres et sans légendes
9. *Les jardins*, gravure d'un lieu ; lettres non reprises en marge du chapitre suivant
10. *Les instruments du martyre*, gravure d'un tableau, lettres reprises en marge du chapitre suivant

11.   *L'église de saint Vital*, gravure d'un lieu décoré de tableaux ; sans lettres et sans légendes

12.   *Le martyre de saint Vital*, gravure d'un tableau, lettres reprises en marge du chapitre suivant

Remarques

a)   la symétrie des séquences 2–3–4 / 10–11–12 s'articule sur une seconde correspondance 1/9 ;

b)   la jonction des deux systèmes s'effectue entre dans la séquence 8–9–10 : tableau fictif / image-lieu / gravure d'un tableau lettré renvoyant à d'autres lettres en marge du chapitre (soit un « contrat » stable entre l'écrit et l'image) ;

c)   *ce contrat reste précaire* sur l'ensemble des gravures, la stabilité du frontispice 10 restant exceptionnelle dans la série ;

d)   la gravure 5 inaugure *pratiquement* dans le rapport de l'écrit et de l'image une articulation réglée dans la gravure 10 par la médiation des lettres : expérience cruciale de la *Peinture spirituelle* comme « noviciat de l'image », elle est aussi le premier martyre du cycle.

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A Variety of Spiritual Pleasures: Anthonis Sallaert's *Glorification of the Name of Jesus*

James Clifton

A small painting on panel by Anthonis (or Antoon) Sallaert was acquired in 2006 by the Sarah Campbell Blaffer Foundation in Houston [Fig. 11.1].[1] It is a modello for a much larger painting on canvas now in the Musées royaux des Beaux-Arts in Brussels, where it is called, succinctly and accurately, *The Glorification of the Name of Jesus* [Fig. 11.2],[2] but which, as we shall see, offers much more— a veritable buffet of iconographic motifs and devotional prompts. We do not know the early history of either painting, although the Jesuit form of the Holy

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1 Oil on wood panel, 36.5 × 25.4 cm; Sarah Campbell Blaffer Foundation, Houston, 2006.8; provenance: Dufresne sale, Yver, Amsterdam, 1770, no. 94 (?); Somzée sale, Brussels, 1904, no. 587; Robert E. Mitchell, Lancaster, Texas, on loan to the Dallas Museum of Art, 1951; purchased from Jack Kilgore, New York.

2 Oil on canvas, 202 × 137 cm. On the painting, see *Musées royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique. Département d'Art Ancien. Catalogue inventaire de la peinture ancienne* (Brussels: 1984) 262 (Inv 174); Sprang S. van, "Entre réalité et fiction: *Les festivités du papegai en 1615 à Bruxelles de Denijs van Alsloot (1568?-1625/1626) et de son collaborateur Antoon Sallaert (1594–1650).* Analyse et mise en contexte d'une suite de tableaux commandée par les archiducs Albert et Isabelle", Ph.D. diss., Université Libre de Bruxelles, Faculté de Philosophie et Lettres, Section Histoire de l'Art et Achéologie, 2 vols. (Brussels: 2005/2006) I 182–184, who suggests the intervention of Sallaert's studio in the execution of the subsidiary scenes. (I am grateful to the author for sharing this work with me.) Two inferior versions have appeared on the market, both differing in details from the Brussels and Houston paintings: Sotheby's, London, sale LN8236 (23 April 1998), lot 150 (as Flemish School, 17th Century), oil on panel, 37.1 × 27.5 cm; Galerie Moderne, Brussels, sale 03–03 (18 March 2003), lot 555 (as workshop of Anthonis Sallaert), oil on canvas, 130 × 119 cm. The Houston painting differs from other Sallaert preparatory works in its support and relatively high degree of finish; see, for example, the oil-on-paper (mounted on panel) *bozzetto*, perhaps for an unexecuted engraving, of the *Infant Jesus in Glory, Surrounded by Saints* in the Musée du Louvre, Paris (30 × 20.8 cm; RF 1990–11), which shares with the Houston and Brussels paintings the iconography of the Holy Name above the Infant Christ holding a chalice, but is executed in a very sketchy grisaille. The Houston painting shows no signs of significant compositional changes in its execution, and it was probably preceded by other studies. (I am grateful to Melissa Gardner at the Museum of Fine Arts, Houston for her technical analysis of the painting.)

FIGURE 11.1   *Anthonis Sallaert*, Glorification of the Name of Jesus (*ca. 1635*). *Oil on wood, 36.5 × 254. cm. Houston, Sarah Campbell Blaffer Foundation.*

FIGURE 11.2   *Anthonis Sallaert*, Glorification of the Name of Jesus (*ca. 1635*). *Oil on canvas, 202 × 137 cm. Brussels, Musées royaux des Beaux-Arts.*

Name as the composition's focal point clearly associates it with the Society of Jesus. In the eighteenth century, the canvas hung in a side chapel, but not as an altarpiece, in the parochial church of Notre-Dame de la Chapelle in Brussels.[3] Sabine van Sprang has suggested that the painting may have been commissioned by Sallaert's cousin, also named Antoon Sallaert (1601–1665), a priest and chaplain of Saints Adrian and Sebastian at Notre-Dame de la Chapelle, with ties to the local Jesuits.[4] The artist's connections to the church were close and lifelong: Sallaert and his family lived in this parish, and the artist was baptized, married, and buried in the church.[5] Neither painting is dated, but Van Sprang dates the Brussels picture to 1634 at the earliest.[6] The two paintings do not differ iconographically and only somewhat in degree of finish: the smaller painting is fairly tightly painted, except for the narrative scenes in the upper register, which remain, however, easily recognizable.

Though little studied today, Sallaert was a skilled, prolific, and successful painter, draftsman, and designer of prints, book illustrations, and tapestries.[7]

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3   Vennet M. van der, "Le peintre bruxellois Antoine Sallaert", *Bulletin. Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique, Bruxelles* 23–29 (1974–1980) 190; Sprang, "Entre réalité et fiction" vol. I, 182. Mensaert G.P., *Le peintre amateur et curieux, ou description générale des Tableaux des plus habiles Maîtres, qui sont l'ornement des Eglises, Couvents, Abbayes, Prieurés & Cabinets particuliers dans l'étendue des Pays-Bas Autrichiens* (Brussels, P. de Bast: 1763) 45, described it as "une très-belle piece, peinte par *A. Sallaert*, qui représente l'Enfant Jesus tenant quelques instrumens de la Passion," noting that it appeared in the fourth chapel on the left, alongside "le Portement de la Croix, du dessein du même *de Clerck*." Bruyn H. de, "Anciennes et nouvelles peintures de l'église de Notre-Dame de la Chapelle à Bruxelles", *Bulletin des commissions royales d'art et d'archéologie* 18 (1879) 205–206, described it at greater length, referring to it as 'une allégorie de la passion du Sauveur', and recounted its later history; he found no trace of De Clerck's *Christ Carrying the Cross* (p. 201).

4   Sprang, "Entre réalité et fiction" I, 182–183.

5   This Gothic church was despoiled in 1580 and subsequently decorated with paintings by Brabantine artists, including Rubens, Gaspar de Crayer, and Hendrik de Clerck, and it may have been the original location of Sallaert's painting now in the Musées Royaux. On the earlier history of the church, see Moreau É. de, *Histoire de L'Église en Belgique.* Vol. IV. *L'Église aux Pays-Bas sous les ducs de Bourgogne et Charles-quint 1378–1559* (Brussels: 1949) 116, 370, 374, 382, 405, 408, 415, 429; on its later decoration, see Mensaert, *Le peintre amateur* 43–47; Descamps J.B., *Voyage pittoresque de la Flandre et du Brabant, Avec des Réflexions relativement aux Arts & quelques Gravures* (Paris, Chez Desaint, Saillant, Pissot, Durand: 1769) 45–47; Bruyn, "Anciennes et nouvelles peintures".

6   Sprang, "Entre réalité et fiction" I, 182.

7   On Sallaert, see Vennet, "Le peintre bruxellois"; Vennet M. van der, "Le peintre bruxellois Antoine Sallaert. Un choix de gravures", *Bulletin. Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique,*

Born in 1594, he was apprenticed in 1606 to Michel de Bordeau, a minor painter in Brussels, with whom Philippe de Champaigne also studied. He became a master painter in Brussels in 1613 and thereafter executed numerous commissions for the court of Albert and Isabella, the Jesuits and other religious orders, the town hall, and churches near Brussels, where he served as dean of the painters' guild. He died sometime in 1650. Much of Sallaert's extensive work for the Society of Jesus or individual Jesuits is documented through the sale of works belonging to the Jesuit colleges, which took place in Ghent, Brussels, and Antwerp in 1777.[8] Over sixty paintings by Sallaert, some painted in collaboration, are documented, but only a handful are now known. As might be expected, they consist largely of images of saints, especially Jesuits, many of which are set in landscapes.[9] Sallaert was also responsible for many of the watercolor emblems, the so-called *affixiones*, for the Jesuit College at Brussels,[10] and he designed illustrations for Jesuit meditational and catechetical books, such as Joost Andries's *Perpetua crux* (1648), Willem de Wael van Vronesteyn's *Corona sacratissimorum Iesu Christi vulnerum* (1649), and Andries's *Necessaria ad salutem scientia* (1654).

Sallaert's *Glorification of the Name of Jesus* shows a celestial vision in an opening in the clouds: the standing Christ Child with a shining halo. Christ raises his right hand in blessing and holds aloft in his left a golden cup, simultaneously the cup proffered by an angel during the Agony in the Garden (depicted in the composition at upper right) and a eucharistic chalice with which Christ

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Bruxelles 30–33 (1981–1984) 81–122; Brosens K., *A Contextual Study of Brussels Tapestry, 1670–1770: The Dye Works and Tapestry Workshop of Urbanus Leyniers* (1674–1747), Verhandelingen van de Koninklijke Vlaamse Academie van België voor Wetenschappen en Kunsten, Nieuwe reeks 13 (Brussels: 2004) 66 n. 273, 80–81, 334; Sprang S. van, "Les peintres à la cour d'Albert et Isabelle: une tentative de classification", in Vlieghe H. – Stighelen K. van der (eds.), *Sponsors of the Past. Flemish Art and Patronage 1550–1700* (Turnhout: 2005) 37; and, especially for the most accurate and complete biographical information, Sprang, "Entre réalité et fiction" I, 163–193.

8   On Sallaert's work for Jesuits, see Vennet, "Le peintre bruxellois" 193–195; Sprang, "Entre réalité et fiction" I, 184–187, 193.

9   Among the paintings sold at Antwerp, however, is a pair that suggests a traditionally meditative function: "82. Allégorie. La sainte Vierge couronnée par la sainte Trinité. Sur le devant du tableau la cour céleste et sur les nuées un concert angélique, T., 4 pi. 6 po. × 8 pi., cat. nº 107. / 83. Allégorie [...]; l'Ecce Homo environné de saints et d'anges qui tiennent les attributs de la passion, T., mêmes mesures, cat. nº 108 (Les deux tableaux Pero, 28" [florins])" (Vennet, "Le peintre bruxellois" 195).

10   Porteman K., *Emblematic Exhibitions* (affixiones) *at the Brussels Jesuit College* (1630–1685): *A Study of the Commemorative Manuscripts* (*Royal Library, Brussels*), trans. A.E.C. Simoni (Turnhout and Brussels: 1996) 39, 88–89, 92–101, 106–107, 110–11.

as priest offers himself, body and blood, in sacrifice. With his left arm, he further supports some of the *arma Christi*: his cross, the nails that held him to the cross, the column and the flail of his flagellation, the crown of thorns, the bitter-wine-soaked sponge, and the lance that pierced his side. Glowing above him in a radiant sun is the abbreviated version of his name—*IHS* (Jesus)—which is shown here surmounted by a cross and subtended by the three nails, a version typical of Jesuit insignia. The Name is in the center of a wheel of scenes from his life, which represent specifically the Seven Bleedings of Christ. The Child is flanked by two angels, one of whom invites the votary to look at the Child, while the other offers an example of devotional looking.

Sallaert's composition as a whole recalls—appropriately—a monstrance (ostensorium), with the Infant as the stem supporting the Name as the Host at the center of an aureole of solar rays, the whole held aloft by the angels, their hands covered like those of a priest handling the Eucharist. Though it most resembles a type of monstrance found in Spain rather than in the Netherlands at this period, Netherlandish monstrances eventually adopted the form, and the type may have been known to Sallaert.[11]

The iconography of the painting is neither innovative nor obscure, and the symmetrical, centralized composition adheres to long-practiced conventions of iconic imagery employed in devotional meditation. What is unusual, however, is that a single painting combines several disparate, though interrelated, devotions: the Infant Christ, the *arma Christi*, the Holy Name of Jesus, and the Seven Bleedings.

The devotions in Sallaert's composition were popular in the late Middle Ages, and they operate here as survival or revival—it is often difficult to determine which—in the context of Jesuit devotional practice and theory, suggested by the dominance of the monogram of Jesus in the composition and the particular form it takes. The composition advances an implicit image-theory in that the Christ Child as the *imago Dei*, confirmed through the

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11   Compare, for example, the radiating form of the monstrance in a Flemish print of the *Church Fathers and the Eucharist*, from ca. 1630; the undated and unsigned (and unattributed) engraving relates to Abraham Bloemaert's painting of the *Church Fathers*, engraved by Cornelis Bloemaert in 1629, but the monstrances in the two compositions differ; the unsigned engraving is dedicated by Ambrosius Druwe of the Dominican convent in Brussels to Johannes Coene, prior of the Cistercian monastery of Cambrai and Belgian vice-general of the order; see Roethlisberger M.G., *Abraham Bloemaert and His Sons: Paintings and Prints*, 2 vols. (Doornspijk: 1993), I, 304. A Dominican monstrance from Nijmegen, dated 1663, now in the Catharijneconvent in Utrecht, is comparable (Museum Catharijneconvent, StCC m00086a); see Staal C., *De monstrans, een blik op een object van het kerkelijk erfgoed* (Utrecht: 2013) 185, 195.

imposition of the Holy Name as the Incarnate Word, both sanctions images of the divine and propagates further images, both mimetic and symbolic—*imagines figuratae* that function simultaneously on the levels of the theological and the devotional.[12]

The Iconography of the Composition

According to *Luke* 2:21, on the eighth day after his birth, the Christ Child was circumcised and named Jesus, in accordance with the declaration of the annunciate angel—as the Jesuit Pierre Coton put it, 'this admirable name, which once Gabriel, veritable Messenger, carried down to us from heaven for the Child of Mary'.[13] Thus, the Holy Name was naturally associated with the circumcision, although the first known explicit representation of the two subjects together dates from 1593: the engraving by Hieronymus Wierix in the Jesuit Jerome Nadal's *Evangelicae Historiae Imagines*, as Christine Göttler has pointed out [Fig. 11.3].[14] The compositional union of the two subjects became standard in Jesuit contexts; witness a plate by Boetius A. Bolswert from Johannes Borghesius's *Vitae Passionis et Mortis Jesu Christi Domini nostri Mysteria*, of 1622, on which the titular inscription identifies the plate as both 'De circumcisione et impositione nominis Iesu' [Fig. 11.4].[15] Successive meditations were devoted to the Circumcision and Imposition of the Name of Jesus in the *Meditaciones de los mysterios de nvestra sancta fe* by the Jesuit Luis de la Puente, who explained that the name was given at the Circumcision for two reasons: first, in order to glorify him: he was circumcised in the image of a

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12   On the significance of the Incarnation for Jesuit image-theory, see the introduction to this volume, *supra*.

13   Coton Pierre, *Institvtion catholiqve ou est declareé [sic] & confermeé [sic] la verite de la foy contre les heresies et svperstitions de ce temps. Diuisee en quatre liures, qui seruent d'Antidote aux quatre de l'Institution de Jean Caluin* (Paris, Chez Claude Chappelet: 1612) 404: 'C'est ce nom admirable, / Que iadis Gabriel, / Messager veritable / Nous apporta du Ciel […]'.

14   Göttler C., "*Nomen mirificum*. Rubens' *Beschneidung Jesu* für den Hochaltar der Jesuitenkirche in Genua", in Flemming V. von (ed.), *Aspekte der Gegenreformation*, Zeitsprünge: Forschungen zur Frühen Neuzeit 1, 3/4, Sonderheft (Frankfurt am Main: 1997) 837; see also Melion W.S., "The Art of Vision in Jerome Nadal's *Adnotationes et meditationes in Evangelia*", in Nadal J., *Annotations and Meditations on the Gospels*. Vol. I. *The Infancy Narratives*, trans. and ed., Homann F.A. (Philadelphia: 2003) 82.

15   Borghesius Johannes, *Vitae Passionis et Mortis Jesu Christi Domini nostri Mysteria* (Antwerp, Apud Henricum Aertssium: 1622) plate 5, opposite p. 57.

CIRCVNCISIO CHRISTI.

Luc. ij.   Anno i.

5
vij

IHS

A. Synagoga, siue locus, vbi circunciditur
IESVS,
B. Sacerdos cum cæremonijs circuncisionis.
C. Virgo Mater dolet de vulnere filij. Do-
let Ioseph.
D. Pueri subseruientes.
E. Stella & Angelus viam Magis

demonstrant.
F. Nomen IESV: quod adorant.
G. Angeli.
H. Mortales.
I. Animæ Patrum è limbo, & quæ in
Purgatorio.
K. Maria sinu fouens filium, redit cum Ioseph.

FIGURE 11.3   *Hieronymus Wierix*, Circuncisio Christi, *engraved illustration in Jerome
Nadal's* Adnotationes et meditationes in Evangelia (*Antwerp, Martin
Nutius: 1595*) chapter 7, imago 5.

FIGURE 11.4   *Boetius A. Bolswert*, De circumcisione et impositione nominis Iesu,
                engraved illustration in Johannes Borghesius's Vitae Passionis et Mortis
                Jesu Christi Domini nostri Mysteria (*Antwerp, Henricus Aertssius: 1622*)
                plate 5, opposite p. 57.

sinner (*imagen de peccador*), but he was given a name above every other name, Jesus, through which it was understood that not only was he sinless, but that he was also the Savior of sinners and forgiver of sins; and, second, to denote that he held the name and office of Savior through the shedding of blood.[16] Sallaert conjoins the Circumcision and the Name in his *Glorification of the Name of Jesus* (the Circumcision is at the upper right), but adds further scenes that extend the narrative of Christ's salvific blood sacrifice.

The Circumcision was the first shedding of Christ's blood and thus formed part of a series with specific moments in his Passion and Crucifixion—all implicitly demonstrating the truth of the incarnation—which Sallaert shows in the wheel of vignettes surrounding the Holy Name.[17] By the sixteenth century, the number of the bleedings was generally fixed at seven, but the same narratives were not always chosen, even in the Netherlands, where the subject was engraved several times around the turn of the seventeenth century.[18]

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16   Puente Luis de la, *Meditaciones de los mysterios de nvestra sancta fe, con la practica de la oracion mental sobre ellos*, 2 vols. (Valladolid, Por Juan de Bostillo: 1605) I 389–398 (Med. XX–XXI), esp. 395–396. The work went through many editions and translations, including Latin (from 1610).

17   Cf. Puente, *Meditaciones* I 392, who, in his meditation on the Circumcision, notes that Christ bled in three places and at the hands of three types of persons: 1) circumcised by a minister of God; 2) sweating blood in the garden by himself; and 3) in the Passion at the hand of the ministers of Satan.

18   Maarten van Heemskerck devoted a series to them, engraved in 1565 by Harmen Jansz. Muller, with inscriptions by Hadrianus Junius, which were posthumously published in Junius Hadrianus, *Poëmatum* (Lyon, Ex officina Ludovici Elzevitij: 1598) 188–189: "In septem, quas vocant, Christi haemorrhagias." See Clifton J., "A Fountain Filled with Blood: Representations of Christ's Blood from the Middle Ages to the Eighteenth Century", in Bradburne J.M. (ed.), *Blood: Art, Power, Politics and Pathology* [exh. cat., Schirn Kunsthalle Frankfurt and Museum für Angewandte Kunst, Frankfurt] (Munich: 2001) 69–70; Clifton J. in Clifton J. – Melion W.S. (eds.), *Scripture for the Eyes: Bible Illustration in Netherlandish Prints of the Sixteenth Century* [exh. cat., Museum of Biblical Art] (New York: 2009) 145–146; Van Heemskerck's subjects are the Circumcision, Agony in the Garden, Flagellation, Crowning with Thorns, Christ Carrying the Cross, Christ Nailed to the Cross, and *Coup de lance*. The subjects constitute the narrative scenes of the engravings by Hieronymus Wierix after Melchior Model in *Septem Psalmi Davidici. Quos vulgo poenitentiales vocitant. Septem Redemptoris nostri sanguinis effusionum formulis illustrati hactenus nusquam reperti*, as specified in the title-plates inscription; see Melion W.S. in Clifton – Melion, *Scripture for the Eyes* 160; Melion W.S., "Penance and the Meditative *Catena* in Hieronymus Wierix's *Septem Psalmi Davidici* of 1608", in his *The Meditative Art: Studies in the Northern Devotional Print 1550–1625*, Early Modern Catholicism and the Visual Arts Series 1 (Philadelphia: 2009) 263–292; Model's subjects: Circumcision; Agony in the Garden; Flagellation; Crowning with Thorns; Disrobing of Christ; Christ Nailed to the Cross; *Coup de lance*. At an unknown date, Johannes Galle published a single-plate

Sallaert's are, from the upper right: the Circumcision; the Agony in the Garden; the Flagellation; Christ Crowned with Thorns; Christ Carrying the Cross; the Raising of the Cross (Sallaert is unusual here in not showing Christ Nailed to the Cross, but he may have been attracted to the more naturally diagonal possibility of the subject for this position in his composition); and the *Coup de lance*.[19]

The union of Infancy and Passion is inherent both in the Seven Bleedings, in which redemptive blood is shed by the child and the man, and in the Jesuit insigne, with its juxtaposition of the name given the child with his cross and the nails that penetrated his hands and feet.[20] The link between the Infant Christ and his Passion was a mainstay of late sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century iconography in the Netherlands, evident in Jesuit meditational texts, including illustrated ones such as Borghesius's *Vitae Passionis et Mortis Jesu Christi* and Joost Andries's *Perpetua crux Iesu Christi, a puncto Incarnationis ad extremum vitae*.[21] In fact, the cross, as treated by Andries, predates the

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composition in which the *Septem effvsiones sangvinis Domini nostri Iesv Christi* surround a Christ in the Winepress; see Savelsberg W. in Mai E. – Vlieghe H. (eds.), *Von Bruegel bis Rubens: Das goldene Jahrhundert der flämische Malerei* [exh. cat., Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna] (Cologne: 1993) 568; Göttler, "*Nomen mirificum*" 826; Galle's subjects are the Circumcision, Agony in the Garden, Flagellation, Crowning with Thorns, Christ Carrying the Cross, Christ Nailed to the Cross (*Crucifigitur*), and Christ on the Cross (*In cruce pendet*; rather than the *Coup de lance*).

19   Note that Sallaert may have adapted his composition of the Agony in the Garden vignette in order to illustrate an element of the Lord's Prayer in Andries Joost, *Necessaria ad salvtem scientia partim necessitate medii, partim necessitate praecepti, Per iconas quinquaginta duas Repraesentata. Quarum Ligneae Laminae gratis dantur* (Antwerp, typis Cornelii Woons, sub signo Stellae: 1654) 60.

20   The insigne also often includes Christ's pierced heart and encircling Crown of Thorns.

21   [Andries Joost], *Perpetva crvx Iesv Christi, A puncto Incarnationis ad extremum vitae: Iconibvs Quadraginta explicata, quarum ligneae laminae, gratis in bonum publicum datae* (Brussels, Typis Gvilielmi Scheybels: 1648). On the *Perpetua crux*, see Vennet, "Le peintre bruxellois Antoine Sallaert. Un choix de gravures" 99, 118; Dekoninck R., *Ad imaginem. Statuts, fonctions et usages de l'image dans la littérature spirituelle jésuite du XVIIe siècle* (Geneva: 2005) 269–270; Catellani A., "Joost Andries S.J., *La perpetua croce* (1650)", in Begheyn P. – Deprez B. – Faesen R. – Kenis L. (eds.), *Jesuit Books in the Low Countries, 1540–1773: A Selection from the Maurits Sabbe Library* (Leuven: 2009) 129–132. Some of Jegher's woodcuts were reused in [Andries Joost], *Perpetvvs gladivs reginae martyrvm ab annvntiatione vsqve ad obitvm. Septem celebriora gladij illius mysteria, iconibus ligno incisis exprimuntur, quae Gratis Dantur* (Antwerp, typis Cornelij Woons sub signo Stellae aureae: 1650). See also Sallaert's contributions to Andries, *Necessaria ad salvtem scientia*.

Incarnation: the first woodcut (by Jan Christoffel Jegher after Sallaert), labeled "Crux ab aeterno electa," depicts the Trinity with the cross [Fig. 11.5].[22]

The *arma Christi* play an important metonymic and mnemonic role in evoking the Passion, especially in single, summarizing images such as Bolswert's title-page engraving to Borghesius's *Vitae Passionis et Mortis Jesu Christi* [Fig. 11.6],[23] Sallaert's *Glorification of the Name of Jesus*, and a number of engravings by Hieronymus Wierix. In medieval works, but also occasionally in later ones, the *arma Christi* were traditionally presented as iconically isolated objects, outside of illusionistic space or narrative time, even when included in another narrative, namely, the Mass of Saint Gregory. Robert Suckale called these the 'Zeichen' form of the *arma Christi*, arguing that they served as 'mnemograms' or a kind of *aides-mémoire*.[24] More often in early-modern works, however, the *arma Christi* share a three-dimensional space with Christ, either surrounding him and thus maintaining a certain non-narrative independence, as in an engraving by Hieronymus Wierix of the Infant as Salvator Mundi [Fig. 11.7], or carried by the Infant, as in Sallaert's painting and, for example, other prints by Wierix [Fig. 11.8].[25] Thus, a proleptic and inclusive narrative of Christ's Passion is created, adumbrating especially Christ's carrying the cross on the road to Calvary—one of the Seven Bleedings in that his wounds were reopened by the strenuous labor. Yet the *arma Christi* can maintain their devotional function as prompts for the mental imaging of historical narratives

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22   Andries, *Perpetva crvx* 3: 'Ab aeterno Crux electa'.

23   The Infant Christ appears with the *arma Christi* on the title-page of a subsequent edition of the *Perpetua crux*: [Andries Joost], *Perpetva crvx sive passio Iesv Christi a pvncto incarnationis ad extremum vitae; iconibvs Quadragenis explicata; quarum ligneae laminae in bonum publicum gratis datae* (Antwerp, Typis Cornelij Woons, sub Signo Stellae aureae: 1649).

24   Suckale R., "*Arma Christi*: Überlegungen zur Zeichenhaftigkeit mittelalterlicher Andachtsbilder", *Städel-Jahrbuch* 6 (1977) 177–208; cited by Falkenburg R.L., *Joachim Patinir: Landscape as an Image of the Pilgrimage of Life*, trans. M. Hoyle, Oculi: Studies in the Arts of the Low Countries 2 (Amsterdam and Philadelphia: 1988) 39. In this form, they surround the Holy Name as low reliefs on a splendid Jesuit liturgical object: a lavabo of 1656 by the Haarlem silversmith Pieter Cornelisz. Ebbekin, now in the Catharijneconvent in Utrecht (Museum Catharijneconvent, ABM m01471); see Klaver S. – Staal C., *Schitterend: de schatkamer van Museum Catharijneconvent* (Zwolle: 2009) 62–63.

25   Ruyven-Zeman Z. van – Leesberg M., *The Wierix Family*, ed. J. van der Stock – M. Leesberg, Hollstein's Dutch & Flemish Etchings, Engravings and Woodcuts 1450–1700 59–68, 10 vols. (Rotterdam: 2004) VI (Part III) 114 (no. 534); see also the several versions of another composition by Hieronymus Wierix of *The Infant Bearing the Instruments of the Passion* (ibidem 37–40 [nos. 438–441]). For the implications for image theory of the *arma Christi*, see the comments on Emblem 60 of Jan David's *Veridicus Christianus* (1601), where the votary is invited to visualize images of these relics of Christ's suffering, in the introduction to this volume, *supra*.
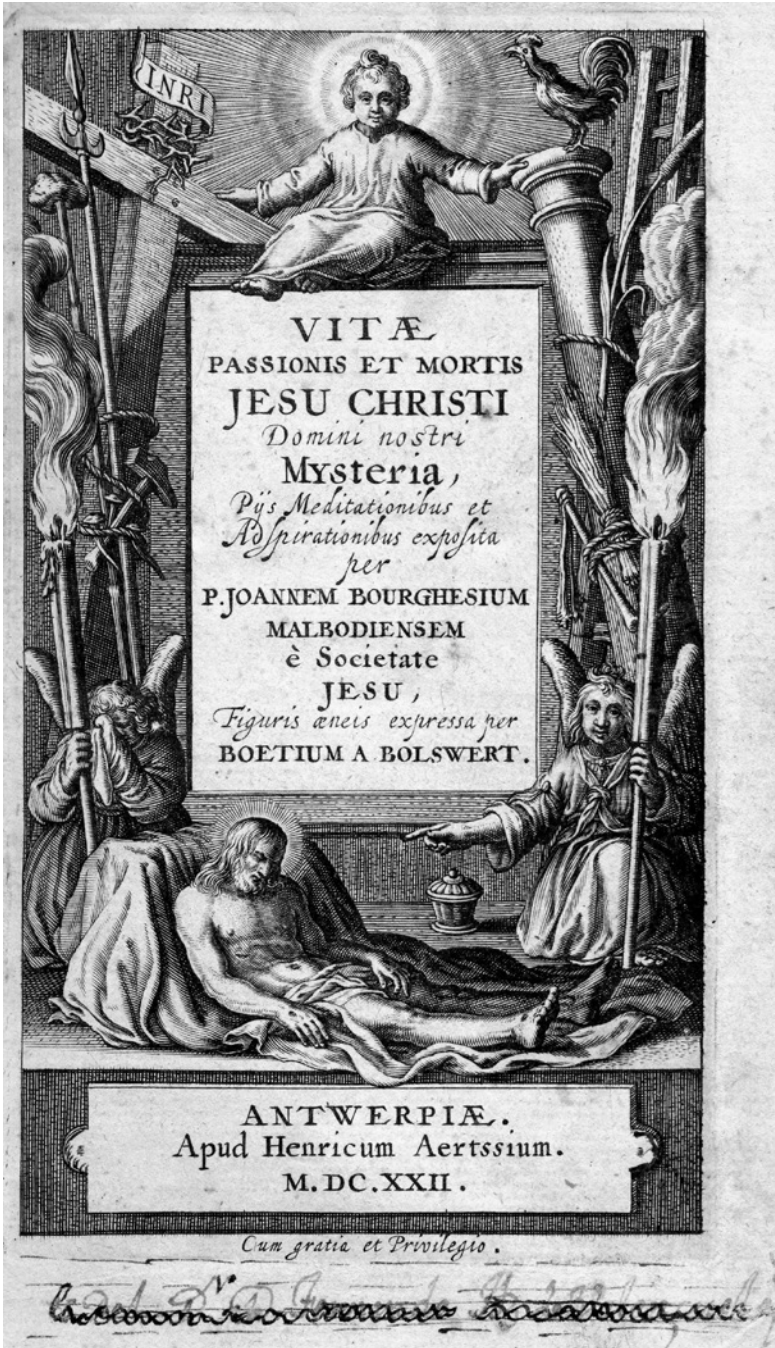
FIGURE 11.6 *Boetius A. Bolswert, engraved title-page to Johannes Borghesius,* Vitae Passionis et Mortis Jesu Christi Domini nostri Mysteria (*Antwerp, Henricus Aertssius: 1622*).

FIGURE 11.7   *Hieronymus Wierix*, The Infant as Salvator Mundi (*before 1619*). *Engraving,*
            11.4 × 7.2 cm. London, The British Museum, 1859,0709.3065.

FIGURE 11.8   *Hieronymus Wierix*, The Infant Bearing Instruments of the Passion (*before 1619*). *Engraving, 8.6 × 6.6 cm. London, The British Museum, 1880,0508.53.*

while still lying outside historical time, and in this regard one can note that Sallaert's image differs from this Wierix print in that Christ is not trudging along, his head lowered with the effort of bearing the heavy cross and the other instruments; rather, he assumes an easy contrapposto stance, facing the votary, his hand raised in a gesture of blessing, recalling, in many aspects, an engraving by Antoon II Wierix of the Christ Child with the Instruments of the Passion, in which the cruciferous Child replaces the customary cross on the 'H' in the Holy Name [Fig. 11.9].[26] Sallaert and Antoon Wierix thus effect a different compromise, a different balance in the tension, between narrative and icon, between the mimetic and the symbolic.

Christine Göttler has justly referred to the Holy Name as the '*imago agens* of Jesuit culture',[27] although, to be sure, devotion to the Holy Name long preceded its adoption by the Jesuits and was practiced as well by Dominicans, Franciscans, and others.[28] In fact, Sallaert also designed a print with a similar composition and variant iconography tailored for the use of Dominicans, who had advocated devotion to the Holy Name since the thirteenth century [Fig. 11.10].[29] Here, instead of the Seven Bleedings, are fifteen scenes from the

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26　Ibidem 25 (no. 416).

27　Göttler, "*Nomen mirificum*" 798. The Jesuits' use of Jesus's name in the name of their Society was controversial; for the objections and Jesuit justifications, see Coton, *Institvtion catholiqve* 411ff.

28　Göttler, "*Nomen mirificum*" 825. For a history of the devotion to the Holy Name into the fifteenth century, see Biasiotto P.R., *History of the Development of Devotion to the Holy Name, with a Supplement* (St. Bonaventure, New York: 1943), who sees the culmination in the development of the devotion in Saint John Capistrano and the Battle of Belgrade (1456) and scarcely mentions the Society of Jesus (see pp. 10–11, under "Later Forms of the Monogram", where he notes that the Jesuits 'did much to propagate this form of the Monogram with a cross implanted on the crossbar of the "H"', and asserts that the three nails of the crucifixion were placed below the monogram 'in order to fill the vacancy below the i—h—s' and were 'obviously the source of the interpretation "In hoc signo Vinces"'). He relates that it was Saint Ignatius of Antioch's great devotion to the Name of Jesus that inspired Ignatius of Loyola 'to call his followers the Society of Jesus, and to choose the Sacred Monogram as its insignia and its seal'. For the Jesuit perspective, see Coton, *Institvtion catholiqve* 404–14.

29　On the print, probably engraved by Pierre de Baillieu, see Vennet, "Le peintre bruxellois Antoine Sallaert. Un choix de gravures" 89, 92, 107. On the Dominicans and the devotion to the Holy Name, see Feuillet Jean Baptiste, *L'année dominicaine, ou les vies des saints, des bienheureux, des martyrs, et des autres personnes illustres ou recommandables par leur piété, de l'un & de l'autre sexe, de l'ordre des FF. Précheurs, pour tous les jours de l'année, avec un martyrologe. Janvier* (Amiens, Chez Guislain Le Bel: 1678) 1–5; Chéry Le R.P., *Manuel de la confrérie du Très-Saint Nom de Dieu et de Jésus contre les blasphémes et la violation du dimanche* (Paris: 1868).

IESV amor Angelorum: Te quis vsque sublimauit?
IESV fax Seraphinorum: Nonne Crux te quæ grauauit
     Hominum delitiæ.   Iuga per Caluariæ?

Anton. Wierx fecit et excud.

FIGURE 11.9   *Antoon II Wierix*, The Monogram of Jesus (*before 1604*). *Engraving, 10.6 × 6.8 cm.*

FIGURE 11.10   *Pierre de Baillieu* (*attr.*) *after Anthonis Sallaert*, Glorification of the Name of
Jesus (*ca. 1635*). *Engraving.*

lives of Mary and Jesus; angels bearing rosary beads appear in the upper cor-
ners; and the three nails are no longer present below the monogram of Jesus.
Instead of the angels in the lower register, we see four Dominicans who hold
out their hands to support Christ and the instruments of his Passion: saints
Dominic and Thomas Aquinas, with lily and book, respectively; at far left,
Blessed Juan Micon (d. 1555), governor of the Dominicans of Valencia; and,
at far right, Blessed Didacus a Victoria (d. 1450), of the monastery of St Paul in
Burgos, founder of the Society of the Holy Name of God, the statutes of which

were approved by Pius IV in 1564, more than a century after the *beato*'s death (this Society was later merged into the Society of the Holy Name of Jesus).[30] The fifteen scenes correspond closely not to the Mysteries of the Virgin (that is, the Mysteries of the Rosary), but to a special set of mysteries for a rosary specifically to honor the Holy Name of Jesus, compiled by Micon and approved by Pope Clement VIII in 1602 (nearly a half-century after Micon's death), who accorded eight years of indulgence to those who recited it with devotion.[31] The print is dedicated to two prominent members of the Sodality.[32]

Likewise, devotion to the Seven Bleedings, which is relatively uncommon, was not specifically Jesuit. One can point, by way of textual example, to Prayers offered for the Seven Bleedings by the Cologne secular priest, Jakob Merlo Hortius, in his popular and enduring *Paradisus Animae Christianae* (first published in 1630 but revised and enlarged in 1644), who paired each shedding with a mortal sin.[33] Use of the *arma Christi* in the post-schism period was also

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30   On Micon, see Touron A., *Histoire des hommes illustres de l'ordre de Saint Dominique….*, vol. IV (Paris, Babuty and Quillau: 1747) 489–493, 497–498; Chéry, *Manuel de la confrérie* 218–220. According to Feuillet *L'année dominicaine* 3, the statutes of the confraternity, as well as related indulgences and the Dominicans' exclusive privileges with regard to the confraternity, were confirmed or enhanced by subsequent popes: Pius V, Gregory XIII, Paul VI, and Urban VIII.

31   The subjects in Sallaert's composition, which Vennet, "Le peintre bruxellois Antoine Sallaert. Un choix de gravures" 107, called simply "quinze scènes de l'histoire de la Rédemption," are, in counter-clockwise order from the upper left, the Annunciation, Nativity, Circumcision, Christ among the Doctors, Baptism of Christ, Washing of the Feet, Agony in the Garden, Kiss of Judas, Christ Carrying the Cross, Descent into Limbo, Resurrection, Ascension, Pentecost, Christ in Glory, and Last Judgment. They vary from Micon's list, as enumerated by Feuillet, *L'année dominicaine* 4, only in that Christ among the Doctors appears here instead of Christ Preaching (before the Baptism, whereas Feuillet has the Baptism preceding Christ Preaching [N.B. Chéry, *Manuel de la confrérie* 142, lists "Recouvrement de Notre-Seigneur: Recherche de Jésus" before the Baptism and omits Christ Preaching, as in Sallaert's composition]), and Christ Carrying the Cross appears in lieu of the Crucifixion. Like the Holy Rosary, Micon's devotion also uses the Joyous, Sorrowful, and Glorious Mysteries, but differs in replacing the "Ave Maria" with "Iesu fili David, miserere mei" in the first five decades, "Iesu Nazarene Rex Iudaeorum, miserere mei" in the next five, and "Iesu fili Dei vivi, miserere mei" in the final five. See also Ponce de Leon Consalvo, *Sanctissimi nominis Dei sodalitas adversvs perivria et blasphemias* ([Rome], Ex typographia Ioa. Baptistae de Cavalleris: [1590]).

32   They are Charles Van Male and Frederick van Marsselaer; see Vennet, "Le peintre bruxellois Antoine Sallaert. Un choix de gravures" 107.

33   Merlo Hortius Jakobus, *Paradisus animae christiane, Lectissimis omnigenae Pietatis delitiis amoenus* (Cologne, Sumpt. Balth. ab Egmondt, & Sociorum: 1670) 534–35 (in Sect. VI, Cap. IV: "Rosaria & Exercitia varia Rhythmis comprehensa, de Vita ac Passione Christi",

both common and widespread, even among Protestants.[34] The cult of angels, who play a (literally) supportive role in Sallaert's composition, is, of course, not specific to the Society of Jesus, but Jesuit devotion and imagery are replete with them.[35] One might think, for example, of the engraving by Antoon Wierix that shares much in common with Sallaert's composition, including the two angels at the lower corners adoring Jesus, who is called 'love of angels' and 'light of seraphim' ('IESV amor Angelorum: / IESV fax Seraphinorum') [Fig. 11.9].

The Iconographic Mélange in Devotional Practice

In spite of their diversity, the individual devotions comprised by Sallaert's composition cohere iconographically and function together devotionally. Sallaert's *amplificatio* of devotions around the Infant Christ and the Holy Name is not unprecedented. In a series of nine engravings by Hieronymus Wierix, the Infant as cross-bearing and blessing in the title plate [Fig. 11.11] is

including prayers for the Five Wounds and the Seven Last Words). These brief prayers are followed by "Orationes variae de Passione Domini" and then a chapter entitled "Exercitia varia, ad honorem Sacrorum *quinque Vulnerum*; & septem *Effusionum Sanguinis* D.N. Iesu Christi" (ibidem, 549–65). This chapter is followed in turn by one "De cultu & honre ss. Nominis IESV" (ibidem, 565–83); still cast as prayers to Jesus (and to be said with Pater Nosters and Ave Marias), they are described as "Septem Gratiarum Actiones, Ad VII Effusiones Sanguinis Iesu Christi; Contra 7 Vitia Capitalia." See also the prints adduced above, n. 18. Note that the Jesuit Franciscus Borgia included a meditation on the Seven Bleedings in his "Tractatus IV. De praeparatione ad Sacram Eucharistiam"; Borgia Franciscus, *Opera omnia* (Brussels, Apud Franciscum Foppens, 1675) 383–384.

34   For a Protestant use, see Münch B.U., *Geteiltes Leid: Die Passion Christi in Bildern und Texten der Konfessionalisierung. Druckgraphik von der Reformation bis zu den jesuitischen Großprojekten um 1600* (Regensburg: 2009) 215–216. The Jesuit Franciscus Costerus offered the Virgin Mary as a model for contemplating the *arma Christi* in his *De vita et laudibus Deiparae Mariae Virginis* of 1588; see Melion W., "Pictorial Artifice and Catholic Devotion in Abraham Bloemaert's *Virgin of Sorrows with the Holy Face* of c. 1615", in Kessler H.L. – Wolf G. (eds.), *The Holy Face and the Paradox of Representation: Papers from a Colloquium Held at the Bibliotheca Hertziana, Rome and the Villa Spelman, Florence, 1996*, Villa Spelman Colloquia 6 (Bologna: 1998) 330.

35   See Balass G., "Five Hierarchies of Intercessors for Salvation: The Decoration of the Angels' Chapel in the Gesù", *Artibus et Historiae* no. 47 (2003) 177–208; Ciliberti S. – Jori G. (eds.), *Gli angeli custodi: storia e figure dell' 'Amico Vero'* (Turin: 2004); Pfeiffer, Heinrich, "The Iconography of the Society of Jesus", in O'Malley J.W. – Bailey G.A. (eds.), *The Jesuits and the Arts 1540–1773* (Philadelphia: 2005) 221–224; Johnson T., "Guardian Angels and the Society of Jesus", in Marshall P. – Walsham A. (eds.), *Angels in the Early Modern World* (Cambridge: 2006) 191–213.
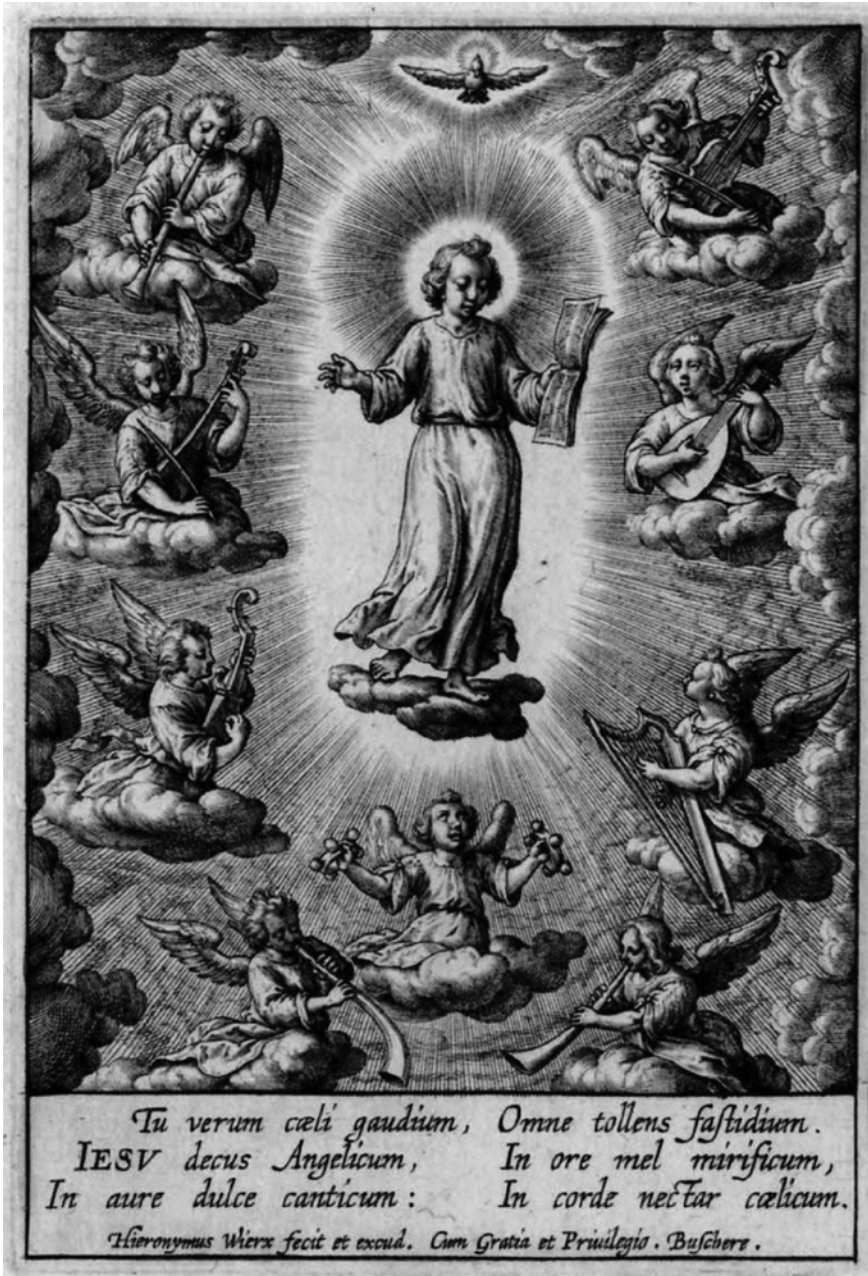
FIGURE 11.11   *Hieronymus Wierix*, The Adoration of the Infant (*before 1619*). *Engraving, 9.8 × 6.3 cm. London, The British Museum, 1859,0709.3106.*

amplified by the Infant in various roles: as 'ornament of angels' (*decus Angelicum*) [Fig. 11.12], 'crown of martyrs' (*corona Martyrum*), 'enflamer of hearts' (*inflammator cordium*), 'living font of souls' (*fons vivus animae*), and so on.[36]

I am unaware of any text—Jesuit or otherwise—that combines the particular devotions in Sallaert's composition, and such a text may well not have existed. The image itself (like Wierix's series of engravings) is capable of prompting a devotional practice, for which the votary might also use, if desired, related prayers or other written or even visual prompts available in other contexts, such as Merlo's prayers and meditations on the Seven Bleedings in the *Paradisus Animae Christianae*. There are, to be sure, texts that employ a comparable multiplicity of devotions. One might think, for example, of the Jesuit Lodewijk Makeblijde's *Den Hemelschen Handel der Devote Zielen* (*The Heavenly Trade of Devout Souls*), published in Antwerp in 1625.[37] His devotional objects are seemingly disparate but are unified in a sequence of 'courts': the royal court of God's majesty, the princely court of divine wisdom, the glorious court of the Holy Spirit, the illustrious court of Saint Anne, and on to the noble court of the sweet Name of Jesus, courts of the Passion, the Cross, and so on. Makeblijde arranges them day by day and hour by hour through the course of the week in a comfortably repeating format that leads from one meditation to another.

Sallaert's *Glorification of the Name of Jesus* does not necessarily illustrate such a structured devotional program, although it would be simple to construct one from it. Disparate though they seem, the devotions in Sallaert's composition are neither randomly chosen nor unrelated, but are conceptually linked. One might think of them as forming a circular meditative chain: thus, consideration of the Infant leads to his Holy Name, which in turn leads to the Circumcision, which leads to the Seven Bleedings, which leads to the *arma Christi*, which are here proleptically embraced by the Infant, a return to whom leads us through the circle again.

But Sallaert's composition, like most visual images, cannot be so dictatorial in prompting a specific linear reading. Rather, it presents the devotional raw matter, as it were, in a way that is peculiar to the visual medium, providing the votary with a set of interrelated devotions that are accessible simultaneously, so that they can be easily pursued in varying—and personalized—order, with each element visually present and therefore meditatively implicit in the others. Recalling both the visual and conceptual structure of the *Glossa ordinaria*

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36   Ruyven-Zeman – Leesberg, *The Wierix Family* vol. 61 (Part III) 98–104 (nos. 512–520).

37   Makeblijde Lodewijk, *Den Hemelschen Handel der Devote Zielen, vol Gheestelijcke meditatien, ghetijden, lof-sanghen, ende ghebeden* (Antwerp, Jan Cnobbaert by het Professen-huys der Societeyt IESV, in S. Peeter: 1625).

Tu verum cæli gaudium, Omne tollens faſtidium.
IESV decus Angelicum, In ore mel mirificum,
In aure dulce canticum: In corde nectar cælicum.

Hieronymus Wierx fecit et excud. Cum Gratia et Pruilegio. Buſchere.

FIGURE 11.12   *Hieronymus Wierix*, The Adoration of the Infant by Angel Musicians (*before 1619*). *Engraving, 9.8 × 6.5 cm. London, The British Museum, 1859,0709.3107.*

and a plethora of medieval and early-modern compositions, Sallaert's composition offers a central element or elements surrounded by different elements that extend, enrich, and gloss its meaning and affective potential.[38] And that central element—the Holy Name—as Pierre Coton averred, never reaches our ears and never enters our mind that we do not think of him who is—so Hermes Trismegistus concluded—a Circle whose center is everywhere, and whose circumference is outside of all.[39]

Late Medieval Survival and Revival

In its composition, Sallaert's *Glorification of the Holy Name* also recalls some devotional images from decades earlier, such as Hieronymus Wierix's engraving of the *Virgin of Sorrows* from 1581 [Fig. 11.13],[40] but those works in turn recalled late medieval images, such as a late-fifteenth-century woodcut by Georg Glockendon the Elder [Fig. 11.14]. Here, the Seven Bleedings appear in roundels, symmetrically arranged around a Man of Sorrows, with the crucified Christ, post-coup de lance, situated on top.[41] Glockendon's print includes the iconographically related imagery of the *arma Christi*, further anticipating

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38   On non-linear viewing and the analogy of the structures of *Glossa ordinaria* pages and image compositions, see Clifton J., "Modes of Scriptural Illustration: The Beatitudes in the Late Sixteenth Century", in Melion W.S. – Clifton J. – Weemans M. (eds.), *Imago Exegetica: Visual Images as Exegetical Instruments, 1400–1700*, Emory University, Lovis Corinth Colloquium IV, Intersections: Interdisciplinary Studies in Early Modern Culture 33 (Leiden and Boston: 2014) 556–557; Melion W.S., "Religious Plurality in Karel van Mander's *The Nativity Broadcast by Prophets of the Incarnation* of 1588", in Dietz F. – Morton A. – Roggen L. – Stronks E. – Vaeck M. van (eds.), *Illustrated Religious Texts in the North of Europe, 1500–1800* (Farnham, Surrey: 2014) 80–81.

39   Coton, *Institvtion catholiqve* 418: "Non qui ne rete[n]tit iamais à nos oreilles, & ne nous vient iamais en idee, que nous ne rememorions celuy quit est, . . . comme concluoit Trismegiste, Cercle dont le centre est partout, & la circonference hors du tout." The Latin is provided in Coton's margin: "Circulus cuius centrum est vbique, circumferentia nusquam" (the "nusquam" is generally translated as "nowhere," but I have translated literally from Coton's French).

40   Ruyven-Zeman – Leesberg, *The Wierix Family* vol. 62 (Part IV) 211, 213 (no. 893). On Wierix's images of the Virgin of Sorrows, see Melion, "Pictorial Artifice and Catholic Devotion" 331.

41   In this instance, the subject is out of chronological order, which otherwise reads clockwise from the Circumcision at the lower left through the Christ Nailed to the Cross at the lower right.

FIGURE 11.13   *Hieronymus Wierix*, Virgin of Sorrows (*1581*).
                Engraving. Private collection.

Sallaert's composition, but here they are interspersed among the roundels,
mnemograms characteristically floating in the non-space of the picture plane.[42]

   Sallaert's use of the wheel form, with individual scenes divided by 'spokes',
as it were (in this instance, radiating light), had been anticipated in late medi-
eval compositions, many of which Walter Gibson illustrated in connection

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42   Note that Glockendon's *arma Christi* include the knife used by the *mohel* to circumcise
      Jesus, further connecting this subject to that of the Seven Bleedings.

FIGURE 11.14   *Georg Glockendon the Elder*, The Seven Bleedings of Christ (*late fifteenth century*). *Woodcut. Munich, Staatliche Graphische Sammlung, Inv. 150384.*

with Hieronymus Bosch's *Seven Deadly Sins*.[43] Gibson pointed out that the composition of Bosch's painting evokes convex mirrors of the late medieval and early-modern periods, an evocation made manifest in Theodoor Galle's title-page to the Jesuit Jan David's *Duodecim specula* of 1610, whose central Holy Name mirror encircled by subsidiary mirrors, anticipates Sallaert's composition [Fig. 11.15].[44] Perhaps one can extend to Sallaert's invention some of the metaphorical and devotional connotations of the mirror, namely, a reflection of the viewer's moral and spiritual state, an encompassing and totalizing image (in this instance of the economy of salvation), and even God himself, reflecting his creation, including the soul of the votary.[45]

In any case, the devotions to the Infant Christ, the Holy Name of Jesus, the Seven Bleedings of Christ, and the *arma Christi* gathered for the votary in Sallaert's painting were medieval in origin, as were comparable devotions. While they may have been practiced uninterruptedly from the late Middle Ages into the early modern period, thus representing a survival of medieval forms of piety, their sixteenth- and seventeenth-century iterations may also be seen as part of a revival (and transformation) of such forms, a revival that saw, for example, the publication of the complete works of Ruusbruc in 1552, of nearly innumerable editions of the *Imitatio Christi*, of several editions of Henricus Harphius's *Theologiae mysticae*, and so on,[46] as well as the use of pre-Reformation, often number-based meditative subjects. In addition to those deployed in Sallaert's painting, one might think of the Veil of Veronica, the Sacred Heart, the Seven Sorrows of the Virgin, the Rosary with its fifteen

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43   Gibson W.S., "Hieronymus Bosch and the Mirror of Man: The Authorship and Iconography of the *Tabletop of the Seven Deadly Sins*", *Oud Holland* 87 (1973) 205–226. See also the similarly composed painting of Passion scenes on the reverse of Bosch's *Saint John the Evangelist on Patmos* in Berlin, which features scenes of the Passion (ibidem 222, fig. 13).

44   David Jan, *Dvodecim specvla Devm aliqvando videre desideranti concinnata* (Antwerp: Theodorus Gallaeus: 1610). On the *Duodecim specula*, see Dekoninck, *Ad imaginem* 347–349; Melion W.S. – Brusati C. – Enenkel K.A.E., "Introduction: Scriptural Authority in Word and Image", in Brusati C. – Enenkel K.A.E. – Melion W.S. (eds.), *The Authority of the Word: Reflecting on Image and Text in Northern Europe, 1400–1700*, Emory University, Lovis Corinth Colloquia III, Intersections: Interdisciplinary Studies in Early Modern Culture 20 (Leiden: 2012) 22–37.

45   Gibson, "Hieronymus Bosch"; see also Silver L., "God in the Details: Bosch and Judgment(s)", *The Art Bulletin* 83 (2001) 628. This is not, of course, mirror as illusion—*pace* Athanasius Kircher—but mirror as ultimate reality.

46   See Dagens J., *Bibliographie chronologique de la littérature de spiritualité et de ses sources (1501–1610)* (Paris: 1952).

FIGURE 11.15   *Theodoor Galle, engraved title-page to Jan David,* Duodecim specula
Deum aliquando videre desideranti concinnata (*Antwerp, Ioannes
Moretus: 1610*), octavo. Katholieke Universiteit Leuven, Maurits
Sabbebibliotheek.

Mysteries, the Madonna of the Rose Garden, Christ in the Winepress, the Man of Sorrows, and the Five Wounds of Christ (which were also associated with the five letters in Jesus's name).[47] The Jesuits' relation to medieval devotional practices was vexed, particularly as concerned mysticism,[48] but the iconography associated with the Order is replete with medieval subjects.[49]

Such devotions, whether old or new, speak to the diversity of forms and objects of piety available to sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Catholics, including Jesuits. In the foreword to his *Den Hemelschen Handel der Devote Zielen*, with its rich variety of meditational subjects, Makeblijde provided a justification for a devotional—and thus, in his Jesuit frame of reference, pictorial—overdetermination, noting that 'in different meditations, ultimately the same things to contemplate appear before us' ('in verscheyden meditatien, de selve dinghen om te contempleren ons voor ghehouden vvorden'). 'The delectation

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47 Makeblijde, *Den Hemelschen Handel* 213.

48 See Faesen R., "Jesuit Spirituality in the Low Countries in Dialogue with the Older Mystical Tradition", in Faesen R. – Kenis L. (eds.), *The Jesuits of the Low Countries: Identity and Impact (1540–1773). Proceedings of the International Congress at the Faculty of Theology and Religious Studies, KU Leuven (3–5 December 2009)*, Bibliotheca Ephemeridum Theologicarum Lovaniensium 251 (Leuven: 2012) 3–16. For the many editions of the *Imitatio Christi* published by Jesuits, see Habsburg M. von, *Catholic and Protestant Translations of the* Imitatio Christi*: From Late Medieval Classic to Early Modern Bestseller* (Farnham, Surrey: 2011) 179–242.

49 Anthonis Sallaert was involved with one such Jesuit project, designing the woodcuts in Wael van Vronesteyn Willem de, *Corona sacratissimorvm Iesv Christi vvlnervm. . . .* (Antwerp, Apud Vid: et Haered. Io: Cnobbari, 1649). De Wael van Vronesteyn traced the Five-Wounds devotion back to the thirteenth-century Dominican, Herman of Germany, citing also Bonaventure and his devotion to the Wounds (ibidem 21–22, 34–35). On the *Corona*, see Göttler C., "'Impressed on Paper and on Hearts': David Teniers' *Portrait of Bishop Triest* (1652) and the Virtue of the Image of Christ's Wounds", in Dekoninck R. – Guiderdoni-Bruslé (eds.), *Emblemata Sacra. Rhétorique et herméneutique du discours sacré dans la littérature en images = The Rhetoric and Hermeneutics of Illustrated Sacred Discourse* (Turnhout: 2007) 569–592. There were also earlier Jesuit precedents—both purely textual and illustrated—such as a chapter in David Jan, *Paradisvs sponsi et sponsae . . .* (Antwerp, Ex Officina Plantiniana, Apud Ioannem Moretum: 1607) 182–185 (Chap. 46: "Qvinqve vvlnera"); see also ibidem, *Veridicvs Christianvs* (Antwerp, Ex officina Plantiniana: 1601) 200–203 (Chap. 60: "Non frangi aduersis, vbi per compendia discam? Hoc lege descriptu[m] Flagris, Cruce, Sa[n]guine Christi"). See also, for example, Pinelli Luca, *Meditationi delle cinqve piaghe, et del sangve sparso da Christo negli altri Misterij della sua passione* (Milan, Per la Co[m]pagnia de Tino, e Lomazzo: 1606); Caraffa Vincenzo, *Fascetto di mirra, overo Considerationi varie sopra le Piaghe di Christo* (Vienna, Appresso Gregorio Gelbhaar: 1638). For a Jesuit manuscript *libellus* on the Five Wounds, see the essay by Walter S. Melion in this volume.

of the soul' ('de vermaeckelijcheydt des gheests'), however, is enriched rather than impoverished, because each meditation takes us to 'a different court of the Christian soul' ('eenen verscheyden hof der Christene zielen') and leads to a 'variety of spiritual pleasures' ('verscheydentheyt der gheestelijcker vvel-lusten'). It is like an artful painter, he says, who depicts a horse, now from the front, now from behind; now from the sides; standing, walking, jumping, ever revealing in new configurations the wonders of the colors and proportions of the members: same horse, different views.[50] Sallaert's painting—through the

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50   Makeblijde, *Den Hemelschen Handel der Devote Zielen* n.p. ("Vor-rede"): 'In de vvelcke ons te bemercken staet, dat al is't, dat in verscheyden meditatien, de selve dinghen om te contempleren ons voor ghehouden vvorden, daerom nochtans de vermaeckelijcheydt des gheests niet minder in dese oeffeningen vvesen sal, maer vvel meerder. Niet minder: vvant elcke meditatie houdt ons voor eenen verscheyden hof der Christene zielen, soo besonderlijck beschreve[n], als oft hy alle[n], om onsten geest in alle oeffeninghen van ons leven te vermaecken, ons moeste dienen. VVel meerder: *Ten* 1. om dat de dinghen, die in dese meditatien bemerct vvorden, soo vveerdich zijn, dat hare vvellusten onbegrijpelijck alle de crachten onser nature te boven gaen. VVaer uyt gheschiet, dat men dies te meer, dat men die overdenct, te beter oock verstaet; ende te claerder, datmen die verstaet ende begrijpt, te soeter en[de] lieflijcker smaeck dat sy ons oock gheven. *Ten* 2. om dat sy in haer alle verscheydentheyt der gheestelijcker vvellusten besluyten, die op eenen tijdt, ende op een reyse, t'samen niet en connen volcomelijck gesmaect vvorden. *Ten* 3. om dat dese dinghen op verscheyden manieren bemerct vvesende, haer oock verscheydelijck aen 'smenschens verstant thoonen, ende met nieuvve lusten hem in Godt vermaecken. Ghelijck een constich schilder, die een peerdt, dat in alles volmaeckt ende vvonderlijck schoon is, schildert, nu van voren, nu van achter, nu van ter zijden, nu staende, nu gaende, nu springhende, altijdt nieuvve vervvonderinghe heeft in de proportie sijnder leden ende coleuren, ende andere vermakelijckheydt in het schilderen: oft ghelijck eenen, die uyt lust gaet vvandelen langhs eenigen vloedt, andere vreught heeft dien siende spruyten uyt de aerde in't besluyt sijnder fonteyne; andere, siende dien vallen van eenen berch na het leeghe; andere, siende dien selven vloedt draeyen rondtom de heuvelen des berchs; andere siende dien vloeyen tusschen de groene boomen, hagen, ende bebloemde velden: Soo gheschiet het oock hier den contempleerder, die (als eene[n] schilder, in de panneele[n] der crachten sijnder ziele, verstandt, memorie ende vville, de dinghen, die hy aendachtelijck overleght, schildert ende indruckt: oft als eenen, die hem in eenighe fonteyne ende verscheyden loop sijnder vvateren verheught) na den gheest anderen lust heeft in Goddelijcke dinghen, contemplerende in Godt als in haer fonteyne; andere[n] uyt Godt vloeyende nedervvaerts in sijne creatueren; andere[n] siende die draeyen rontsom de hooveerdighe ende versteende menschen, die Godts goedertierene mildtheyt verachten; ende anderen bemerckende die di ootmoedighe herten vervullen ende vruchtbaer maken; eyndelijck anderen de selve aenschouvvende, door-loopen de lieflijcke velden des hemels, ende alle Godts Heylighen met glorie ende salicheydt verrijcken. *Ten* 4. om dat vvy, hoe dese Goddelijcke dingen van ons meer bemerckt vvorden, soo veelte meer

dual modalities of the mimetic and the symbolic, richly picturing monstrance, mirror, devotional mélange of the Infant Christ (beloved of angels), the Eucharist, the Holy Name of Jesus, the Seven Bleedings of Christ, and the *arma Christi*—likewise offers the votary a richly varied, yet ultimately consistent and unified, view of the divine Christ and his salvific sacrifice.

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oock na der ziele van alle onverstandicheydt ende sinnelijckheyt, suyverder vvorden, ende bequamer om alle gheestelijcke vvellusten (die daer in beslote[n] vvaren, ende door onsen arbeyt gheopent vvorden ende als uy-vloeyen) in hare volmaecktheyt, na den eysch onser steruelijckheydt, te smaken.

'VVel aen dan Christelijcken Leser, leght af de oude traecheydt in dinghen die uvve salicheydt aengaen, ende om uvven gheest in Gode te vernieuvven, treedt met blijder herten in den dienst uvves Godts, ende oeffeninghe deser meditatien ende Getijde[n], ende vvilt die met ghestadicheyt ghebruycken.'

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Marvels and Marbles in the Antwerp Jesuit Church: Hendrick van Balen's Stone Paintings of the *Life of the Virgin* (1621)[1]

Anna C. Knaap

In the summer of 1620, when Lady Arundel was on her way to Italy, she stopped in Antwerp to visit the Jesuit church, which was then under construction. Through her Italian secretary, Francesco Vercellini, she reported back to the surveyor-general for royal buildings in her native England, Inigo Jones, noting that she had seen the Jesuit church and found it a marvelous thing ('la trova cosa maravigliosa').[2] The newly built church, which was inaugurated in 1621, was indeed one of the most splendid buildings erected by the Jesuits north of the Alps. Described in contemporary sources as 'the marble temple', it was built in the Italian style, with extensive marble veneer applied to the architecture and ornaments. In the vaults of the side aisles and upper galleries, it also displayed a cycle of thirty-nine ceiling paintings by Peter Paul Rubens (destroyed by fire in 1718 but visible in Wilhelm von Ehrenberg's interior view) [Fig. 12.1].[3] Apart from bringing these imported building styles and materials to Antwerp, the Jesuits also introduced a new type of painting technique into the sacred space of the church that must have captured the attention of the congregation. In 1621, the Antwerp master Hendrick van Balen painted a series of eight scenes of the life of the Virgin directly onto the white and yellow marble predella of the altar frame in the side chapel dedicated to the

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1 I would like to thank Walter Melion, Karl Enenkel, and Wietse de Boer for inviting me to contribute to this volume and for their insightful comments. I am grateful to Larry Silver for reading and commenting on a draft of this paper and to Michael Putnam for translating the Latin passages into English.

2 Cited in Martin J.R., *The Ceiling Paintings for the Jesuit Church in Antwerp*, Corpus Rubenianum Ludwig Burchard 1 (London – New York: 1968) 24.

3 On Rubens's ceiling paintings see Martin, *The Ceiling Paintings* and Knaap A.C., "Seeing in Sequence: Peter Paul Rubens's Ceiling Cycle at the Jesuit Church in Antwerp", *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek* (2004) 155–195.

FIGURE 12.1   *Wilhelm von Ehrenberg*, Interior of the Jesuit Church in Antwerp (*1667*). *Oil on canvas, 118.5 × 145 cm. Brussels, Royal Museums of Fine Arts of Belgium.*
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BRUSSEL / FOTO: J. GELEYNS / RO SCAN.

Virgin [Fig. 12.2].[4] Measuring circa 64 cm in height and varying in width, these Marian scenes fully integrated the natural stone into the painted compositions. In the central episodes, the *Adoration of the Shepherds* [Fig. 12.3] and the *Adoration of the Magi* [Fig. 12.4], for example, Van Balen took advantage of the rich natural marble pattern, using the veining and the deep yellow color to suggest an outcropping of rock and the sinuous borders of a heavenly apparition. By using the intrinsic forms of natural stone as an active compositional

4   Werche B., *Hendrick van Balen* [*1575–1632*]*: Ein Antwerpener Kabinettmaler der Rubenszeit* (Turnhout: 2004) 221–222. In his account of 1763, Gerard Berbie states, 'On either side of the altar have been painted in perspective many small pieces on marble by Hendrick van Balen'; see Berbie Gerard, *Beschryvinge der bezondertste werken van de Schilder-Konste ende Beeldhouwerke* [...] *'t Antwerpen* (Antwerp, Gerard Berbie: 1763) 66.

FIGURE 12.2   *De Nole workshop, Peter Paul Rubens, Jan Lievens, and Hendrick van Balen,*
Interior of the Chapel of the Virgin (Houtappel Chapel) (1621). Marble and oil
on canvas. Antwerp, Church of St. Charles Borromeo.
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FIGURE 12.3   *Hendrick van Balen,* The Adoration of the Shepherds (*1621*). *Oil on marble, 64 × 72 cm. Antwerp, Church of St. Charles Borromeo.*
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FIGURE 12.4   *Hendrick van Balen,* The Adoration of the Magi (*1621*). *Oil on marble, 64 × 72 cm. Antwerp, Church of St. Charles Borromeo.*
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device, he blurred the boundaries between art and nature, and, more specifi-
cally, between painting and the stone media of sculpture and architecture.

Building on recent investigations into the material history of works of art,
this paper seeks to analyze the history, religious connotations, and visual effect
of Van Balen's innovative and dazzling paintings on marble.[5] As I will dem-
onstrate, Van Balen's carefully wrought paintings served two important func-
tions: first, they demonstrated his artistic skill in working with non-traditional
media and in developing a new type of painting style, which had its origin in
Italy; second, Van Balen's paintings can be viewed as meditative and rhetori-
cal works of art that visualize, to the extent this is possible, the mystery of the
Incarnation, adducing pictorial evidence of divine art-making. As exemplars of
the artist's extraordinary skill and of the wonders of divine artifice, Van Balen's
paintings functioned as instruments of persuasion, put forward by the Jesuits
in an effort to bring viewers closer to God by stirring their emotions.

Van Balen's paintings functioned in the context of the church itself, which,
like the predella, was executed in colored marble and, as such, evoked various
responses from contemporary writers. Van Balen's marble paintings also oper-
ated within the visual and textual tradition of Italian works on stone, as well as
within the culture of collecting associated with *Kunstkammers* (in Dutch, *const-
camers*), which often housed colored marbles and paintings on variegated
stones. By transposing stone paintings from the *Kunstkammer* to the realm of
the sacred, Van Balen and his Jesuit patrons turned the church interior into
a place of marvels, a *cosa maravigliosa* in the words of Lady Arundel, which
elicited the beholder's astonishment, wonder, and admiration.

Aula Celestis ('A Palace of Heaven'): The Use of Marble in the Antwerp Jesuit Church

The rich marble interior of the Jesuit church was partly destroyed in a fire in
1718, but areas of the building, including the choir and the side chapels, have
survived. Paintings of the interior by Wilhelm von Ehrenberg [Fig. 12.1] and
others, along with early descriptions, offer us an impression of the original
appearance of the church. Stepping into the nave, the visitor would have been
overwhelmed by the splendor of the church's materials and colors. The nave

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5 Lehmann A. – Scholten F. – Chapman H.P. (eds.), *Meaning in Materials: Netherlandish Art,
   1400–1800. Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek* 62 (2012); and Anderson C. – Dunlop A. –
   Smith P. (eds.), *The Matter of Art: Materials, Practices, and Cultural Logics, c. 1250–1750*
   (Manchester: 2014).

displayed two superimposed colonnades, featuring pristine white marble columns. The use of marble extended into the side aisles, where, in 1656, one hundred years after the death of Ignatius of Loyola, artisans installed a white marble revetment articulated with white marble relief sculpture, black marble moldings, and niches for the display of relics.

The most richly decorated part of the church was surely the choir. Spared by the fire, it served as the environment for Rubens's large-scale altarpieces of Ignatius of Loyola and Francis Xavier (moved to Vienna in the eighteenth century, following the suppression of the Jesuit order). The altarpiece of Ignatius, which could be alternated with the companion altarpiece of Francis Xavier through a system of pulleys, was set within a marble aedicular frame, designed by Rubens and executed by the sculptor Hans van Mildert in 1619–1621. The framework, still *in situ*, was rich in chromatic contrasts. Red marble Corinthian columns with creamy veining and white capitals accentuated the bright reds of Rubens's altarpieces, while the fine white stone statues of the Virgin and Child and angels contrasted vividly with the black marble of the crowning niche and curvilinear cornice. Likewise, the red, white, and black marble revetment of the side walls, together with the richly carved white marble communion rail, created an effect of opulence and magnificence.

A similar display of polychrome marble revetment and white and black marble altar frame could be found in the Chapel of the Virgin, which survived the 1718 fire. The chapel was added to the church in the 1620s against heavy criticism from Jesuit Superior General in Rome. Funded by the daughters of Godfried Houtappel, Maria, Anna and Christina, and their cousin Anna s' Grevens, the chapel resembles a jewel box and gives a good impression of how the rest of the interior must once have looked.[6]

Early writings on the Antwerp Jesuit church highlight the profuse use of marble, much of which was imported from Italy at very high cost.[7] The provincial of the Belgian Jesuits, for example, described the interior in a letter to Rome, following the inauguration of the church in 1621:

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6   On the patronage of the Chapel of the Virgin, see Freedberg D., *Rubens: The Life of Christ after the Passion*, Corpus Rubenianum Ludwig Burchard 7 (New York: 1984) 149–153; and Timmermans B., *Patronen van patronage in het zeventiende-eeuwse Antwerpen. Een elite als actor binnnen een kunstwereld* (Amsterdam: 2008).

7   Lock L., "Rubens and the Sculpture and Marble Decoration", in Lombaerde P. (ed.), *Innovation and Experience in Early Baroque in the Southern Netherlands: The Case of the Jesuit Church in Antwerp* (Turnhout: 2008) 155–174.

> The church interior consists entirely of marble. The marble has been either imported from Italy or quarried from our native land. That from Italy is white; ours is multicolored like jasper or for the most part black. All the columns are of white marble. [...] The support of the main altar, designed from various marbles of different colors, might be likened to some Babylonian or Persian tapestry.[8]

In this passage, the Jesuit writer is attentive not only to the source of the marbles, but also to the different types of colors and to the tapestry like-effect they generated. Early travel descriptions comment in a like manner on the origin and splendor of the marble. The Polish Prince Władisław Wasa, for instance, visited the newly-built church in 1624; his chroniclers described the church as follows:

> The Prince attended mass with the Jesuit fathers, whereby he admired not only the wonderful paintings on the altars, but also the artful style of the church. Walls and floors are executed in white and black marble from Genoa. The fathers told him that the transport from this faraway place had cost them nothing, because the marble had been shipped on Dutch commercial vessels traveling with merchandise to Genoa.[9]

The early descriptions of the church written by the Jesuits themselves highlighted the effect of marble on the viewer and interpreted the material splendor as a manifestation of the divine. In 1622, Michael Gryze, S.J., described the church in a booklet recounting the canonization feasts of Ignatius of Loyola

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8   Annual letter from Antwerp to Rome, possibly written by the Provincial of the Flemish Belgian Province, Rome Archivum Romanum S.I., Fl. B. Hist., 50. II (Anno 1621), fols. 490–492. This document, discovered by Joris Snaet, is cited in Snaet J., "Case Study. Rubens's Palazzi di Genova and the Jesuit Churches of Antwerp and Brussels", in Lombaerde P. (ed.), *The Reception of P.P. Rubens's Palazzi di Genova during the 17th century in Europe: Questions and Problems* (Turnhout: 2002) 181.

9   Schweinitz B. (ed.), *Die Reise des Kronprinzen Władisław Wasa in die Länder Westeuropas in den Jahren 1624–1625* (Munich: 1988) 114: 'S. Hoheit der Kronprinz wohnte der Messe bei den Jesuintepatres bei, wobei man nicht allein die herrlichen Gemaelde auf den Altaeren, sondern auche den kunstvollen Stil der Kirche bewunderte. Waende und Fussboden waren aus genuesischem schwarzem und weissem Marmor. Es erzaehlten uns die Patres, dass sie der Transport aus dem fernen Land nichts gekostet hatte, da man den Marmor mit der niederlaendischen Lastkaehnen, die mit Waren nach Genua gefahren waeren hergebracht haette'. I thank Danielle Filippi for this reference.

and Francis Xavier, which had been celebrated in Antwerp with great pomp.[10] The author paid particular attention to the church's polished stone and glittering materials:

> The elegance of the church's interior conforms to the grandeur of the palace of heaven. It is doubtful whether the gleam of gold seizes the eyes more than the beauty of the polished marble. For the pavement, laid with white and blue marble, is as lustrous as a mirror. Indeed the nave vault is covered throughout with golden roses that glimmer in unbroken succession between gilded borders. It might be thought a representational type for the gold of heaven.[11]

Gryze describes the richly ornamented church as an *aula celestis* ('palace of heaven'), and by using the word *rapere* ('to seize'), he highlights the profound effect that the church had on the viewer. Furthermore, he compares the polished marble to the gleam of a mirror and contrasts it to the glimmer of the gilded barrel vault, which he likens to 'the gold of heaven'.

In linking the luminous qualities of rich materials to the celestial court, the Jesuits could draw on a rich tradition of ekphrastic description of early Christian and byzantine churches. The Byzantine historian Procopius, in his sixth-century description of the Hagia Sophia, writes:

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10   Gryze Michael, *Honor S. Ignatio de Loiola Societatis Iesv fundatori et S. Francisco Xaverio Indiarum apostolo per Gregorivim XV. inter divos relatis habitvs a patribus domus professae & Collegij Soc. Iesv Antuerpiae 24. Iulij, 1622* (Antwerp, Balthasar 1 Moretus: 1622). On Gryze's description of the canonization feasts and the Jesuit church, see Thøfner M., *The Bearing of Images: Religion, Femininity and Sovereignty in the Spanish Netherlands, 1599–1635*, D.phil. dissertation, University of Sussex (1996) 119–130; Muller J., "Communication visuelle et confessionalisation à Anvers au temps de la Contre-Réforme", *Dix-Septième Siècle* 3 (2008) 441–482; and Dekoninck R., "Framing the Feast: The Meaning of Festive Devices in the Spectacle Culture of the Southern Netherlands", *Gemca: Papers in Progress* 2 (2013) 7–19.

11   Gryze, *Honor S. Ignatio* 13: 'Porro interioris aedis elegantia ad magnificentiam aulae celestis exacta. Dubium utrum magis auri splendor quam marmoris politi pulchritudo oculos rapiat. Quippe pavimentum candido ac caeruleo stratum marmore ad speculi nitorem accedit; ipse vero navis totius fornix aureis vestitus rosis, quae limbos inter inauratos ordine continuo micant, aurei caeli quoddam simulacrum credi posset'. This description also appears in the festival book printed to commemorate the triumphal entry of Cardinal Infante Ferdinand: Gevartius Jan Gaspar, *Pompa Introitus Honorii Ferdinandi Avstriaci Hispaniarvm* (Antwerp, Jan van Meurs: 1641) 170.

> The entire ceiling has been overlaid with pure gold which combines beauty with ostentation, yet the refulgence from the marble prevails, vying as it does with that of the gold. [...] one understands immediately that this work has been fashioned not by human power or skill, but by the influence of God. And so the visitor's mind is lifted up to God and floats aloft, thinking that He cannot be far way, but must love to dwell in this place which He himself has chosen.[12]

This quote bears some important resemblances to the ways in which the Jesuits ascribed powers to materials. Like Gryze, Procopius interprets the precious materials as divinely fashioned and highlights the persuasive effect of polished marbles that reflect light and interact with other media. Moreover, he compares the opulence and reflective properties of marble to those of gold, materials he identifies with heaven. Both Gryze's and Procopius's descriptions recall biblical descriptions of the heavenly Jerusalem, such as *Revelation* 21:18–19, which likewise equate precious stones, gems, and gold with the celestial: 'The wall was made of jasper, and the city of pure gold, as pure as glass. The foundations of the city walls were decorated with every kind of precious stone'.

The use of polychrome marble revetments in the design of the Jesuit church can be traced back to early Christian and Byzantine examples, such as the Hagia Sophia in Constantinople, San Vitale in Ravenna, and Santa Constanza in Rome, and to the revival of early Christian marble decoration in post-Tridentine chapels and churches, of which the Cappella Gregoriana in St. Peter in Rome is perhaps the best example.[13] In the Cappella Gregoriana, the overall polychrome cladding and decoration, installed in the 1570s at the behest of Pope Gregory XIII, served to provide a holy setting for a miraculous image of the Virgin, the Madonna del Soccorso, and the relics of the fourth-century church father Gregory of Nazianzus. Although the Jesuits drew on these earlier examples, their prolific use of marble in combination with paintings on a marble ground in the chapel of the Virgin was altogether innovative.

Bordered by white marble frames, Van Balen's eight paintings depict narratives of the life of the Virgin, distributed across the predella of the altar. Rather than being organized chronologically, the cycle presents three groupings of thematically and visually linked scenes that create alternative

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12   Cited in Mango C., *The Art of the Byzantine Empire, 312–1453: Sources and Documents* (Toronto: 1986) 76.

13   On the Cappella Gregoriana in Rome, see Ostrow S., "The Counter Reformation and the End of the Century", in Hall M. (ed.), *Rome: Artistic Centers of the Italian Renaissance* (Cambridge: 2005) 260–262.

meditative pathways for the viewer: the two rectangular panels on the side walls show two visually related scenes that depict parallel events from the early life of the Virgin and Christ—the *Presentation of the Virgin in the Temple* [Fig. 12.5] and the *Presentation of Christ in the Temple* [Fig. 12.6]. Both works, executed on white marble, show a rectilinear architectural setting, with tiled floors, rows of Tuscan columns, and colorful figures. Together they form a type of diptych that creates the outer 'wings' framing the six interior scenes. The four narrow vertical panels placed on the outer, projecting sides of the predella constitute a second subgroup. The Virgin kneeling at a prie-dieu on the left [Fig. 12.7] forms a pair with the angel of the Annunciation placed on the opposite side of the predella. The two pictures, both executed on yellow marble, share a continuous setting: an elevated floor opens onto a background filled with a heavenly cloudburst of angels and light. The two adjacent narrow panels placed perpendicular to the *Annunciation* panel, depict the *Flight into Egypt* (on the left) [Fig. 12.7] and the *Visitation* (on the right). Although they are chronologically distinct, focusing on an event before and after the birth of Christ respectively, they are visually linked through the recurrence of the yellow marble ground from which emerge the rocky outcropping and the heavenly vista. The third and final subgroup is comprised by the *Adoration of the Shepherds* [Fig. 12.3] and the *Adoration of the Magi* [Fig. 12.4], which occupy the center of the predella where they flank a small niche containing a miraculous statue of the Virgin of Scherpenheuvel.[14] Similar in size, material, subject, and composition, the two Adoration scenes display the most dramatic yellow marble striations, and Van Balen weaves them into his compositions more ingeniously than in the other scenes. In their focus on the earthly life of the Virgin and the Incarnation of Christ, these predella paintings complement the subject of the main altar by Rubens, which represented the *Assumption and Coronation of the Virgin*.[15] Hence, Van Balen's cycle can be interpreted as part of a series of interrelated themes set forth in the altar as a whole, which invited the viewer to meditate on the power and significance of the Virgin.

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14   The statue, carved from the miraculous oak tree at Scherpenheuvel, is thought to have been donated to the Jesuits by the Archdukes Albert and Isabella in 1615. On wooden statues of the Virgin embellished by precious stones in the Southern Netherlands, see Dekoninck R., "Between Denial and Exaltation: The Materials of the Miraculous Images of the Virgin in the Southern Netherlands during the Seventeenth Century", *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek* 62 (2012) 149–175.

15   Freedberg D., *Rubens* 149–153. A copy of the altarpiece is now on view in the chapel of the Virgin. Following the suppression of the Jesuit order in the Southern Netherlands, mandated by the Austrian rulers Maria Theresa and Joseph II, the original was moved to Vienna in 1776. It is now in the collection of the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna.

FIGURE 12.5   *Hendrick van Balen*, The Presentation of the Virgin in the Temple (*1621*). *Oil on*
                 marble, 63 × 137 cm. Antwerp, Church of St. Charles Borromeo.
                 © IRPA-KIK, BRUSSELS.

FIGURE 12.6   *Hendrick van Balen*, The Presentation of Christ in the Temple (*1621*). *Oil on*
                 marble, 63 × 137 cm. Antwerp, Church of St. Charles Borromeo.
                 © IRPA-KIK, BRUSSELS.

FIGURE 12.7   *Hendrick van Balen,* The Annunciation *and* The Flight into Egypt (*1621*). *Oil on marble, 63.5 × 23.5 cm and 63.5 × 23.5 cm. Antwerp, Church of St. Charles Borromeo.*

The eight marble paintings were likely executed in 1621, when Van Balen's name occurs twice in the Jesuit accounts. In an entry dated February 13, 1621, the sum of 500 guilders is listed as being owed to Van Balen.[16] In the summary of expenses for November 10, 1621, in turn, Van Balen is mentioned amongst the creditors of running debts or expenses to the sum of 334 guilders. Most likely, Van Balen was paid a portion of his salary in the intervening months separating the two entries. The two dates in the account book are consistent with the building of the chapel of the Virgin, which was erected between 1621 and 1622.

Pietre di Vari Misti (*Patterned Stones*): Descriptions of Variegated Marble

Paintings on marble support were a novelty in Southern Netherlandish church decoration. Indeed, the vogue for costly supports in stone or copper, which served as an alternative for panel and canvas, originated in Italy, where Van Balen spent part of his early career, from 1595 to 1602. Van Balen was probably trained by Adam van Noort in Antwerp before traveling to Venice and Rome.[17] Like Rubens, he established a successful painting studio after his return from Italy, taking on numerous pupils, including Anthony van Dyck. In Italy, he became part of a circle of Northern artists and humanists, including the German painters Johann Rottenhammer and Adam Elsheimer, the Flemish painters Jan Brueghel, Paul Bril, and Peter Paul Rubens, and the German professor of medicine and naturalist Johannes Faber. With the exception of Rubens, these artists specialized in small-scale cabinet pictures depicting still lifes, landscapes, and histories.

The close ties and matching styles of these Northern artists in Italy led them to collaborate on numerous paintings.[18] This was the case even after Van Balen's

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16   "Archives de la Province belge méridionale et du Luxembourg (ABML), Brussels, Fonds Droeshout", in Droeshout K., *Bouw der Kerken van Professen S.J. Antwerpen/Oncostenboeck 1614–1628*, volume 11.

17   Mander Karel van, *Schilder-Boeck* (Haarlem, Passchier van Wesbusch: 1604), fol. 295v.

18   On Hendrick van Balen's collaboration with other Flemish masters, see Komanecky M. (ed.), *Copper as Canvas. Two Centuries of Masterpiece Paintings on Copper 1575–1775* [exh. cat., Phoenix Art Museum, Phoenix] (New York – Oxford: 1999) 17–21, 155–158; Werche B., "Die Zusammenarbeit von Jan Brueghel d. Ä. und Hendrick van Balen", in Ertz K. – Nitze-Ertz C. (eds.), *Pieter Breughel der Jüngere – Jan Brueghel der Ältere. Flämische Malerei um 1600. Tradition und Fortschritt* [exh. cat., Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna; Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten, Antwerpen] (Lingen: 1997) 67–74; Honig E., "Paradise

return to Antwerp in 1602, when he became a member of the prestigious Guild of Romanists, a group of men who had visited Italy. Rottenhammer, Van Balen, and Rubens all provided figures for still lifes and landscapes painted by Jan Brueghel, and Van Balen and Brueghel contributed to the development of the so-called Madonna in Flower Garlands, of which the *Madonna in a Flower Garland* in the Ambrosiana in Milan is one of the earliest and most famous examples. Dated 1606–1607, this picture was commissioned by the Milanese Cardinal Federico Borromeo and combined a central image of the Madonna and Child painted on copper by Van Balen with a border of flowers painted on panel by Brueghel.[19]

Copper supports held a particular appeal for these Northern artists, because the smooth finish and hard surface allowed for saturated colors and a highly detailed painting style.[20] Their jewel-like paintings were especially popular with Italian collectors, such as Cardinals Benedetto Giustiniani, Francesco Maria del Monte, and Federico Borromeo.[21] Christine Göttler has recently suggested that religious paintings on copper were especially valued for their ability to stimulate devotion.[22] She writes, 'Cultivating new, more private forms of spirituality, these cardinals seemed to have been particularly responsive to the minutely painted art works and shiny colors which must have induced both aesthetic and religious delight'.[23]

While these artists worked predominantly on copper, they also experimented with stone supports. According to Vasari, the Venetian artist Sebastiano del Piombo was responsible for inventing long-lasting works on stone.[24] In his

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Regained: Rubens, Jan Brueghel, and the Sociability of Visual Thought", *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek* 55 (2004) 270–301; and Woollett A.T. – Van Suchtelen A., *Rubens and Brueghel: A Working Friendship* [exh. cat., The J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles; Royal Picture Gallery Mauritshuis, The Hague] (Zwolle: 2006) 140–165.

19 Jones P., *Federico Borromeo and the Ambrosiana: Art Patronage and Reform in Seventeenth-Century Milan* (Cambridge – New York: 1993) 84–89.

20 Bowron E.P., "A Brief History of European Oil Paintings on Copper, 1560–1775", in Komanecky (ed.), *Copper as Canvas* 9–30. Hendrick van Balen painted seventy cabinet pictures on copper, which constituted about one third of his painted works (204 in total). For Van Balen's catalogue raisonné see Werche, *Hendrick van Balen.*

21 Göttler C., "Affectionate Gifts: Rubens's Small Curiosities on Metallic Supports", in Van der Stighelen K. (ed.), *Munuscula Amicorum: Contributions on Rubens and his Colleagues in Honour of Hans Vlieghe* (Turnhout: 2006) 47–66.

22 Ibidem 53.

23 Ibidem.

24 On Sebastiano del Piombo's practice of working on stone, see Hirst M., *Sebastiano del Piombo* (Oxford: 1981) 123–126; Hessler C., "The Man on Slate: Sebastiano del Piombo's

"Life of Sebastiano del Piombo", Vasari praises these works for their durability, writing:

> The painter then introduced a new method of painting on stone which pleased people greatly, for it appeared that by this means pictures could be made eternal, and such that neither fire nor worms could harm them. Wherefore he began to paint many pictures on stone in this manner, surrounding them with ornaments of variegated kinds of stone, which, being polished formed a very beautiful setting [...].[25]

The Dutch art theorist Karel van Mander, on the other hand, discussed the use of stone in the context of depicting light and reflection. In his "Life of Jacopo Bassano", part of the *Schilder-Boeck* of 1604, he notes:

> He painted also many things for merchants who transported his works to various places. So I can remember having seen small pieces which were brought to Rome by merchants. These were night scenes of the Passion. These panels were slabs of stone (touchstone or *pietro di paragone*). In all areas where light shone from torches and lanterns, the rays of light were drawn on the black stone support with a golden pen, and varnish was added. These were very beautiful and pleasant images with armed soldiers and other figures, and the support was left unpainted in order to depict the night with the black stone.[26]

Portrait of Baccio Valori and Valori the Younger's Speech in Borghini 'Il Risposi'", *Source: Notes in the History of Art* 25 (2006) 18–22; Göttler, "Affectionate Gifts" 53; and Calvillo E., "Authoritative Copies and Divine Originals: Lucretian Metaphor, Painting on Stone, and the Problem of Originality in Michelangelo's Rome", *Renaissance Quarterly* 66 (2013) 454–508.

25   Vasari G., *Le Vite de' più eccellenti pittori, scultori e architettori nelle redazioni del 1550 e 1568*, eds. P. Barocchi – R. Bettarini, 6 vols. (Florence: 1966–1987) V, 97–98: 'Avendo poi cominciato questo pittore un nuovo modo di colorire in pietra, ciò piaceva molto a' popoli, parendo che in quel modo le pitture diventassero eterne, e che né il fuoco né i tarli potessero lor nuocere. Ondo cominciò a fare in queste pietre molte pitture, ricignendole con ornamenti d'altre pietre mischie, che, fatte lustranti, facevano accompagnatura bellissima. [...]'. Also see Vasari G., *Lives of the Painters, Sculptors and Architects*, trans. G. du C. De Vere, 2 vols. (New York – London – Toronto: 1996) II, 148–149.

26   Van Mander, *Schilder-Boeck*, fol. 180r: 'Hy wrocht oock veel voor Cooplieden, die zijn dingen in ander plaetsen vervoerden: soo dat my wel voorstaet, ghesien te hebben van hem eenige cleenachtige stucken, die te Room van een Coopman waren ghebracht: dit waren eenighe Passie stucken al op den nacht. Welcke pinneelen waren tafelkens van

In this case the artist took advantage of the natural black hue of the stone support to create the impression of a night scene.

Apart from their durability and ability to create light effects, stones possessed other inherent qualities that made them appealing to artists and collectors. Unlike copper, marbles and stones had a distinctive veined and striated appearance that was construed as a type of natural painting.[27] The finding of such accidental images in stone had a long history dating back to antiquity. Pliny the Elder, for instance, comments on miraculous appearances in stone, writing, 'A marvel is reported concerning the quarries at Paros when a single block of stone was split with wedges, the stone-workers found that there was an image of Silenus inside'.[28] In the early modern period art theorists singled out the unique patterns in stone as a means to stimulate the imagination and inventive abilities of the artist. Leonardo da Vinci, in a well-known passage on stimulating the mind of the artist, writes:

> And this is, if you look at any walls soiled with a variety of stains, or stones with variegated patterns, when you have to invent some location, you will therein be able to see a resemblance to various landscapes graced with mountains, rivers, rocks, trees, plains, great valleys and hills in many combinations. Or again you will be able to see various battles and figures darting about, strange-looking faces and costumes, and an endless number of things, which you can distill into finely-rendered forms. And what happens with regard to such walls and variegated stones is just as with

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toetsteen, en al waer lichten quamen van Fackels, Toortsen, oft schijnsels, daer waren de straelkens getrocken op den swarten steenen grondt met gouden pennekens, en op dese streken vernist wesende: het waren seer fraey aerdighe cleen bootskens, gewapende krijchsknechten, en ander figuerkens, en over al was gront ghelaten, om met den swarten steen den nacht uyt te beelden'.

27   Findlen P., "Jokes of Nature and Jokes of Knowledge: The Playfulness of Scientific Discourse in Early Modern Europe", *Renaissance Quarterly* 43 (1990) 292–331; and Weemans M., "The Smoke of Sacrifice: Anthropomorphism and Figure in Karel van Mallery's Sacrifice of Cain and Abel for Louis Richeome's Tableaux Sacrex (1601)", in Melion W.S. – Rothstein B. – Weemans M., *The Anthropormorphic Lens: Anthropomorphism, Microcosmism and Analogy in Early Modern Thought and Visual Art* (Leiden: 2015) 502, 507.

28   Pliny the Elder, *Natural History*, ed. D.E. Eichholz (Cambridge: 1962) 36. On the ekphrastic tradition of variegated marbles, see Pentcheva B., "Hagia Sophia and Multisensory Aesthetics", *Gesta* 50 (2011) 92–111; and Carruthers M., *The Experience of Beauty in the Middle Ages* (Oxford: 2013) 189–190.

the sound of bells, in whose peal you will find any name or word you care to imagine.[29]

Using the words *pietre di vari misti* ('variegated or patterned stones'), Leonardo highlights the veins and patterns of stone, which can lead the artist to distinguish the forms of landscape or even figures.

Leonardo's emphasis on finding images in stone is in keeping with the early modern delight in the artistic qualities of natural materials.[30] Indeed, Vasari and other writers praised artists who used the creative properties latent in natural objects and materials. In his "Life of Andrea del Verocchio", Vasari remarks on an ancient porphyry statue of Marsyas in the collection of Lorenzo de Medici the Elder, which the Florentine sculptor was asked to restore:

> Executed in reddish stone, [the statue was] worked by the sculptors with so much ingenuity as to appear the natural color of the flayed flesh, on which the white veins of the marble seemed the bared nerves. Originally this must have made that work appear to be a most lifelike thing (*casa vivissima*).[31]

In this case, the color and pattern of the material gives the figure an uncanny lifelikeness, mimicking the blood and veins of Marsyas's flayed body.[32]

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29   Kemp M. – Walker M., (eds.), *Leonardo on Painting: An Anthology of Writings by Leonardo da Vinci Relating to his Career as an Artist* (New Haven – London: 1989) 222: 'E questa è tu riguarderai in alcuni muri imbrattati di varie macchie o in pietre di vari misti. Se avrai a invenzionare qualche sito, potrai lì vedere similitudini di diversi paesi, ornate di montagne, fiumi, sassi, alberi, pianure grandi, valli e colli in diversi modi; ancora vi portrai vedere diverso battaglie ed atti pronti di figure strane, arie di volti ed abiti ed infiniti cose, le quali tu portrai ridurre in integra e buona forma; che interviene in simile muri e misti, come del suono delle campane, che ne' loro tocchi vi troverai ogni nome e vocabolo che tu t'immaginerai'.

30   Smith P., *The Body of the Artisan: Art and Experience in the Scientific Revolution* (Chicago – London: 2004).

31   Vasari, *Le vite de' più eccellenti pittori, scultori e architettori*, eds. Barocchi – Bettarini, III 540: 'Il quale torso antico [...] fu con tanta avvertenza giudizio lavorato che alcune vene bianche e sottili, che erano nella pietra rossa, nennero intagliate dall'artefice in luogo apunto che paiono alcuni piccolo nerbicini che nelle figure naturali quando sono scorticate si veggiono; il che doveva far parere quell'opera [...] cosa vivissima'. My translation is based on that given in Jacobs F., "(Dis)assembling: Marsyas, Michelangelo, and the Accademia del Disegno", *Art Bulletin* 84 (2002) 430.

32   For a discussion of Vasari's passage on the ancient marble fragment of Marsyas, see ibidem 426–448.

While ancient sculptors were praised for cultivating the coloristic effects of marble stone, some Renaissance artists relished the whiteness of the marble medium. Michelangelo is known to have selected marble that was *bianco et senza vene, machie et peli alcuni* ('white and without any veins, marks, or hairlines'), in the words of his stonecutter Topolino.[33] Indeed, the Florentine sculptor famously praised the purity and perfection of the Carrara marble block that he used for the *Pietà* (1497) while he lamented the 'red stains' on the face of his *Bacchus*, carved from flawed Roman marble a few years earlier. In another incident in 1516, Michelangelo abandoned a statue of the *Risen Christ* after he found a black vein running through its face.[34]

Gianlorenzo Bernini was also sensitive to the unpredictable and irregular qualities of his marble. He opted to make a second bust of *Scipione Borghese* after he discovered a flaw in the marble just above the sitter's brow. At the same time, however, he strove to overcome the monochromatic limitations of the medium. In the case of *Apollo and Daphne*, for example, he experimented with a soft patina, which over time changed color, thus giving it 'a rare softness and a color like that of flesh'.[35]

Paintings on Stone in Italy and the Netherlands

Following in the footsteps of ancient and Renaissance sculptors, painters in late sixteenth-century Italy started to exploit accidents and patterns in stone for greater artistic effect. In a small painting of the *Adoration of the Magi* (Kimbell Art Museum, Fort Worth), the Venetian painter Jacopo Bassano juxtaposed bright and saturated paint colors with the spectacular yellow patterns of green jasper, creating the impression of a night scene and a natural setting. Similarly, the Italian artist Antonio Tempesta, whose work Van Balen likely encountered in Rome, used a yellow marble support for his *Stoning of St. Stephen* [Fig. 12.8].[36] Yet in this work the ground plays a more active role. In the upper part of the

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33   Hirst M., "Michelangelo, Carrara, and the Marble of the Cardinal's Pieta", *The Burlington Magazine* 127 (1985) 152–54, 156–159.

34   Wallace W., "Michelangelo's Risen Christ", *Sixteenth Century Journal* 28 (1997) 1251–1280.

35   Fehrenbach F., "Coming Alive: Some Remarks on the Rise of 'Monochrome' Sculpture in the Renaissance", *Source: Notes in the History of Art* (2011) 47–55; and Warwick G., *Bernini: Art as Theatre* (New Haven – London: 2012) 109.

36   On Antonio Tempesta's practice of painting on stone, see Koeppe W. – Giusti A., *Art of the Royal Court: Treasures in Pietre Dure from the Palaces of Europe* [exh. cat., The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York] (New Haven – London: 2008) 174–175.

FIGURE 12.8   *Antonio Tempesta, attributed to*, The Stoning of St. Stephen (*ca. 1600*). *Oil on marble, 37.4 × 53 cm. Private Collection.*
PHOTO © SPHINX FINE ART / BRIDGEMAN IMAGES.

image, Christ and God the Father are ensconced within clouds made up of the white speckled yellow marble. The celestial scene is separated from the martyrdom below by a band of light blue paint. In the lower register the patterned lines and white spots suggest the rocky terrain, the architectural backdrop of the city of Jerusalem, and the stone that one executioner has raised above his head in order to strike the kneeling figure of St. Stephen. Moreover, unlike Bassano, Tempesta used the natural properties of the marble in his rendering of the figures and animals, as can be noted in the body of the horse at left, the tunic of the flag bearer, the skirt of the central executioner, and the costume of God the Father above. By using the marble ground to render both the backdrop and the figures, Tempesta blurred the boundaries between the medium of panel painting and that of stone relief. But he also showed that he could do more than sculptors, as he used dark shading to model his figures and create the effect of a perspectival view into the landscape.

Tempesta's innovative approach to stone supports is also evident in his *Joseph Explaining His Dream to His Brothers* (ca. 1600) [Fig. 12.9], which rep-

FIGURE 12.9   *Antonio Tempesta*, Joseph Explaining his Dreams to his Brothers (*ca. 1600*). *Oil on alabaster, 42.5 × 54.5 cm. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts. Gift of the Margaret K. Koerner and Joseph Leo Koerner family, 2012.121.*
PHOTOGRAPH © 2015 MUSEUM OF FINE ARTS, BOSTON.

resents an episode from *Genesis* 37. The youngest and favorite son of Jacob, Joseph, told his eleven brothers a dream in which the sun, moon, and stars bowed down to him. With this description, Joseph prophesied the power he would later obtain as a ruler of Egypt. Earlier depictions of this narrative, such as Raphael's fresco in the Vatican Loggia, typically portrayed Joseph and his brothers in a landscape setting.[37] Two hovering diagrams in the sky relayed the contents of his dreams. Following Raphael's earlier example, Tempesta shows a young Joseph in a landscape as he addresses his brothers. Leaning on their shepherd's crooks, the brothers listen attentively while Joseph gazes up and gestures toward the heavens. Yet instead of depicting two hovering diagrams, Tempesta utilizes a white and gray circular pattern in the upper left corner

37   Raphael's composition circulated widely through the engraving after it by Nicolas Beatrizet of 1541.

of the white alabaster to indicate the sun and the moon. Tempesta further exploits the maculated stone surface to create a star-studded sky and adds in his own hand eleven clearly visible stars. Tempesta also combines paint and exposed stone to evoke the rocky terrain of the earth below. He adds brown paint to the horizontal veins of the alabaster to create the outlines of glowing hills and a prominent rock, and uses muted earth tones to portray mountain goats, camels, horses, and a herd of sheep. The herd of sheep is outlined in brown paint, while their bodies take on the whiteness of the stone ground. Through this interaction of paint and ground throughout the entire painting, Tempesta is able to elide the boundary between earthly and spiritual zones, thus identifying the landscape as cosmic in nature and underscoring Joseph's God-given status.

The first Northern artist to use stone grounds on a large scale was the German painter Hans von Aachen. Von Aachen lived in Venice from 1574 until 1588 before entering the service of Rudolf II, the Holy Roman Emperor, who built a great *Kunstkammer* in his imperial residence in Prague. The inventory of Rudolf's collection included seventeen works on stone by Von Aachen, including two double-sided oil paintings on alabaster, entitled *Perseus Rescuing Andromeda* and *The Fall of Phaeton* respectively.[38] *Perseus Rescuing Andromeda* [Fig. 12.10] portrays Ovid's story of Andromeda, an Ethiopian princess, who was chained to a rock as a sacrifice to a sea-monster sent by Poseidon. Perseus, who instantly fell in love with Andromeda, swoops down to rescue her from the monster. Von Aachen used the veins and colors of the alabaster to suggest dominant and dramatic natural forms. He painted a strip of green land along a marble vein to articulate the border between sea and sky, and he used browns, greens, grays, and oranges to render the outcropping of Andromeda's rock. The painted forms of Perseus on his flying horse, the sea monster, and Andromeda, are in turn juxtaposed to areas of uncovered stone. The translucent white alabaster imprinted with orange lines in the upper right creates a type of turbulent mandorla around Perseus. A meandering orange vein separates this area from a gray surface of unpainted stone, which makes up the left side of the sky. For the sea, Von Aachen painted white, brown, and green highlights over the myriad translucent whites and pastels of the natural alabaster to create

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38   Seven of Von Aachen's paintings on stone in Rudolf II's collection can be identified with
      existing works. On the other ten mentioned in early sources, see DaCosta Kauffman T.,
      The School of Prague: Painting at the Court of Rudolf II (Chicago: 1988) 140, 148, 153–158,
      162; and Fusenig T. (ed.), *Hans von Aachen (1552–1615): Court Artist in Europe* [exh. cat.,
      Suermondt-Ludwig-Museum, Aachen; Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna] (Berlin –
      Munich: 2010) 198–199.

FIGURE 12.10   *Hans von Aachen*, Perseus Rescuing Andromeda (*ca. 1600*). *Oil on alabaster,*
38 × 45 cm, Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Collections Schloss Ambras.
ERICH LESSING / ART RESOURCE, NY.

the effect of undulating waters. Andromeda's right hand is silhouetted against
the sea whereas her left arm is raised and penetrates the border of the light-
filled mandorla-like cloud that contains Perseus. A vertical orange vein sub-
tly connects her outstretched fingers to Pegasus. Thus, Andromeda is literally
placed on the crossroads of various boundaries. Within the vertical structure
of the painting, she is poised on the edge of the material world of the rock and
the sea-monster below and the divine realm of Perseus above.[39] Within the
horizontal structure of the painting she is locked between the sea on the left

39   Joanna Woodall has similarly observed the role of Andromeda as connecting material and
     spiritual worlds in Joachim Wtewael's *Perseus and Andromeda*; see Woodall J., "Wtewael's
     Perseus and Andromeda: Looking for Love in Early Seventeenth-century Dutch Painting",
     in Ascott C. – Scott K. (eds.), *Manifestations of Venus* 39–68, esp. 45.

and the rock overgrown with plants on the right. This latter juxtaposition high-lights Andromeda's liminal state between life (the overgrown rock) and death (the barren, menacing waters occupied by the sea monster).

Stone supports were also used for religious subjects intended for pri-vate devotion, such as Johann Rottenhammer's *Virgin and Child with John the Baptist* [Fig. 12.11].[40] Here the purple and white quartz does not create a turbulent sky, but instead defines a backdrop as well as the purple tunic of the Virgin. By overlaying the purple stone with yellow lines to suggest drap-ery folds, Rottenhammer fully integrates the painted surface with the stone ground. Moreover, the Virgin's white skin and purple gown echo the white and purple properties of the stone background.

FIGURE 12.11   *Johann Rottenhammer*, The Virgin and Child
                and St. John *Oil on Quartz, 17.5 × 14.5 cm.*
                London, Victoria and Albert Museum.

40   Borggrefe H. et al. (eds.), *Hans Rottenhammer. Begehrt-vergessen-neu entdeckt* [exh. cat.,
      Nationalgalerie, Prague, 2008] (Munich: 2008) 91–92.

Van Balen and Rottenhammer belonged to the same circle of Northern art-
ists working in Italy in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, and it
is very likely that Van Balen gained his knowledge of painting on stone not only
from Italian artists, but also from his Northern compatriots. In the *Presentation
of the Virgin in the Temple* [Fig. 12.5], Van Balen used a white marble ground to
produce a classical architectural setting, employing the white of the stone for
the floor tiles, columns, and windows, and adding a bit of grey and brown to
add definition. The veining of the marble ground creates the natural tone and
blemishes of ancient architecture in stone. Like Von Aachen, Van Balen uses
bright coloring to portray the landscape background and figures, which were
directly inspired by Titian's *Presentation of the Virgin in the Temple*, painted for
the Scuola Grande di Santa Maria della Carità in Venice. In the corresponding
painting of the *Presentation of Christ in the Temple* [Fig. 12.6], the artist employs
darker paint for the interior to create a more dramatic contrast between the
architecture and the windows. Rather than providing a landscape view, the
windows open onto the untreated white of the marble ground. This distinctly
non-mimetic and non-naturalistic view created by the marble could have
served a symbolic function, referencing Christ's Incarnation.[41]

In the Adoration scenes, Van Balen again followed the example of Tempesta,
Von Aachen, and Rottenhammer by incorporating the striations of the yellow
marble ground within the painted scene. In the *Adoration of the Shepherds*
[Fig. 12.3], he traces the wavy lines of the marble to articulate a landscape view
containing green hills, a blue sky, and a miniature hillside town, along with a
shepherd accompanied by a herd of sheep. The light blues and greens provide
a vivid contrast with the surrounding yellow marble and the red hat of a shep-
herd placed in the foreground of the scene. The dramatic complexion of the
marble also provides the outlines for the rocky outcropping of the grotto on
the right and the cloudburst with angels up above. Here, however, Van Balen
applies brown paint to give the suggestion of a dark recessed area that is illu-
minated by the glowing light of Christ's body and by the lantern held up by one
of the older shepherds. Christ occupies the center of a group of ten shepherds
and forms the subject of their adoring gaze. The viewer is offered a privileged
view of the illuminated Christ child through an opening in the line-up of fig-
ures in the direct foreground.

In the *Adoration of the Magi* [Fig. 12.4], Van Balen adopts a similar com-
positional structure to the adjoining *Adoration of the Shepherds*. A strip of

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41   On the symbolic function of the abstract patterns of fictive marble in Marian paintings of
      the Italian Renaissance, see Didi-Huberman G., *Fra Angelico: Dissemblance and Figuration*
      (Chicago: 1995).

rocky terrain, made up of flowing yellow marble, occupies the foreground. The middle ground depicts the three Magi with their retinues offering gifts to the Virgin and Child, set against a painted landscape view on the left and a dark grotto on the right. In a particularly clever conceit, Van Balen included numerous precious stones, especially rubies, which appear on the feathered hats of members of the cortège. The top of the image reveals the irregular white and brown veins of the yellow marble, punctuated by a painted scene of angels surrounded by light and clouds. In this instance, the pattern of the marble not only provides the outlines of the rocky landscape, but also suggests the undulating movement of smoke emanating from the torches held by the black Magus and his followers in the center.

In evoking these light effects, Van Balen could draw on the famous example of Peter Paul Rubens's *Adoration of the Magi*, which he painted for the Antwerp town hall in 1609.[42] The early version of this well known work on canvas, preserved in an oil sketch on panel now in Groningen, also shows a night scene, in which the smoke and burning flames of the tapers and torches held by black attendants create a billowing pattern around the second row of figures. In both cases, the emphasis on the artificial light sources provides a poignant contrast with the divine light surrounding the Christ child. Yet Van Balen's work distinguishes itself from that of Rubens in that the smoke patterns extend into the stone veining. Indeed, Van Balen created an almost seamless transition between the lighted torches made up of sinuous paint lines and the yellow stone articulated by dark meandering lines and spots. The nebulous shapes of the stone, in turn, give way at the top to a painted cloudburst. Here Van Balen negotiated the transition between the two zones by adding in paint a bank of dark clouds, which opens up onto a light-filled space surrounded by alabaster white angels.

By alternatively exposing and concealing the figurative patterns of his marble support, Van Balen was able to transform the rigid and immalleable material of stone into the inert material of rock, the fugitive substance of smoke, and the ethereal apparition of divine light. He blended the natural substance of stone, which was thought to be the work of the hand of God, with his own

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42   Rubens's painting of the *Adoration of the Magi* has a complicated history. In 1612, three years after its completion, it was presented as a gift by the Antwerp city council to the Spanish courtier Rodrigo Calderón. During his visit to the Spanish court in 1628, Rubens expanded the work and repainted parts of the canvas, obscuring some of the followers of the black Magus. Rubens's preparatory oil sketch (Groningen) as well as various copies by other artists document the original composition.

human artifice, thus creating a novel artistic effect.[43] Ultimately, this novel technique, seemingly executed by a human working in concert with the traces of Godly artifice, proved especially suitable for evoking the ineffable presence of the divine. In other words, through the interaction of paint and stone, Van Balen was able to bridge the divide between the material and immaterial and give visual form to the spiritual and the miraculous.

Paragone and *Kunstkammers*

Besides evoking a spiritual realm, Van Balen's painted stones can also be fruitfully placed in an art theoretical context. In particular, we can see these paintings as part of the *paragone* debate, the age-old competition between the sister arts, which focused especially on the relative merits of painting and sculpture.[44] According to the proponents of sculpture, painting lacked the durability of stone statues, which, unlike most ancient paintings, had survived since antiquity. In writing that Sebastiano del Piombo was able to make pictures eternal, Vasari highlighted precisely the long-lasting quality of stone painting, which paintings on panel, canvas, and plaster supposedly lacked.

Relying on the durability of stone, Van Balen and his colleagues were nevertheless able to avoid the pitfalls associated with sculpture and relief. Thus, they eluded Leonardo's charge that statuary is unable convincingly to convey color, perspective, light and dark, atmospheric effects, and fugitive phenomena such as dust and flowing rivers. Von Aachen in his *Perseus Rescuing Andromeda* [Fig. 12.10] renders the lower scene in dark oils and utilizes the translucency and whiteness of the alabaster to depict a light-filled sky. He also ably portrays water and waves by exploiting the aquatic patterns in the stone ground. In linking marble to water, Van Aachen drew on a long-standing tradition. The Hagia Sophia, for example, displays a gray marble floor of book-matched slabs intersected by bands of green marble, which was interpreted as a frozen sea or as the

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43   On God as divine artist and creator of natural wonders see Daston L. – Park K., *Wonders and the Order of Nature 1150–1750* (Chicago: 2001) 255–301; and Melion W.S., "Prodigies of Nature, Wonders of the Hand: Political Portens and Divine Artifice in Haarlem ca. 1600", in Melion W.S. – Rothstein B. – Weemans M. (eds.), *The Anthropormorphic Lens: Anthropomorphism, Microcosmism and Analogy in Early Modern Thought and Visual Art* (Leiden: 2015) 277–322.

44   On the *paragone*, see Preimesberger R., *Paragons and Paragone: Van Eyck, Raphael, Michelangelo, Caravaggio, Bernini* (Los Angeles: 2011). On the connection between painting on stone and the *paragone*, see Hessler, "The Man on Slate" 18–22.

rivers of paradise, as Fabio Barry has noted.[45] In choosing stone over canvas or panel, then, Von Aachen showed that he, like Byzantine artists before him, was able to convincingly evoke natural phenomena such as choppy waters by using the colors, cracks, and lines inherent in the medium of stone. The productive interaction of natural and lapidary wonders with pictorial artifice fitted well within the context of the *Kunstkammer* for which Van Aachen's painting was intended. These *Kunstkammers*, as we will see, held numerous curiosities that blurred the lines between art and nature.

The stone support, however, may also be read as a commentary on the myth of Perseus itself. Indeed, the story of Perseus is permeated by allusions to stone and statues. For example, in his *Metamorophoses* Ovid compares the beautiful Andromeda with a marble statue, writing: 'As soon as Perseus, son of Abas, saw her fastened by her arms to the hard rock, he would have thought she was a marble statue, except that a light breeze stirred her hair, and warm tears ran from her eyes'.[46] Von Aachen's Andromeda likewise oscillates between a stone statue and a painted figure. For she combines a *contrapposto* pose and cool, stony colors with the warm, pink incarnate of soft flesh. Perseus was of course also known for killing the Gorgon Medusa, whose gaze could turn men into stone. Perseus was able to decapitate Medusa by turning his polished shield toward her, thus avoiding the Gorgon's petrifying stare. According to several versions of the myth, Perseus would use the decapitated head of Medusa, which retained its powers, to petrify his enemies, including Phineus, who tried to obstruct Perseus's marriage to Andromeda.[47] The inclusion of Pegasus, the horse that sprang from Medusa's decapitated head, in Von Aachen's painting, along with the depiction of the prominent shield, would have reminded the viewer of Medusa and her petrifying powers.[48]

Like Von Aachen, Van Balen is able to evoke the illusion of perspectival recession and heavenly apparitions in his Adoration scenes. He transforms the undulating patterns of the marble into a cave-like setting and opens up the background of the scene by adding a small landscape view and a heavenly cloudburst in colored paint. Moreover, all the artists discussed above enliven

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45   Barry F., "Walking on Water: Cosmic Floors in Antiquity and the Middle Ages", *The Art Bulletin* 89 (2007) 627–656.

46   Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, ed. – trans. F.J. Miller, rev. G.P. Goold, 2 vols. (Cambridge, MA: 1984), book IV, vv. 663–705.

47   For a recent discussion of the petrifying powers of Perseus/Medusa in art and poetry see Eck C.A. van, *Art, Agency and Living Presence: From the Animated Image to the Excessive Object* (Boston – Leiden, 2015) 47–49, 61–66.

48   Woodall, "Wtewael's *Perseus and Andromeda*" 47.

their hard stone supports with the chromatic brilliance of their brushes, thus overcoming the pictorial limitations of monochromatic sculpture and relief.

Beyond this art theoretical context, we may also situate Van Balen's marble paintings in the context of *Kunstkammers*. Stones and marbles were among the various *naturalia* kept alongside *artificilia* in early modern curiosity cabinets. The Dutchman Bernardus Paludanus, for example, amassed an extensive collection of *naturalia* and exotic objects in the port town of Enkhuizen, where he settled in 1585 after several years of travel throughout Europe and the Middle East.[49] When Leiden University invited Paludanus to become the new curator of the Hortus Botanicus in 1591, he was asked to bring 'all his collected rarities, including herbs, fruits, cuttings, animals, shells, minerals, earths, poisons, stones, marbles, and corals'.[50] Amongst these rarities, Paludanus kept as many as 3,400 minerals, stones, and ores.[51]

Paludanus was part of a network of early modern naturalists that included the Italian scholars Ulysse Aldrovandi in Bologna and Ferrante Imperato in Naples. Like his Italian counterparts, whose collections he had visited, Paludanus classified his collection of stones and kept them in cabinets furnished with separate drawers. An inventory of his collection was drawn up in 1592 on the occasion of a visit by Friedrich, later Duke of Würtemberg-Teck. According to this document, Paludanus had drawers full of marbles, rare stones such as agates, exotic stones from the Indies, and stones that he had brought from Jerusalem and nearby countries.[52] The same inventory reveals that he

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49   On Paludanus, see Gelder R. van, "Noordnederlandse Verzamelingen in de Zeventiende Eeuw", in Bergvelt E. et al. (eds.), *Verzamelen. Van Rariteitenkabinet tot Kunstmuseum* (Heerlen, 1993) 123–127; Jorink E., *Het 'Boeck der Natuere'. Nederlandse Geleerden en de Wonderen van Gods schepping 1575–1715* (Leiden: 2006) 267–359; Goldgar A., *Tulipmania: Money, Honor, and Knowledge in the Dutch Golden Age* (Chicago – London: 2007) 29; and Swan C., "Making Sense of Medical Collections in Early Modern Holland: The Uses of Wonder", in Smith P.H. – Schmidt B. (eds.), *Making Knowledge in Early Modern Europe: Practices, Objects, and Texts, 1400–1800* (Chicago: 2007), 199–213.

50   Van Gelder, "Noordnederlandse Verzamelingen" 125: 'met alle zijne 'tsamen vergaerde seltsaemheden, zo van cruyden, vruchten, spruytsels, gedierten, schepselen, mineralen, aerden, veninen, gesteenten, marmeren, coralen'. Paludanus ultimately declined the university's offer.

51   Jorink, *Het 'Boeck der Natuere'* 278.

52   Rathgeben Jacob – Schickhart Heinrich, *Warhaffte Beschreibung zweyer Raisen: Index rerum omnium* [. . .] *naturalium a B. Paludano collectarum* (Tübingen, Erhardo Cellio: 1603), no pagination.

had as many as forty-two types of marble and ninety-nine sorts of agates and carnelians.[53]

Paludanus's organization of unusual stones aligns with the groupings of objects outlined in the first treatise on *Kunstkammers*, the *Inscriptiones vel Tituli Theatri Amplissimi*, written by Samuel Quiccheberg in 1565.[54] In this short treatise Quiccheberg, who was born in Antwerp and employed by the ruler and collector Albrecht V of Bavaria, divided the *Kunstkammer* collection into five sections: (1) portraits of saints; (2) statues of emperors, kings, and famous men (3) natural materials; (4) tools, instruments, machines, and costumes; and (5) images of all sorts including paintings, watercolors, tapestries, and engravings. In the third section, which comprised eleven subcategories, he placed two classes of stone. One group, labeled 'gems and precious stones', included diamonds, sapphires and rubies. Quiccheberg described the second section as containing 'more distinctive stones, such as finer marble, jasper, alabaster, and the like. Similarly amongst the marble: porphyry, Dionysos, serpentine stone [ophiticum]'.[55]

The *naturalia* collections helped Paludanus and his colleagues to understand the laws of nature. At the same time, many of these curious and marvelous objects served as manifestations of God's created universe. Paludanus's fellow naturalist in Italy, Ulysse Aldrovandi, commented on the shapes and forms he found in the variegated patterns of stone. Unlike Pliny, however, Aldrovandi saw these as signifiers of the miraculous. In his description of precious stones in his *Musaeum metallicum* (published posthumously in 1648), he writes:

> Likewise Nature doesn't seem to have been granted its wish unless it has represented in marbles an image [*iconem*] of the God-bearing Virgin. In Pisa, in a marble located in the cathedral building, is to be seen portrayed an image of Mary. At Bologna also once upon a time was uncovered a white marble each of whose two middle sections showed a depiction in certain red lines of the God-bearing Virgin. […] We had a chunk of Eastern marble gleaming in its brilliance, in which is to be seen the figure

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53   Goldgar, *Tulipmania* 86.

54   Smith P., "Collecting Nature and Art: Artisans and Knowledge in the Kunstkammer", in Hanawalt A. – Kiser L. (eds.), *Engaging with Nature: Essays on the Natural World in Medieval and Early Modern Europe* (Notre Dame, Ind.: 2008) 115–136.

55   Meadow M.A. – Robertson B. (eds. – trans.), *The First Treatise on Museums: Samuel Quiccheberg's Inscriptiones, 1565* (Los Angeles: 2013) 66–67.

of a Molossian dog lying on the ground, although the hindquarters of this creature do not appear because of the shortness of the marble fragment.[56]

At around the same time that Paludanus, Imperato, Aldrovandi, and other naturalists were collecting, categorizing, and writing about precious stones, the princely collectors of Europe started to amass stones that were embellished by the brush of the artist. We have already seen that Rudolf II owned seventeen stone paintings by Von Aachen in his renowned *Kunstkammer* collection in Prague. These stone paintings complemented other works of art in the *Kunstkammer* that housed many natural objects embellished by human art—ostrich eggs, nautilus shells, or pieces of coral placed in elaborate mounts ingeniously crafted by goldsmiths.[57]

Hendrick van Balen as *Pictor Doctus*

Hendrick van Balen would have been intimately familiar with the culture of art and *naturalia* collecting as exemplified by Paludanus. As Zirka Filipczak and Bart Ramakers have pointed out, Van Balen was an artist of learning, who not only rose to the prestigious post of Dean of the Painter's Guild of St. Luke (1609–1610), but who served as Dean of the Society of Romanists (1613), and as Dean of the chamber of rhetoric, *De Violieren*, a prominent literary and dramatic society in Antwerp.[58] His membership in the Romanists and *De Violieren* attests to his status as an intellectual with humanist aspirations, whose circle of acquaintances included poets, scholars, and collectors. Portraits of the artist

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56 Ulysse Aldrovandi, *Musaeum metallicum in libros IIII distribvtvm* (Bologna, Giovanni Battista Ferroni: 1648) 761: 'Pariter Natura non videtur fuisse voti compos, nisi iconem etiam Deiparae semper Virginis in Marmoribus repraesentaverit. Namque Pisis, in marmore sito in aede Cathedrali, imago Mariae semper Virginis expressa visitur; Bononiae quoque olim dislectum fuit marmor album, cuius vtraque pars media lineis quibusdam rubris Deiparae semper Virginis effigiem referebant. [...] Habuimus frustum marmoris orientalis splendore radiantis, in quo figura Canis Molossi humi iacentis conspiciebatur, quamuis pars posterior huius animantis ob brevitatatem fragmenti marmoris non appareret'.

57 DaCosta Kaufmann T., *Court, Cloister, City: The Art and Culture of Central Europe, 1450–1800* (Chicago: 1995); Daston L. – Park K., *Wonders and the Order of Nature 1150–1750* (Chicago: 2001) 276–290; and Goldgar, *Tulipmania* 74–77.

58 Filipczak Z., *Picturing Art in Antwerp, 1550–1700* (Princeton: 1987) 25, 110; and Ramakers B., "Sophonisba's Dress: Costume, Tragedy, and Value on the Antwerp Stage (c. 1615–1630)", *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek* (2014) 298–347.

further allude to his identity as an intellectual and connoisseur. Willem van Haecht depicted Van Balen together with Rubens, Frans Snyders, Jan Wildens, the Archdukes Albert and Isabella, the Polish Prince Władisław Wasa, and other dignitaries, artists, and collectors in his portrayal of the *Art Cabinet of Cornelis van der Gheest* of 1628.[59] Moreover, Paulus Pontius's engraving after Anthony van Dyck [Fig. 12.12] shows the artist dressed in refined clothing, as

FIGURE 12.12   *Paulus Pontius after Anthony van Dyck,*
                 Portrait of Hendrick van Balen, *from* Icones
                 Principum Virorum (*1630–1645*). *Engraving,*
                 24.2 × 15.8 cm. London, British Museum.

59   Held J.S., "Artis Pictoriae Amator: An Antwerp Art Patron and his Collection", in
      Lowenthal A. (ed.), *Rubens and His Circle: Studies* (Princeton: 1982) 34–65; and Filipczak,
      Picturing Art in Antwerp 110, 114. Hendrick van Balen is shown on the far right, next to the
      painters Frans Snyders and Jan Wildens.

he confidently looks out at the viewer. Lacking the attributes of a painter, the artist is instead shown in front of an antique column with his left hand firmly placed on an antique, marble head set on the table in front of him. The elaborate dress, confident pose, and classical attributes tie this work to the genre of portraits showing collectors holding white marble antiquities, as seen, to cite one example, in Titian's *Portrait of Jacopo Strada* (Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna).

Van Balen's close affinity with the world of collecting and his knowledge of the new artistic practices, pioneered in Italy, involving unconventional painting supports, suggest that he was well aware of the varied meanings associated with patterned marble. In inserting his eight marble paintings into the walls of the Jesuit church, Van Balen drew on these traditions and innovatively joined the sacred world of the Church with the intricate world of the *Kunstkammer*.

Van Balen was certainly not the first to use marble supports for paintings to be displayed in a religious context. Artists such as Sebastiano del Piombo, Francesco Salviati, and Rubens preceded Van Balen in using different types of stone support, in particular peperino and slate, in an ecclesiastical setting.[60] Yet unlike Del Piombo, Salviati, and Rubens, Van Balen used the wavy patterns and colors of the stone support to an unprecedented degree. His great innovation was the transfer of marble pictures from the heart of *Kunstkammer* collections into the sacred realm of a church.

Artifice and the Incarnation of Christ

Hybrid works in the *Kunstkammer*, which combined the wonders of nature with the craftsmanship of the artisan, produced an aesthetic of artifice that created a sense of wonder and astonishment in the viewer. These virtuoso works, including stones that produced natural paintings, were understood in the sixteenth century as jokes or caprices of nature, as Paula Findlen has pointed out.[61] By the seventeenth century, however, works of extraordinary

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60   Sebastiano del Piombo, *Nativity*, oil on peperino, Chigi Chapel, S. Maria del Popolo, Rome. Francesco Salviati, *Adoration of the Shepherds*, 1548–50, oil on peperino, Rome, Cancelleria, Cappella del Pallio. Rubens painted the second version of the altarpiece *Madonna di Vallicella, St. Gregory the Great, and Saints* in the Chiesa Nuova, Rome, on non-reflective slate (1608), following problems with overly reflective surface of the first version. The late sixteenth and early seventeenth century also saw the rise of portable altars intended for private devotional chapels of the elite, which often featured a combination of precious stones, ebony wood, and a devotional scene on stone. See the example in the Pallavicini collection in Rome, on which, Koeppe, *Art of the Royal Court* 139–140.

61   Findlen "Nature Jokes" 292–331; and Daston – Park, *Wonders* 276–290.

workmanship started to fulfill a religious function.[62] As Walter Melion has shown, the Jesuits endorsed the use of conspicuous artifice in both art and rhetoric as an effective means to stimulate devotion in the viewer.[63] He has demonstrated, for example, that the minute tapering lines of Hieronymus Wierix's *Maria* series of 1611, dedicated to the bishop of Antwerp Johannes Malderus, exemplify the theme of pictorial artifice. According to Melion, the refined artistry reserved for religious subjects accommodates various Jesuit texts, such as Orazio Torsellino's *Lauretanaea historiae libri quinque* (*History of Our Blessed Virgin of Loreto*) (Rome 1597), which calls attention to the artifice of the House of Loreto. Both the House of Loreto and Wierix's prints of Mary figure the trope of largeness in smallness, as the prints reveal in minute lines and diminutive images the immense mystery of the Incarnation.[64] Torsellino also singles out various devotional gifts of demonstrative virtuosity, such as a golden cross, bronze panels, a silver ewer with scenes of the life of the Virgin, and a book of gold filled with images made of precious stones, that were offered by Catholic monarchs as an expression of their devotional piety.

Torsellino's text, the precious gifts, and the example of the refined prints provide a useful context for understanding Van Balen's marble images, which, like Wierix's prints, exalt the virtues of the Virgin through technical feats of artistic virtuosity. We have already seen that Gryze interpreted the marble splendor of the Antwerp Jesuit church as a reflection of the heavenly Jerusalem. Another Jesuit author writes in an annual letter to Rome of 1621, how the material splendor of the church could stimulate devotion:

> After it was brought to completion and this—one cause of amazement among others!—without notable loss or misfortune to any of the workmen, it was consecrated in a solemn rite by the most reverend D. Joannes Malderus, Bishop of Antwerp, on the eve of the Ides of September, amidst a dense crowd of faithful of all ranks, whose piety was sharpened not a little by the unusual adornment of the church and by the marbles themselves, polished like mirrors, which redoubled [the effect of] the torches and other lights.[65]

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62   Findlen "Nature Jokes" 298; and Weemans, "The Smoke of Sacrifice" 502.

63   Melion W., "Prayerful Artifice: The Fine Style as Marian Devotion in Hieronymus Wierix's Maria of ca. 1611", in Brusati C. – Enenkel K. – Melion, W.S. (eds.), *The Authority of the Word: Reflecting on Image and Text in Northern Europe, 1400–1700*, Intersections 20 (Leiden – Boston: 2012) 589–637.

64   Melion, "Prayerful Artifice" 629.

65   Annual letter from Antwerp to Rome, Rome Archivum Romanum S.I., Fl. B. Hist., 50. 11 (Anno 1621), fols. 490–492: 'Id postquam ad culmen perductum, et quidem quod inter alia

In this citation, the Jesuit author highlights in particular the unusual adorn-ment of the church ('insolens ornatus templo') as well as the marbles ('mar-mora'), which attracted a large audience and enhanced their devotional piety.

Seen within the context of the Chapel of the Virgin in the Jesuit church, which was clad with slabs of colored marble, Van Balen's painted predella would have stood out for its curious artfulness. In these works the human hand of the artist was seen to continue the work of nature, which, in turn, was inter-preted as an imprint of the hand of God. At the same time, Van Balen's works displayed an intricate and small design that replicated in minute detail the color and materials of the chapel as a whole. As such, they embody the trope of largeness in smallness that was seen as a primary characteristic of devotional artifice. Thus, Van Balen's marble curiosities can be seen to promulgate the Jesuit program of reform, which endorsed ornate styles and pictorial artifice in both visual and textual media as an effective means of stimulating devotion to the Virgin.

Van Balen's display of artifice would have especially spurred the viewer to reflect on the great mystery of the Incarnation of Christ. Already in the Byzantine period, the marble slab was considered a visual simile for the preg-nant body of the Virgin, while the veining stood for the presence of Christ.[66] As Bissera Pentcheva has pointed out, the Virgin was often associated with marble, as evidenced, for example, by Byzantine stone relief icons from the eleventh and twelfth centuries.[67] These Marian icons visually expressed the connection between the Virgin's virginal body and the white marble. Likewise, as Georges Didi-Huberman has shown, in the Renaissance period represen-tations of scenes from the life of the Virgin, such as the Annunciation, often showed the mother of Christ in an architectural setting clad with slabs of fic-tive colored marble.[68] According to Didi-Huberman, the non-figurative charac-ter of the inchoate splotches served to highlight the ineffable and unspeakable miracle of the Incarnation.

The general connection between the Virgin Mary and precious stones is also a prevalent theme in Jesuit writing, in particular in emblematic literature. The Dutch-born Jesuit Maximilian van der Sandt (Sandaeus), for example,

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multa admiratione non caret, sine cuiusquam operarum notabili damno aut infortunio est consecratum solenni ritu a Reverendissimo D. Joanne Maldero Antverpiensium Episcopo, pridie Idus Septembris celeberrimo omnium ordinum concursu, quorum pietatem non parum acuit insolens ornatus templi, ipsa speculorum instar perpolita marmora, quae faces aliaque lumina congeminabant'. Latin text quoted in Snaet, "Case Study" 182.

66   Pentcheva B., "Visual Textuality: The "Logos" as Pregnant Body and Building", *Res: Anthropology and Aesthetics* 45 (2004) 225–238, esp. 229–230.

67   Pentcheva, "Visual Textuality" 229–230.

68   Didi-Huberman G., *Fra Angelico: Dissemblance and Figuration* (Chicago: 1995) 93–111.

published an emblem book on the Virgin, entitled *Maria Gemma Mystica* in 1631, in which he likened the extraordinary qualities of the Virgin to the properties of precious stones.[69] The book, which was based on sermons given by Van der Sandt at the sodalities of Würzburg, Mainz, and Cologne, consists of seven chapters dedicated to different Marian devotions.[70] Each devotion, in turn, is linked to a particular stone: the Virgin of the Conception is compared to jasper, the Purified Virgin to carbuncle,[71] the Virgin Annunciate to emerald, the Virgin of the Visitation to agate, the Virgin of the Assumption to sapphire, and the Virgin of the Nativity to pearls. In the introduction of his book, Van der Sandt explains how the Virgin exceeds the beauty and preciosity of even the most outstanding gemstone, writing:

> The Atlantes,[72] says Solinus,[73] have one stone in which they take very great pride—they call it Hexecontalithon[74]—scattered with such different spots that sixty colors of gems are found in its small disc. Isidore also bears witness to it in his *Origines*.[75] The work is of the most brilliant nature. But more outstanding is Mary, the work of Grace, like a precious stone possessing or displaying, in her thin disc of soul and body, not sixty but the colors of countless gems. For whatever color there is, whatever brilliance, whatever beauty in any of the saints, who in number are thousands upon thousands, all this is evident in Mary, the gem of gems, all this is evident in the glorious Virgin.[76]

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69 Maximilian van der Sandt, *Maria Gemma Mystica* (Mainz, Ioann. Theobaldi Schönwetteri: 1631). On Van der Sandt, see Dekonink R. – Guiderdoni-Bruslé A. – Van Vaek M. (eds.), *Emblemata Sacra. Emblem Books from the Maurits Sabbe Library Katholieke Universiteit Leuven* (Philadelphia: 2006) 92–96; and Ralph Dekoninck's and Agnès Guiderdoni's contributions to this volume.

70 Dekoninck – Guiderdoni-Bruslé – Van Vaek M. (eds.), *Emblemata Sacra* 94.

71 A fictional red gem.

72 'A people of N. Africa', according to Glare P.G.W., *Oxford Latin Dictionary* (Oxford: 2012) 197.

73 Solinus Gauius Iulius, *Collectanea rerum memorabilium*, ed. T. Mommsen (New York: 1895) 31.

74 I.e., 'sixty (colored) stone'. Cf. also Pliny, *Historia Naturalis* 37.167.

75 Ibid. 16.12.5.

76 Sandt, "Introduction", in *Maria Gemma Mystica*, unpaginated: 'Lapidem unum habent Atlantes, inquit Solinus, quo tantum gloriantur, Hexecontalithon vocant, tam diversis notis sparsum, ut sexaginta gemmaru colores in parvo eius orbiculo deprehendantur. Cuius etiam testis est Isidorus in suis originibus. Praeclarum opus naturae, sed

This quote shows that Van der Sandt associated the variegated physical and material qualities of the stones, in particular their spots and colors, with the myriad colors of the Virgin's body and soul. Of course Van der Sandt's book was published in 1631, several years after Van Balen's paintings, but it codified ideas about the spiritual qualities of stone that must have been part of an older tradition.[77] Thus, Van Balen's choice of polychrome marble as a support for his paintings of the Life of the Virgin did not only complement the overall aesthetic of the church, but was also in keeping with devotional readings of precious stones, which understood the maculated and splendid appearance of gems and marbles as metaphors for the beauty and majesty of the Virgin and the mystery of the Incarnation.

Conclusion

As a member and a former dean of the Society of Romanists, Hendrick van Balen was responsible, together with many of his colleagues, such as Rubens and Jan Brueghel, for introducing Italian painting styles and practices into Netherlandish art at the turn of the seventeenth century. He showed himself to be conversant with the new technique of painting on stone, which had been developed in Italy by Sebastiano del Piombo, Antonio Tempesta, Jacopo Bassano, and Johannes Rottenhammer. A natural extension of his many works on copper, Van Balen's marble paintings for the Jesuit church were nevertheless unique in his own oeuvre. Prominently displayed within one of the Antwerp's most celebrated churches (only a few blocks away from his house on the Lange Nieuwstraat), the marble paintings called attention to the artist's virtuoso painting technique, revealing his skilled manipulation of a new and

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multo excellentius opus est Gratiae Mariae, qua lapis preciosus non sexaginta, sed innumerabilium gemmarum colores exili animae corporisque orbiculo continens et ostentans. Nam quicquid est coloris, quicquid est splendoris, quicquid est decoris in ullo caelitum, qui numero sunt super myriades myriadum, hoc totum eminet in Gemma Gemmarum Maria, hoc emicat in Virgine gloriosa'.

77   In linking the Virgin to gems, Van der Sandt drew on a longstanding tradition. The French Renaissance artist Jean Fouquet, for example, depicted the Virgin with an elaborate crown set with jewels and pearls and placed her on a bejeweled throne made out of onyx and agate. On Fouquet's *Madonna and Child* and the spiritual qualities of gems in Northern Renaissance art, see Buettner B.,"Precious Stones, Mineral Beings: Performative Materiality in Fifteenth-Century Nothern Art", in Anderson (ed.), *The Matter of Art* 205–222.

unconventional painting support. By adding colors to the stone and integrating them with the grain of the marble, Van Balen not only paid homage to the creative powers of God, but also imitated and even enhanced the effects of natural artifice; in addition, he challenged the supremacy of the art of sculpture. Seen within the context of the *paragone* debate, Van Balen's stone paintings demonstrate the artist's ability to evoke such pictorial effects as color, light and dark, perspective, and space, while working in the medium of stone. At the same time, Van Balen was able to achieve a great level of liveliness (*vivacità*), which was considered the ultimate aim of painters, sculptors, and architects.[78] Painting on white and yellow marbles and utilizing their intrinsic patterns, Van Balen transformed the hard material of stone into the soft appearance of skin, cloth, light, and landscape elements.

Beyond these artistic considerations, Van Balen's *Life of the Virgin* also carried religious overtones. As we have seen, these precious stone paintings had their origin in the secular context of *Kunstkammers*, which brought together numerous types of stones, along with hybrid works that combined the wonders of nature with exquisitely wrought mounts made by human hands. Within the Chapel of the Virgin in the Jesuit church, the marble paintings specifically alluded to the most wondrous of all God's works, the mystery of the Incarnation. They operated both as tools of persuasion and meditation, their iconography, artifice, and costly materials prompting the votary to dwell on this great mystery. Thus Van Balen was able not only to proclaim his own artistry, but also to conform to the needs of the Jesuits, who aimed at persuading members of the community of the centrality of Virgin within the history of salvation and the spiritual life of Antwerp.

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78   On the concept of enlivenment in the early modern period, see Fehrenbach F., "Calor nativus – Color vitale. Prolegomena zu einer Ästhetik des 'Lebendigen Bildes' in der frühen Neuzeit", in Pfisterer U. – Seidel M. (eds.), *Visuelle Topoi. Erfindung und tradiertes Wissen in den Künsten der italienischen Renaissance* (Berlin – Munich: 2003) 151–170; and Jacobs F., *The Living Image in Renaissance Art* (Cambridge: 2005).

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The *Simulacra Avorum* in Jesuit Latin Poems by Wallius and Carrara: From Virgilian Imitation to Scholastic Philosophy and Art Theory

Aline Smeesters

In a famous scene in Book 6 of the *Aeneid* (VI, 756–887), Virgil allowed his readers to visualize, together with Aeneas and his father Anchises, the whole line of Roman rulers down to Marcellus, the nephew of Augustus. This masterpiece of *enargeia*, underpinned by the ancient (and, from a Christian point of view, problematic) theory of the pre-existence of souls, was adapted in a number of interesting ways by certain Jesuit authors within a very precise generic frame: the genethliac allegorical poem in Latin hexameters. The two poems I will present in this article (by the Jesuits Jacobus Wallius and Ubertino Carrara), dating 1652 and 1678, give us striking examples of the way Jesuit classical and poetical *imitatio* dealt with underlying philosophical and theological points, that also relate to art theory.

Jesuit Genethliac Tradition

The large amount of Neo-Latin poetry produced by members of the Society of Jesus includes an interesting and little-studied tradition of genethliac poems; that is, poems composed to celebrate the birth of children[1]—in the Jesuits' case, usually the heirs of ruling or high-ranking Catholic families. The function of these texts is mainly encomiastic, and their two most common features, in conformity with Julius Caesar Scaliger's instructions,[2] are the prediction of a

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1   On genethliac poetry, I allow myself to refer to my monograph: Smeesters A., *Aux rives de la lumière. La poésie de la naissance chez les auteurs néo-latins des anciens Pays-Bas entre la fin du XVe siècle et le milieu du XVIIe siècle*, Supplementa Humanistica Lovaniensia 29 (Leuven: 2011).

2   Scaliger Julius Caesar, *Poetices libri septem* (Lyon, A. Vincentius: 1561) 155–156, liber III, caput CII [= CI]: *Oaristys, genethliacum*. Modern edition: Scaliger Julius Caesar, *Poetices libri septem. Sieben Bücher über die Dichtkunst*, eds. L. Deitz – G. Vogt-Spira, 5 vols. (Stuttgart – Bad Cannstatt: 1995) III, 100–105. On this particular chapter, see Smeesters A., "Le poème

glorious future for the child, and the praise of the glorious past of its family. The Latin language allowed for an international audience: the locally produced poems were potentially addressed to all of Catholic Europe; and professors from the *Collegio Romano* composed, performed and published verses for the birth of almost all European Catholic princely heirs.[3] Since the goal was to unite people in common rejoicing, the texts may be expected to offer uncontroversial representations. The poems may have various forms; one of the most popular is the long poem in hexameters, totalling several hundred verses, and developing the praise of the family and prediction for the child within a narrative and often allegorical frame.

To build those stories, the poets mainly drew from the literary tradition—making sure, if necessary, that their accounts were in line with the Catholic faith. Of course, not every detail was expected to be theologically irreproachable: this would have been impossible, and anyway the Muses were allowed a certain freedom. There are even mythological Gods wandering in Jesuit poetry, which was fine as long as they were taken as allegories. But the general lines had to be Christian: for example, the Jesuits would never have shown souls reincarnating. We might say that the story had to remain within the borders of the 'theologically correct for a large cultivated Catholic audience'. The word 'cultivated' here is important: the audience for Neo-Latin poetry had, by definition, a good literary training, and the capacity to balance poetic licence and religious truth. It was nevertheless a theologically well-informed audience: we

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généthliaque selon les Scaliger, père et fils", *Eidôlon* 112 (2015) 333–349. Scaliger writes: '[Genethliaci] duo [...] primaria capita: alterum a maioribus, alterum a spe ipsius infantis' ('A genethliac has two main themes, the one deriving from the ancestors, the other from the hope given by the child itself'). All translations of Neo-Latin texts are mine, unless otherwise stated.

3 Villoslada R.G., *Storia del Collegio Romano dal suo inizio (1551) alla soppressione della Compagnia di Gesù (1773)*, Analecta Gregoriana 66 (Rome: 1954) 264, 284–296. Comparing the indications given by Villoslada with the *Bibliothèque de la Compagnie de Jésus* by Sommervogel, we can assume that the main genethliac poems recited in the *Collegio Romano* during the seventeenth century are those by Diego Centurioni for the son of Philip III of Spain (1605), by Guglielmo Dondini, S.J. for the French Dauphin (1638), by Annibale Adami, S.J. and Giovanni Luccari, S.J. for the son of Philip IV (1658), by Carlo Bovio S.J. and Gian Lorenzo Lucchesini S.J. for the son of Louis XIV (1662), by Carlo Bovio, S.J., Ottavio Cattaneo, S.J. and maybe also Gian Lorenzo Lucchesini, S.J. for the son of the king of Spain (1662), by Giovanni Luccari, S.J. for the son of the Emperor (1668), by Ubertino Carrara, S.J. and Carlo d'Aquino, S.J. for another son of the Emperor Leopold I (1678), by Carlo d'Aquino, S.J. for the son of the English king (1688), and finally by Giuseppe Ignazio Chiaberge, S.J. for the heir of Savoy (1699). Only the poem from 1668 apparently remained in manuscript.

know for example that the genethliac poems read in the *Collegio Romano* for the birth of princes attracted 'gran numero di prelatura'.[4] So we may expect a certain degree of convergence between, on the one hand, the allegorical content of Jesuit genethliac poems, and on the other hand, the philosophical and theological doctrine taught at the same time in the Jesuit universities, and notably at the *Collegio Romano*, which followed the neo-scholastic tradition (at that time the reference philosophy of the Society and, more generally, of European universities). Much research remains to be done to understand better how poetic discourse and religious dogmas were combined, what kind of approximations were acceptable or not, what were the borders of the 'theologically correct' and if and how they varied over time.

A Tempting Model: Virgil, *Aeneid*, VI, 756–887

Looking into classical literature for famous descriptions of dynastic lines, the Jesuits could not but consider Book 6 of Virgil's *Aeneid*, where Aeneas, having been admitted alive into the underworld, meets his father Anchises, who shows him the souls of his future descendants, 'illustris animas nostrumque in nomen ituras' (l. 758: 'glorious souls waiting to inherit our name').[5] Anchises successively draws Aeneas' attention to various figures: 'ille vides […] juvenis' (l. 760: 'the youth you see'); 'proximus ille' (l. 767: 'he next'); 'huc geminas nunc flecte acies' (l. 788: 'turn hither now your two-eyed gaze'). Anchises then comes to the soul of the future Augustus Caesar: 'hic vir, hic est, tibi quem promitti saepius audis' (l. 791: 'and this in truth is he whom you so often hear promised you'). A little later, Aeneas is struck by the vision of a young man, 'egregium forma juvenem et fulgentibus armis / sed frons laeta parum et dejecto lumina vultu' (l. 861–862: 'a youth of passing beauty in resplendent arms, but with joyless mien and eyes downcast'), and he questions his father: 'Quis, pater, ille […]? […] Quantum instar in ipso! / Sed nox atra caput tristi circumvolat umbra' (l. 863 and 865–6: 'Who, father, is he […]? […] What majesty is his! But death's dark shadow flickers mournfully about his head'). Anchises answers with sorrow that this young man will cause a bitter grief to the Roman people:

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4   Villoslada, *Storia del Collegio Romano* 286, 288 (quoting from: Arch. Univ. Greg., ms 142—*Origine del Collegio Romano e suoi progressi*).

5   I use the English translation by Fairclough, revised by Goold, in the Loeb edition: Vergil, *Eclogues. Georgics. Aeneid I–VI*, with an English translation by H. Rushton Fairclough revised by G.P. Goold (Cambridge, Mass.: 1999).

'ostendent terris hunc tantum fata neque ultra / esse sinent' (l. 869–70: 'only a glimpse of him will fate give earth nor suffer him to stay long'); but 'nec puer Iliaca quisquam de gente Latinos / in tantum spe tollet avos, nec Romula quondam / ullo se tantum tellus jactabit alumno' (l. 875–7: 'no youth of Trojan stock will ever raise his Latin ancestry so high in hope nor the land of Romulus ever boast of any son like this'). At the end Anchises gives the future name of the child: 'Tu Marcellus eris' (l. 883: 'You are to be Marcellus'). So this is to be Augustus's nephew, destined to die at a young age and never succeed his uncle.

Did Jesuit poets of the seventeenth century consider imitating this text in their genethliac poems, in order to represent prestigious dynastic lines? The frame offered by Virgil was a highly effective one: instead of simply giving a list of names, virtues and glorious deeds, it made each member of the dynasty appear before the eyes of the main character of the story, and hence, before the eyes of the reader (in an effect of *enargeia* or *evidentia*). The main theoretical problem, of course, was the philosophical point about the pre-existence and reincarnation of souls, which the Catholic Church strongly condemned. As the French Jesuit Nicolas Abram noted in his commentary to the *Aeneid* (1632), Virgil here 'alludit ad μετεμψύχωσιν Pythagoreorum et Platonicorum qui dicebant animas ex aliis corporibus in alia transmigrare' ('alludes to the metempsychosis of the Pythagorians and Platonicians, who said that the souls migrated from one body to another').[6] But this aspect could easily be bypassed: the genethliac poems are located in time, not before the foundation of the dynasty concerned as in the *Aeneid*, but around the birth of its latest heir: so the ancestors are all already born (some dead, some still on earth). The problem, however, arises when the poet wants to make the child himself a character in the story. Narratologically, the child could be assigned two possible roles: that of Aeneas, or that of Marcellus.

The Child in the Role of Aeneas: A Poem by Jacobus Wallius

In the first case, the child is led by his father to contemplate the figures of his ancestors. If we imagine the same scene with the child and father both alive and the ancestors represented by a collection of artistic portraits, it becomes quite easy to stage. This is what we find in the *genethliacum* composed in 1652 by the Flemish Jesuit Jacobus Wallius to celebrate the birth of a son of the

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6   Abram Nicolas, *Commentarii in P. Vergilii Maronis Aeneidem pars prior* (*et posterior*) (Pont-à-Mousson, Gaspard Bernardus: 1632) 436 note a, ad v. 680.

Count Johann Adolf of Schwarzenberg, an influential man in the government of the Low Countries.[7] In lines 107–180, Wallius shows the young child crawling in the *aula* of the family house, while its father shows it the *majorum effigies*, presenting each ancestor one by one: 'ille, vides?' (l. 114: 'This man, you see?'); 'proximus ille' (l. 120: 'he next'); 'huc faciles nunc verte oculos' (l. 132: 'turn hither now your compliant eyes'). When he comes to the *proavus* Adolph of Schwarzenberg, the father notes: 'Hic vir, hic est, qui saepe manu furialia Thracum / Agmina, Bistoniaeque infregit cornua lunae' (l. 135–6: 'And this in truth is he whose hand often smashed the furious battalions of the Thracians and the horns of the Bistonian moon'—that is, the Turkish Muslims). The Virgilian imitation is clear, but the ancestors' souls contemplated in the underworld have become *effigies* (probably busts) on display in the family house.

The contemplation of the *effigies* is an important moment in the text. Human artefacts appear to have a mnemonic function; they preserve the memory of glorious men of the past. As such, they can also stimulate new generations to imitate them: 'I quo te vocant exempla tuorum', Schwarzenberg tells his son (l. 111–113: 'Go where the examples of your family are calling you'). Nevertheless, their value should not be overestimated. At the very beginning of the poem, the *effigies avorum* already appeared, but under a less positive light. Wallius, calling on the ancestors of the child, writes (l. 9–19):

> Est aliquid vestros annosa per atria vultus
> Ordine spectari; finitaque bella triumphis,
> Et genus, et titulos, et res, et nomina regum
> Subscribi statuis. Sed non simulacra vetustae
> Laus sunt prima domus. Debent sculptoribus artem.
> Omnia sint similes vultus, habitum, vigoremque,
> Ardentesque oculos, nihil est in imagine vitae.
> Hic puer, hic vestrae major virtutis imago est.
> Vivitis heroes, series longissima, tanti
> Sanguinis auctores, et adhuc superestis in illo
> Pectore. Non toti fato cessistis et umbris.

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7 First edition: Wallius Jacobus, *Poematum libri novem* (Antwerp, Moretus: 1656) 76: *Ferdinando Philippo Guilielmo, Joannis Adolphi Comitis Schwartzenbergii etc. Aurei Velleris Equitis filio, genethliacon.* Later early modern editions of Wallius' *Poematum libri novem*: Antwerp, Moretus: 1657; Antwerp, Moretus: 1669; Lyon, Anisson-Posuel-Rigaud: 1688; Antwerp, Verdussen: 1699. Modern edition with French translation and analysis in Smeesters, *Aux rives de la lumière* 457–502.

It is something to contemplate the alignment of your faces in the old atrium; and to read, beneath the statues, inscriptions mentioning successful wars, family roots, titles, material goods, and royal names. But *simulacra* are not the first glory of an old house. Their art is due to sculptors. Be they perfectly alike, in the face, the appearance, the vigour, the shining eyes—there is no life in those images. This child instead is the greatest image of your virtue. You are alive, you long cortege of heroes, you authors of such good blood, and you still survive in this chest. You did not surrender totally to fate and death.

With these opening lines, the poet at once makes clear that human art is inferior to divine or natural art, producing living beings through procreation. Not only are human artefacts devoid of life ('nihil est in imagine vitae'), while natural generation produces living beings; artistic portraits, however good they may be, only reproduce the outer appearance of individuals, while their children and grand-children can reproduce their inner virtue ('virtutis imago'). In accordance with this conception, a large part of Wallius' poem is devoted to an allegorical description of the work of Lady Nature, shaping the about-to-be-born child as a true heir of its ancestors (l. 47–106). In lines 93–94, Wallius explicitly confirms that Nature has given the young child 'similar gifts to the paternal ones, and the seeds of the ancestral flame' ('similesque paternis / in te fudit opes, et avitae semina flammae').

Art, Nature and Immortality

The idea that children and grandchildren better 'immortalize' a great man than artistic portraits of him also appears elsewhere in Jesuit genethliac production. It is even a sort of topos in the genethliac orations delivered by French Jesuits for the birth of princes in the royal family. One may compare, for example, the following three passages, in orations delivered respectively by Philippe Briet in the college of Rouen in 1639 for the birth of Louis XIV, by Pierre Boucher in the college of Paris in 1662 for the birth of Louis XIV's first son ('Le Grand Dauphin'), and by Joseph de Jouvancy in the college of Paris in 1682 for the birth of Louis XIV's grandson ('Le Petit Dauphin'):

Immortalem esse voluit hominem natura, reclamantibus licet elementis, et coelo quamvis, et terrena concretione renitentibus aeternitati vivere. Sed partem fere mater provida subducit, quia totum servare nequit; […] Crescit pater in haerede, cui meliorem sui contulit partem […]

Appendantur ubique tabulae, fortitudinis stabunt mutae testes; disse-
centur in statuas marmora, ars quae rigorem hinc abstulit non amovit
stupiditatem; aurum liquescat in imagines, rigebit semper quanquam
pretiosius […]. Longe melius parentem magnum et Regem filius expri-
mit pictura loquens, imago mobilis, spirans simulacrum.[8]

Nature wanted man to be immortal, but the elements protested, and
heaven as well as terrestrial matter refused to allow him to live forever.
Then the provident mother, as she cannot preserve the whole, usually
subtracts a part; […] The father grows in his heir, to whom he transmit-
ted the best part of him […]. Paintings may be hung everywhere, they
will be mute witnesses of a man's value; marbles may be cut into statues,
the art that softened them did not carry away their inertness; gold may
be melted into images: however precious, it will always be rigid […]. But
a son far better expresses a great father and king: he is a talking picture,
a moving image, a breathing *simulacrum* of him.

Consilium naturae atque vis, ut in seminibus ac stirpibus, ita procreandis
liberis, ea est, similem ut sibi foetum et quasi fructum effundat parens,
seque in eo quodammodo repraesentet totum. Rapimur, auditores, cupi-
ditate immortalitatis, quam ut conciliare nobis memoria recte factorum,
monumentorum magnificentia, aeris marmorisque perennitate, omni
industriae genere ars studet: sic natura non rudia haec tantum vestigia
hominis, non emortuum, non exterius, non caducum simulacrum quod-
dam, sed expressam, intimam, vivam, spirantem in progenie imaginem
parentum informat, ut perennem in illa vitam iisdem feliciore conatu
propaget.[9]

The plan and the potency of nature, in seeds and roots as well as in
the procreation of children, is that the parent should produce an off-
spring, so to say a fruit, which is similar to him, and that he should, in
a way, represent himself totally in this offspring. We are driven, dear
listeners, by the desire for immortality, and art is trying to give it to us
through the memory of right deeds, the magnificence of monuments,

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8 Briet Philippe, *Panegyricus Delphino dictus ineunte anno Christi MDCXXXIX in collegio
   Rothomagensi Societatis Jesu,* in *Serenissimo Principi Franciae Delphino Xenia collegii
   Rothomagensis Societatis Jesu* (Rouen, Jean Le Boullenger: 1639) 1–18, here 3–4.

9 Boucher Pierre, *Panegyricus augustissimo Delphino dictus Lutetiae Parisiorum in collegio
   Claromontano Kal. Octob. Anno MDCLXII* (Paris, Sébastien Cramoisy: 1662) 7–8.

the durability of bronze and marble, and all kinds of industry. Nature, instead, not only gives such raw traces of a man, she does not deliver a dead, external and perishable *simulacrum*, but through the offspring, she gives form to a clear, inner, living, breathing image of the parents, so as to extend their lives more successfully in it.

Laudo vos equidem, cives, cum positas a vobis passim in urbe statuas Ludovici Magni et vicis paene omnibus atque compitis additas ad ornatum aspicio: sed mihi credite, caduca sunt illa monumenta, emortuae imagines, muta et infantia regiae virtutis ac formae simulacra, quae neque illum, qualis est totus, indicant, neque divinas illius virtutes intuentibus exhibent: vivas ille spirantesque suae virtutis imagines desiderat, nec tantum corporis simulacra, sed mentis; nec ductus oris expressos aere ac marmore, sed animi dotes in posteris inditas ac ipsius naturae manu velut insculptas.[10]

I praise you, citizens, when I see the statues of Louis the Great that you placed everywhere in the city, that you added as a decoration to almost every street and crossroads; but believe me, those are transitory monuments, dead images, mute and silent *simulacra* of the royal virtue and beauty: they do not represent him totally, nor show his divine qualities to the viewer. He rather needs living and breathing images of his virtue: not only *simulacra* of his body, but also of his mind; not the features of his face expressed in bronze and marble, but the gifts of his soul introduced and so to say carved by the very hand of Nature into his offspring.

The filiation between the three French orations is obvious, even in the choice of words. More importantly, they express the same basic idea as that of Wallius' poem: Nature produces better *simulacra* of kings than human artists do, and so she is better than art at immortalizing kings. Actually, if we think about it, the idea is quite paradoxical: Nature's productions may indeed have many advantages over art's productions (they are alive, they can breath, move, speak, behave with virtue, develop by themselves …), but certainly they are, in normal conditions, less long-lasting than such artefacts as statues or even paintings. One of art's great historical functions is precisely to ensure that the appearance of individuals, ephemeral by nature, survives through the

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10   Jouvancy Joseph de, *Serenissimi Principis Ducis Burgundiae genethliacum. Oratio extemporalis habita Parisiis anno MDCLXXXII mense sextili*, in idem, *Orationes. Tomus 1* (Paris, widow of Simon Benard: 1701) 128–154, here 137.

centuries (even if the works of art themselves will eventually perish or fall into ruin, as baroque literature liked to remind us).[11] In the classical *topoi* related to the comparison of art and nature,[12] and in the traditional *paragone* between the arts,[13] nature is admittedly often deemed superior to art—but not in her capacity of giving terrestrial immortality to individuals; and the visual arts are often deemed inferior in their ability to express inner virtue—but inferior to literature,[14] not to nature.[15]

The key to this strange motif is that our Jesuit authors are not concerned so much by the *immortalitas* of a single king as by the *immortalitas* of a dynastic line. The idea that some families were endowed with special moral qualities, whose transmission from father to son was ensured by blood,[16] is of course age-old, and it was still the cornerstone of the privileged social position of nobility—and of the very principle of hereditary monarchy—in early modern Europe.[17] More deeply, this conception is embedded in a basic assumption of traditional natural philosophy: Nature always strives for immortality; and as she cannot give it to individual beings, she achieves, at least, the immortality of species through the process of procreation. Dynasty is then conceived of by our Jesuit authors as a kind of natural species, maintaining itself through time with the same physical and moral characteristics, beyond the flow of its particular individuals.

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11 On this *topos* in the Latin poetry of another Jesuit, see: Israel M., "Jacob Balde et le thème de la *vanitas*", in Valentin J.-M. (ed.), *Jacob Balde und seine Zeit* (Bern – Frankfurt am Main – New York: 1986) 185–201 (esp. 191–194).

12 Cf. Close A.J., "Commonplace Theories of Art and Nature in Classical Antiquity and in the Renaissance", *Journal of the History of Ideas* 30, 4 (1969) 467–486.

13 Cf. Vuilleumier-Laurens F., "Les leçons du Paragone. Les débuts de la théorie de la peinture", in Galand-Hallyn P. – Hallyn F. (eds.), *Poétiques de la Renaissance* (Geneva: 2001) 596–610.

14 Neo-Latin poets liked to underline this inferiority, as appears in Dekoninck R. – Smeesters A. (eds.), *Poèmes et tableaux. La réinvention de l'ekphrasis dans la République des Lettres* (Rouen: forthcoming).

15 We can further note that the expression *pictura loquens*, used by Briet to describe the children given by nature, is classically applied to poetry (since Plutarch, *De gloria Atheniensium* 111, in idem, *Moralia* 346f–347c).

16 Wallius mentions several times the quality of the child's blood in his poem: in l. 18 (quoted above) where the ancestors are praised as 'auctores tanti sanguinis'; in l. 31, where the child gives hope to show 'dignas sanguine vires'; in l. 96, where Nature is said to have filled the veins of the child with a generous blood ('implevitque tuas generoso sanguine venas').

17 On this topic, see Giuliani P., "Le sang classique entre historie et littérature: hypothèses et propositions", *Dix-septième siècle* 239, 2 (2008) 223–242.

The idea of the quest for immortality through procreation was already present in the famous lines of Plato's *Symposium*: 'on reaching a certain age our nature yearns to beget [. . .]. It is a divine affair, this engendering and bringing to birth, an immortal element in the creature that is mortal'.[18] In Aristotle's formulation, it becomes still clearer: 'For this is the most natural of all functions among living creatures [. . .]: *viz.*, to reproduce one's kind, an animal producing an animal, and a plant a plant, in order that they may have a share in the immortal and divine in the only way they can; for every creature strives for this [. . .]. What persists is not the individual itself, but something in its image, identical not numerically but specifically'.[19] The idea that each form's end is existence, eternal if possible, and if not, through generation in successive matters, later became a *topos* of Scholastic teaching.[20] It would even, in the sixteenth century, find its way into Scaliger's *Poetics*. Scaliger, who was familiar with Scholasticism, writes in his chapter about genethliacs:[21] 'Generatio parit immortalitatem, accepta parentum semina perficit, in quibus illos suapte natura deficientes redivivos repræsentat. Quot cotidiana individua posceni dependunt fato, in aliorum subeuntium instauratione species restituit. Quid aliud est æternitas quam continuata generatio?' ('Generation engenders immortality: it fulfills the seeds received from parents, and in this way the parents, who are ephemeral by nature, are re-presented alive. The tribute of individuals daily paid to fate is being repaid by the species, that produces other individuals replacing the first ones. What else is eternity than continuous generation?').

To return to our texts, we can see that the particular motif we encountered in Wallius' poem and in the French Jesuit orations is at the crossroads of several well-known *topoi*, either literary and/or philosophical (immortalizing art, impermanence of art, nature better than art, visual arts' incapacity to render inner virtue, hereditary transmission of virtue, immortality of species through procreation), but that their combination is rather original—at the cost of a logical jump, as the 'immortality' concerned is not the same in the case of art (immortalizing the appearance of individuals) and nature (immortalizing the hereditary qualities of species or families).

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18   Plato, *Symposium*, 206c. Translation taken from: Plato, *Lysis. Symposium. Gorgias*, trans. W.R.M. Lamb (London – Cambridge, Mass.: 1946) 191.

19   Aristotle, *On the Soul*, II, 415a–b. Translation taken from: Aristotle, *On the Soul. Parva naturalia. On Breath*, trans. W.S. Hett (London – Cambridge, Mass.: 1957) 85–87.

20   Des Chene D., *Life's Form: Late Aristotelian Conceptions of the Soul* (Ithaca: 2000) 24.

21   See note 2.

With this digression on Nature and Art, we have moved far from Virgil's *Aeneid*. In the gap, one entire conception of the origin of human 'heroes' and great rulers has been replaced by another: in Virgil, the predestination and (re-)incarnation of exceptional souls; in Wallius and the French Jesuits, the rules of Nature immortalizing the qualities of great men through procreation. As we are dealing with Jesuit literature, one may be struck by the absence of the Christian God in this last explanation. In fact, God is clearly present elsewhere in the French Jesuit orations, and is duly thanked for the gift of a princely heir. In the poem by Wallius, God is much more discreet, but can be recognized in a brief allusion to a supreme ruler of heaven and earth (l. 212–217). In any case, the Jesuit authors of this time could not conceive of Nature's work independently of God's will. As Thomas Aquinas puts it: 'opus naturae praesupponit opus Dei creantis' ('The work of Nature presupposes the work of the creating God').[22]

In Wallius's allegorical poem, even if God is not present as a character, the work of Nature no doubt represents a part of God's plan for the world, and more precisely, the concrete modalities of his plan in its application to time and matter. Our second genethliac poem, by Ubertino Carrara, will illustrate the other side of the same process: the conception of God's plan in the divine mind. As we will see, Carrara expresses this topic through an imitation of the same Virgilian passage, and by once again using an artistic paradigm.

The Child in the Role of Marcellus: A Poem by Ubertino Carrara

In the genethliac exploitation of the Virgilian story, the second narratological option, after giving the child the role of Aeneas, consists in putting him in the place of Marcellus. First of all, it must be underlined that the very words used by Virgil to present Marcellus had some success in the genethliac context. Even if Marcellus's fate had been terribly brief, the laudatory predictions uttered by Anchises were perfectly re-usable in the context of a princely birth. For example, when in 1626 Joost van den Vondel published his Dutch genethliac poem,

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22   Thomas Aquinas, *Summa contra gentiles*, ed. K. Allgaier – L. Gerken (Darmstadt: 1990) III 65. In Antiquity, Stoic philosophers considered the perennial order and artistic beauty of nature as an evidence for the existence of Divine Providence: cf. Cicero, *De natura deorum* II, 22, 34, 51.

Geboortklock van Willem van Nassau,[23] he let the booklet end with the Virgilian quotation 'Nec puer Iliaca quisquam de gente Latinos / in tantum spe tollet avos, nec Romula quondam / ullo se tantum tellus jactabit alumno' ('no youth of Trojan stock will ever raise his Latin ancestry so high in hope nor the land of Romulus ever boast of any son like this').[24] Another example is the already quoted oration delivered by the French Jesuit Jouvancy at the birth of the son of the Dauphin in 1682.[25] Jouvancy recalls to his audience the famous Virgilian words 'Tu Marcellus eris', relating that, in olden days, Marcellus's mother, reminded of her deceased son by the poet's words, was so affected that she fainted. He then goes on: 'Ego te, regie puer, [...] non absimili carmine compellare possum, immutatis paulisper vocibus, ad quas non exanimata luctu mater concidat, sed gaudio potius exultet: Tu Lodoicus eris' ('I myself can make to you, royal child, a similar poetical address, with only a slight change in words, so that your mother, rather than fainting in grief, shall exult and rejoice: You will be a Louis').[26]

It is one thing to re-use Virgil's words about Marcellus and apply them to an about-to-be-born or new-born child; it is another thing to re-use Virgil's narrative frame, and to make that child appear in the company of his ancestors, all gathered in the same place, and *with the same ontological status.* It can be a very powerful image, and therefore it must have been a very tempting proposition. But how could it happen that already dead persons, and an unborn or just born child, are seen together (even without speaking of the still living members of the family)? Could their souls have met in heaven before the birth of the child? Catholic dogma was very clear-cut at this time: there can be absolutely no pre-existence of souls; each new soul comes to life within a body, and can lead a heavenly life only after bodily death.[27] So the Jesuits were forced to renounce the tantalizing story. Nicolas Caussin, S.J. writes in 1651 to the young Louis XIV: 'A vous voir, les Platoniciens diraient que vous êtes une intelligence enfermée dans ce beau corps ; que vous venez des Palais de lumière et des globes célestes, où vous avez conversé avec les Clovis, les Louis et les Charles, où vous avez vu

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23   Vondel Joost van den, *Geboortklock van Willem van Nassau, eerstgeboren sone der doorluchtichste Princen, Frederick Henrick ende Amalia* [...] (Amsterdam, Blaeu: 1626). An edition of the text is available on the website www.dbnl.org.

24   Vergil, *Aeneid*, trans. Fairclough – Goold, VI 875–877 (see note 5).

25   See note 10.

26   Jouvancy, *Serenissimi principis Ducis Burgundiae genethliacum* 146.

27   Cf. for example the ten propositions on the human soul by the Jesuit Francisco de Toledo (Des Chene, *Life's Form* 47–8).

Henri le Grand votre aïeul [...]. Nous ne pouvons croire avec Platon que votre âme ait été au Ciel avant que d'être en terre' ('Seeing you, Platonists would say that you are an intelligence imprisoned in this beautiful body, and that you come from the Palaces of light and the celestial globes where you have conversed with Clovis, Louis, and Charles, where you have seen your grandfather Henry the Great [...]. But we cannot believe with Plato that your soul has been in heaven before coming on earth').[28]

If the story could not be staged in the world of souls, another Jesuit poet, later in the seventeenth century, Ubertino Carrara, found the solution: it could be staged in the world of Ideas. Ideas? Plato again then? No, not necessarily! There exists another, concurrent theory of Ideas: after Aristotelians, Stoics, Middle Platonists and Neoplatonists (who all paved the way in many aspects) had adapted the Platonic doctrine of the Idea,[29] Augustine eventually proposed a Christian version of Ideas, which was to be developed by Thomas Aquinas, and then to continue its way through Scholastic philosophy, where it is traceable until at least the end of the seventeenth century.

A Theological Background: The Scholastic Theory of Ideas

Augustine dedicates the 46th of his *De diversis quaestionibus octoginta tribus* to Ideas ("De ideis").[30] He points out that, if Plato is considered to have invented the name *ideae*, he surely did not invent the thing itself, the *res*, which was probably known before him under other appellations. From a Christian point of view, according to Augustine, the *ideae* (translated in Latin as *formae, species*, or *rationes*) exist inside the divine mind of God. They represent, and are the models for, 'omne quod oriri et interire potest et omne quod oritur et interit' ('all that can be born and die, and all that is born and that dies'). Ideas thus include *possibilia* as well as all past, present or future actualities.[31]

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28   Caussin Nicolas, *Eloge du roy Louis XIV Dieu-Donné* (Paris, Bechet: 1651) 114–115.

29   Panofsky E., *Idea: contribution à l'histoire du concept de l'ancienne théorie de l'art*, trans. H. Joly (Paris: 1989) 53.

30   Augustine, *De diversis quaestionibus octoginta tribus*, ed. A. Mutzenbecher (Turnhout: 1975) XLVI., 70–73.

31   In traditional theology, the distinction between the knowledge of possibilia and that of actual creatures corresponded to the distinction between the *scientia simplicis intelligentiae* (which follows from God's very nature: God knows that he is imitable in such-and-such ways) and the *scientia visionis* (which is based on God's decrees for the world: God knows what he decided would actually take place in the world—whether in the past, present or future from our point of view). In the seventeenth century, Jesuit theologians,

The Ideas themselves are eternal and immutable, because 'in divina mente nil nisi aeternum atque incommutabile potest esse' ('there can be nothing that is not eternal and immutable in the divine mind'). We may note, together with Panofsky,[32] that the theory of Ideas was completely transformed in the transition from Plato to Augustine: whereas it had been conceived as a philosophy of the human logos (explaining how man could get true knowledge of the world), it has now become a speculation about divine thought and the history of the world. To be precise, the step of conceiving of the Platonic Ideas as the 'thoughts of God' had already been made by Middle Platonism, as early as the first century BC.[33]

The theory of Ideas in the divine mind was taken over by Thomas Aquinas in the *Prima pars* of his *Summa theologica*, question 15 ("De ideis").[34] Thomas gives two functions to divine Ideas (which he conceives of as not really distinct from God's divine and creative essence): they can function as *exemplar* (for the creation of things) or as *principium cognitionis* (principle of the knowledge of things).[35] Thomas also uses the comparison between God conceiving the world and an architect designing the project of a house.[36] The theory of divine Ideas was then refined by Scholastic philosophers, including the famous Jesuit Francisco Suárez (1548–1617). Suárez touches on the question in the third book of his *De Deo*, whose chapter v is entitled: "An in Divina scientia practica sint ideae creaturarum omnium, et quot, quarumque rerum sunt" ("If practical divine science contains the Ideas of all creatures, and how many Ideas, and of which things"). There he states: 'Ideas esse, quia idea nihil aliud significat, quam exemplar ad cujus imitationem artifex operatur, ostensum autem

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especially Molina, added a third divine science, the *scientia media* (the knowledge of 'what *would* happen under such-and-such conditions', depending on free decisions made by human beings). Cf. Frame J.M., "Scientia media", in Elwell W. (ed.), *Evangelical Dictionary of Theology* (Grand Rapids: 1984) 987.

32   Panofsky, *Idea* 55.

33   Dillon J., *The Middle Platonists. A Study of Platonism 80 BC to AD 220* (London: 1977) 95; and Philo of Alexandria, *On the Creation of the Cosmos According to Moses*, introd., trans. and comm. by D.T. Runia (Leiden – Boston – Cologne: 2001) 50–51, 151–152.

34   Thomas Aquinas, *Summa theologica*, Ia, quaest. xv. Ed. J. P. Migne (Paris: 1853).

35   Ibid., Art. 1, resp.

36   The motif of the mental project of the architect is taken from Aristotle (*Met.* VII, 7, 6f). It was already applied to Biblical Creation by the Hellenistic Jewish Philo of Alexandria, *On the Creation of the Cosmos* 4, 16–20 (where the image is that of an architect planning a whole city). We find for example in the *Artifex evangelicus* of the Jesuit Maximilianus Sandaeus (Cologne, apud Joannem Kinchium: 1640) 53: 'Architectus in Idea fabricam praeconcipiens, Deus' (Sandaeus gives Philo as his source).

est, Deum operari ut supremum artificem, oportet ergo ut suas ideas habeat'
('There are Ideas, because an Idea is nothing else than the model in imitation
of which an artist works; and it has been shown that God works like a very good
artist; so he must have his own Ideas').[37] Suárez elsewhere deals with *ideae* as
causae exemplares, in reference to the Aristotelian theory of causes.[38]

The main difference, for our purpose, between the Platonic and Christian
traditions of Ideas is that Platonic Ideas are generic, whereas Christian ones
may also be related to individual beings. In Plato's theory, Ideas are the com-
mon, general form shared by many particular things. For later Platonists, who
locate Ideas as models in the divine mind, Ideas gain a similar function to that
of the Stoic *logoi spermatikoi* ('seminal reason-principles'),[39] and they cor-
respond to species—the same immutable natural species which, as we saw
in the first part of this paper, are perpetuated by generation beyond the flow
of transient and various individuals.[40] Christian thinkers however admitted
that divine Ideas could include the models for each individual being. The
question is dealt with in a letter by Augustine to Nebridius.[41] Nebridius had

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37   Suárez Francisco, *Opera omnia*, ed. D.M. André, 28 vols. (Paris: 1856–1878), I, 210.

38   *Disputationes metaphysicae*, n°25: *De causa exemplari*. The *causa exemplaris* is there
      reduced to a kind of *causa efficiens* (as summarized in *Opera omnia* I, 214). The connec-
      tion of the theory of Ideas with the Aristotelian theory of the four causes had been dis-
      cussed since Antiquity: cf. for example Seneca, *Ad Lucilium Epistulae morales*, trans. R.M.
      Gummere (London – Cambridge, Mass.: 1953) I, 448–449, epistle 65, 7: (Seneca has just
      expounded the four Aristotelian causes) 'His quintam Plato adicit exemplar, quam ipse
      idean vocat; hoc est enim, ad quod respiciens artifex id, quod destinabat, effecit' ('To these
      four Plato adds a fifth cause,—the pattern which he himself calls the "idea"; for it is this
      that the artist gazed upon when he created the work which he had decided to carry out').

39   Dillon, *The Middle Platonists* 95, 159.

40   Cf. the letter of Seneca quoted above, *Ad Lucilium Epistulae morales* 65, 7, trans. Gummere
      I 449, reporting the (Middle) Platonic doctrine: 'Haec exemplaria rerum omnium deus
      intra se habet […]; plenus his figuris est, quas Plato ideas appellat, immortales, inmu-
      tabiles, infatigabiles. Itaque homines quidem pereunt, ipsa autem humanitas, ad quam
      homo effingitur, permanet' ('God has within himself these patterns of all things […]; he
      is filled with these shapes which Plato calls the "ideas",—imperishable, unchangeable,
      not subject to decay. And therefore, though men die, humanity itself, or the idea of man,
      according to which man is moulded, lasts on'). See also ibidem 58, 19, trans. Gummere 399
      (also about Platonic Ideas): 'Talia ergo exemplaria infinita habet rerum natura, hominum,
      piscium, arborum, ad quae quodcumque fieri ab illa debet, exprimitur' ('Such patterns,
      therefore, nature possesses in infinite number,—of men, fish, trees, according to whose
      model everything that nature has to create is worked out'). On these letters: Dillon, *The
      Middle Platonists* 135–139.

41   Augustine, *Epistulae*, ed. Goldbacher (Pragae: 1895–1896) I, 32–35 (*Epistula* 14).

asked Augustine 'utrum summa illa veritas et summa sapientia [...] generaliter hominis, an etiam uniuscuiusque nostrum rationem contineat' ('whether the supreme truth and wisdom contained only the general Idea of man, or also the Idea of each of us'). 'Magna quaestio', admits Augustine; he concludes that the Creator, in order to create our universe, must have had the Idea of each part of this universe—that is, even of the individual Nebridius, who is a 'pars huius universi' ('a part of this universe'). Thomas Aquinas comes to the same conclusion: 'Individua vero, secundum Platonem, non habebant aliam ideam quam ideam speciei [...] Sed providentia divina non solum se extendit ad species, sed ad singularia' ('The individuals, according to Plato, did not have an extra Idea apart from the Idea of their species. [...] But the divine providence does not only look toward species, but also toward individuals').[42] Suárez is still more explicit: 'Habere Deum ideas rerum singularium, scilicet Petri, Pauli et ceterorum' ('God has the Idea of each single thing—that is, of Peter, Paul, etc.').[43] This means that, for Scholastic thinkers, if individual souls are created by God on an *ad hoc* basis (at the same time as their body), there also exists an eternal and ideal model for each human being in the mind of God.[44] This is how we probably have to read, for example, this statement of Father Caussin about the long awaited birth of Louis XIV: 'il estoit caché dans le sanctuaire des idées de Dieu, dans la Majesté de ses destins; il a fallu charger tous les Autels de vœux, et remuer toutes les puissances célestes, pour l'obtenir'[45] ('He was hidden in the sanctuary of God's Ideas, in the majesty of his fates; we had to load all altars with vows and to move all celestial powers in order to obtain him').

In the texts I have quoted, the image of artistic creation often appears: Ideas in the divine mind are compared to projects in the mind of an artist. This image could lead to a highly positive appraisal of artistic practice, and it was not ignored by early modern theoreticians of art. But it should be emphasized that in Scholastic doctrine there is no suggestion at all that the ideas in the mind of human artists might come from God, or from a kind of access artists might have to eternal Ideas. The reasoning goes the other way: since we know from experience that artists, before creating something, must have an idea of what they want to create (whether an external idea, that is, a model, or, if they are more experienced, an internal and mental idea), we can infer that God, who is a *perfectissimus artifex*, must have had a mental idea of the universe,

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42   Thomas Aquinas, *Summa theologica*, Ia, quaest. XV, art. 3, ad 4.

43   Suárez, *Opera Omnia* I, 212.

44   This point could be favourable to the standpoint of predestination, but I have yet to find any early modern text addressing the question in these terms.

45   Caussin, *Eloge du roy* 7.

and of each part of it, before he created it. Divine Ideas are not used to explain the artistic process, but artistic experience is used to understand the divine creative process.[46] As for the origin of human mental ideas, Scholastic philosophers were very far indeed from anchoring them in the contemplation of divine ideas (in the Christian tradition, this kind of contemplation is restricted to mystical vision).[47] These philosophers taught that knowledge came from the senses, and that some cognitive faculties of the soul had the ability to build and store mental representations from sensorial data.

The most famous example of the recovery of the Scholastic theory of Ideas by a theoretician of art is provided by Federico Zuccari (1542–1609), whose concept of *disegno interno* has been studied by Panofsky.[48] In *L'Idea de' pittori, scultori et architetti*, Zuccari expounds, under the subtitle "Del disegno interno in Dio" (book I, chapter 5), the same theory of Ideas as Augustine and Thomas Aquinas, with the very same references to the textual places in Augustine and Thomas.[49] Panofsky rightly acknowledges the Aristotelian and Scholastic heritage of Zuccari's treatise; he nevertheless tries to give a Neo-Platonic touch to his theory, claiming that, for Zuccari, the presence of ideas in man would be prior to sense perceptions, and that the *disegno interno* would be a kind of gift and emanation of divine grace.[50] But Zuccari is very clear on this point: admittedly, the ability to conceive a *disegno interno* (as a way of knowledge and a model for creation) may result from God's gift; but the *disegno* itself has no other origin than the senses—in total harmony with Neo-Scholasticism:

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46   Cf. Suárez, *Opera Omnia* XXV, 899: 'hoc ipsum facile demonstrari potest ex humanis artificibus' ('This very point [=the presence of Ideas in God] can easily be demonstrated from the example of human artists').

47   Panofsky, *Idea* 199–200 (note 80). Already Augustine, at the end of his chapter *De ideis* (*De diversis quaestionibus*, 46, 2), notes that the rational soul, closest to God among all creatures, can, if it adheres to God, be pervaded by the intelligible light and see by its intelligence the divine Ideas ('istas rationes'), whose vision will make it *beatissima*.

48   Ibidem 107–115.

49   Zuccari Federico, *L'Idea de'Pittori, scultori et architetti* (Turin, Agostino Disserolio: 1607) 8–10.

50   Panofsky, *Idea* 112–113: 'Ce n'est pas la perception sensible qui est à l'origine de la formation des idées; c'est au contraire celle-ci qui […] met en mouvement la perception sensible; les sens ne sont en quelque sorte convoqués que pour éclairer et animer les représentations intérieures […] Le Dessin intérieur, qui a la propriété […] de recevoir des perceptions sensibles sa clarté et sa perfection, se présente comme un don et même comme une émanation de la grâce divine'. This claim by Panofsky is criticized by Kieft G., "Zuccari, Scaligero e Panofsky", *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz* 33 (1989) 355–368 (esp. 357–358).

> [Dio], havendo per sua bontà, & per mostrare in picciolo ritratto
> l'eccellenza dell'arte sua divina, creato l'huomo ad imagine & similitu-
> dine sua, quanto all'anima, […] volle anco dargli facoltà di formare in
> se medesimo un Dissegno interno intellettivo, accioche col mezzo di
> questo conoscesse tutte le creature […] & in oltre accioche […] potesse
> produrre infinite cose artificiali simili alle naturali […]. Ma l'huomo nel
> formar questo Dissegno interno è molto differente da Dio ; perche ove
> Iddio ha un sol Dissegno […], comprensivo di tutte le cose, il quale non
> è differente da lui […], l'huomo in se stesso forma varii Dissegni […],
> e però il suo Dissegno è accidente, oltre il che hà l'origine sua bassa, cioè
> da i sensi.[51]

> After God—in his goodness and to show a little portrait of the excellence
> of his divine art—created man in his own image and likeness, as for the
> soul, […] he also wanted to give him the faculty to shape in himself an
> intellectual *disegno interno*, so that he could, in this way, know all crea-
> tures […] and also in order that he could produce an infinity of artifi-
> cial things similar to the natural ones. […] But man, in the shaping of
> this *disegno interno*, is very different from God; because where God has
> a single *disegno*, including everything and not different from him […],
> man shapes in himself various *disegni* […], and his *disegno* is accidental,
> besides the fact that it has a low origin, coming from the senses.

From the various quotes I have given, it clearly appears that the theory of Ideas
as thoughts of God was widely diffused in early modern Europe, among phi-
losophers as well as theoreticians of art. However, this diffusion should not
be overstated: in the schoolbooks of Scholastic philosophy, the topic cannot
be said to be really central. Yet in 1677, Ottavio Cattaneo, then professor of
Theologia Scholastica at the *Collegio Romano*,[52] deals with divine Ideas in the
second volume of his *Cursus Philosophicus.*[53] Again, we find here all the previ-
ous theory of Ideas, more or less the same as in Suárez. The interesting point is
the very concrete and visual vocabulary Cattaneo sometimes uses to describe
divine Ideas: God bears in his intellect 'rerum omnium imagines et simulacra'
('the images and *simulacra* of everything'),[54] images that he built ('fabricatus

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51   Zuccari, *L'Idea* 14.

52   Villoslada, *Storia del Collegio Romano* 325.

53   Cattaneo Ottavio, *Cursus philosophicus in quatuor tomos divisus* (Rome, Nicolaus Angelus
       Tinassius: 1677) II, 462–467.

54   Ibidem II, 464.

fuerat') inside himself 'ante omnia saecula'.[55] In the first volume of Cattaneo's *Cursus Philosophicus*, we also hear about Ideas. Cattaneo mentions the interpretation sometimes given to Plato's theory of Ideas, according to which Ideas would exist somewhere, outside the divine intellect, 'in spatiis imaginariis' ('in imaginary spaces').[56] Cattaneo doubts whether Plato really meant it this way; anyway, this would be a 'splendidus error', an opinion 'rather appropriate to be sung by poets among the Muses, than to be recited by philosophers in a school' ('sententia [...] modulanda potius a poetis inter Musas, quam a philosophis in Lycaeo recitanda').[57] The allusion here to the distance between poetic expression and philosophical truth is of course to be underscored. We can further note that Cattaneo, besides his job as professor of theology, was also a Latin poet, and that he produced fifteen years earlier, in 1662, a long *genethliacum* for the birth of a Spanish prince,[58] including the allegorical character of the Goddess *Pronoea*, that is Divine Providence, the keeper of the fates of the world.

Back to Carrara's Poem

The Jesuit Ubertino Carrara, in the genethliac poem he wrote in 1678 for the birth of Joseph, son of Leopold I, the Holy Roman Emperor,[59] took up the challenge to allegorize the Scholastic 'world of Ideas' and to make it the stage of his own version of the Virgilian narrative. Carrara was then professor of rhetoric at the *Collegio Romano*;[60] and according to the title of the publication, his genethliacon was recited by himself in the *aula maxima* of this institution.[61]

The main character of Carrara's poem is the allegory of Austria. She is lamenting the absence of an heir to her throne, when another female allegory comes to comfort her. The second woman has an ill-defined identity: she is

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55   Ibidem II, 465.

56   Ibidem I, 400.

57   Ibidem I, 400.

58   Cattaneo Ottavio, *Carmen genethliacum pro Serenissimi Hispaniarum Principis Caroli Philippi ortu felicissimo, dictum in aula Collegii Romani Societatis Jesu* (Rome, Ignatius de Lazaris: 1662).

59   Carrara Ubertino, *Augustae proli Archiduci Austriae genethliacon. In aula maxima Collegii Romani dictum ab auctore* (Rome, Joannes Baptista Bussottus: 1678).

60   Villoslada, *Storia del Collegio Romano* 336.

61   Cf. also the ms. 142 of the Arch. Univ. Greg., quoted by Villoslada, *Storia del Collegio Romano* 289: '1678.—Il P. Carrara recitò in salone un bel poema per la nascita del figliuolo dell'Imperatore Leopoldo'.

first presented as the 'Diva arbitra regnorum' (l. 93–94: 'the Goddess arbitrator of kingdoms'); she then calls herself the 'divinae mentis filia' (l. 99: 'daughter of the divine mind') and the 'rerum maxima molitrix' (l. 99–100: 'great planner of things'); people call her *Fortuna*, but mistakenly (l. 100–101). In fact, she is not changeable at all (l. 105–109):

> [...] placent, semperque placebunt
> Quae placuere semel, cui sola placere necesse est
> Optima: libertas nec ob id, vel summa potestas
> Creditur esse minor; mea me decreta coercent,
> Quod non posse volo, solum me posse negabo.

> What I liked once, I still like and will always like—because I necessarily like what is the best; and I'm not considered less free or less powerful because of this: I'm only bound by my own decrees; I will deny being capable of something only when I don't want to be capable of it.

The whole passage is based on a text by Seneca, in which the Stoic philosopher speculated about God ('quid sit Deus').[62] In a phrasing very close to that of Carrara, the Senecan text states about God: 'necesse est eadem placere ei cui nisi optima placere non possunt. Nec ob hoc minus liber est ac potens ; ipse est enim necessitas sua'[63] ('He who cannot like anything but the best must necessarily like always the same. And he is not less free or powerful therefore; he is indeed his own necessity').[64] In the Lipsian edition of Seneca with notes by Libert Fromond (a professor of philosophy in Louvain), the latter comments:

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62   Seneca, *Naturales quaestiones*, trans. T.H. Corcoran (London – Cambridge, Mass.: 1971) I 3–5, book I, praef. 3: 'Equidem tunc rerum naturae gratias ago, [...] cum disco [...] quid sit deus [...], liceat illi hodieque decernere et ex lege fatorum aliquid derogare, an maiestatis deminutio sit et confessio erroris mutanda fecisse' ('I, for one, am very grateful to nature, [...] when I learn [...] what god is; [...] whether it is possible for him to make decisions today and to repeal in part any sort of universal law of fate; whether it is a diminution of his majesty and an admission of his error that he has done things which had to be changed').

63   Following the used edition (previous note), 'these are two marginal comments [...] which should be eliminated from Seneca's text' (4 note 1; cf. Alexander W.H., "Seneca's Naturales Quaestiones. The Text Emended and Explained", *University of California Publications in Classical Philology* 13.8 (1948) 241–332: 251). But Carrara certainly considered these lines as Seneca's, as they appear in the seventeenth-century editions of Seneca.

64   Translation is mine.

'Vero hoc et Christiano sensu' ('This is valid also in the Christian sense').[65] From all this information, we can conclude that our female allegory represents God's mind in its particular function as planner of human kingdoms. For the sake of clarity, we will nevertheless call the allegory 'Fortuna' in this paper.

After a long speech summarizing the historical journey of the imperial crown from Rome to Austria, Fortuna promises that the Empire will not be left without an heir. Rather, this heir is already in conception: 'Jam Numen et ipsa laboro / magnam animam' (l. 169–170: 'God and I myself are working at his great soul'). In order to illustrate her sayings, Fortuna invites Austria to accompany her to the place where the *imago* of the young heir reigns among the *simulacra* of his ancestors (l. 172–5: 'ducam qua dulcis Imago / prolis adorandae Leopoldo proxima regnat / inter majorum simulacra augusta suorum'). Austria will then be able to start loving him in the guise of a *simulata imago*, and to give him feigned kisses as a prelude to real ones (l. 175–6: 'illic erudies simulata in imagine amorem / falsaque cum dederis proludent oscula veris'). The vocabulary used here (*simulatus, falsus*) is strikingly disparaging: contrary to Plato's theory (but also to the Christian tradition of mystical contemplation), to see the Idea of a being is deemed only a consolation prize.

So our two goddesses start their journey to the place above the stars where Fortuna has her throne (l. 184–5). It is here that Fortuna chooses the kings who will reign on earth (l. 187: 'regesque legit queis cuncta regantur').

> At prius ad vitae quam lumina proferat, umbrat,   188
> Et parit ideas; animas mox jura daturas
> Ducit ab exemplo, similique ab imagine condit.[66]   190

> But before she brings them to life, she sketches and generates Ideas; the souls who will rule in the near future, she draws them from a model and creates them on the basis of a resemblant image.

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65   Seneca, *Opera quae exstant omnia, a Justo Lipsio emendata et scholiis illustrata. Editio quarta* […] *aucta Liberti Fromondi scholiis* (Antwerp, ex officina Plantiniana: 1652).

66   The last verse is clearly imitated from Boethius, *The Consolation of Philosophy*, trans. S.J. Tester (Cambridge, Mass. – London: 1978) 273:III, 9, 6–8, which is an invocation to the Father of all things: 'tu cuncta superno / ducis ab exemplo, pulchrum pulcherrimus ipse / mundum mente gerens similique in imagine formans' ('from a heavenly pattern / You draw out all things, and being yourself most fair, / A fair world in your mind you bear, and forming it / In the same likeness'.

The verbs 'umbrat et parit' are quite puzzling, since they seem to be in contradiction with the philosophical assumption of the eternity of divine Ideas: souls are created, but Ideas should be eternal. Most probably, this has simply to be understood within the general frame of the poetical and allegorical analogy between God's providence and an artist, an analogy which necessarily implies some inaccuracies—of course, there is no goddess, or celestial palace either. These are all poetical ways of representing things so intricate that even philosophers found them hard to express: the relationship between eternity and time, between providence and contingency, between Divine and human ways of knowing and creating.

As the story goes on, Austria discovers Fortuna's celestial habitation and theatre of operations. It is full of 'regales umbrae', 'royal shades' (l. 192), representing the kings of Greece, Babylon and Rome. The most serene part of heaven is dedicated to the 'Austriadum simulacra', the *simulacra* of the Habsburg rulers (l. 195–6), hiding behind a white curtain of light (l. 197: 'lucis niveo velatur amictu'). In a dramatic climax, Fortuna opens the curtains and lets the shining stage appear before the dazzled eyes of Austria. Here starts the awaited imitation of Virgil's *Aeneid*: Fortuna presents the *simulacra* one by one, starting with Rudolf of Habsburg (l. 204: 'quem cernis', 'the one you notice'; l. 215: 'quem prope nonne vides', 'the next one, don't you see him'). When she comes to Charles V, she utters the famous words: 'hic vir, hic est' (l. 253). Somewhat later, Austria recognizes her current ruler, Leopold I, on a throne, and she notices that he is accompanied by a beautiful child (l. 269–270). 'Quis hic?', she asks (l. 276: 'Who is this one?'); 'nosco Aquilam patriam volitantem tempora circum' (l. 280: 'I recognize the national Eagle fluttering about his head'). This of course, as Fortuna tells her, is the *effigies* (l. 288) of the future heir of the Austrian Empire. Fortuna goes on to prophesy his future life, reign, and wars. Austria, enthusiastic, goes to the *effigies* to kiss it—but in the meantime, the real baby is being born on earth. As soon as she hears news of the birth, Austria leaves the false *figura* behind and rushes earthward (l. 394–5), in order to experience at first hand the *true* Cesar—and this is the very last verse of the poem: 'et totam satiat se Caesare vero' (l. 399). Again, as in Wallius, the real living child is deemed more valuable than the more beautiful *simulacra*—even if they are divine Ideas and objects of a heavenly contemplation.

Conclusions

The genethliac poems by Wallius and Carrara illustrate the confluence, in Jesuit Neo-Latin poetry, of various traditions and tendencies. The poems are written

in support of the great Catholic rulers of the time, and of the socio-political concept of hereditary nobility and monarchy. In the choice of poetic genre, of narrative frame, of words and phrasing, both poets emulate famous classical authors, Virgil in the first place, but also Seneca and Boethius. Even when their models express Platonic or Stoic views, Jesuits manage to remain true to Christian theology and to Neo-Scholasticism, which is the philosophical tradition underlying their allegorical inventions. As political players actively involved in the struggles of their times, and at the same time as learned intellectuals thoroughly trained in classical literature, in Christian theology and in Neo-Scholastic philosophy, the Jesuit poets achieved a wonderful synthesis of all those concerns, creating new powerful literary frescoes, capable of expressing their devotion to Catholic rulers, but also of inhabiting the imagination and memory of their European readership, without entering into contradiction with their Christian faith.

Another interesting aspect of the poems is their heavy reliance on an artistic paradigm.[67] The newborn child is compared to a work of art whose artist is, ultimately, God—hiding behind the female allegories of Natura (which represents the material work of the artist, as well as the rules of his art) and of Fortuna (which represents the creative mind of the artist, his planning of the work to be done). It is striking that, in the scale of values proposed by our poems, the products of divine art, that is, the living beings, are always at the top. They are not only situated above the human artefacts, but also, within the divine art, above the *ideae* or *exemplaria* that only prepare the production of beings. Wallius and Carrara are at the same time fascinated by art and conscious of its vanity, yearning for heaven and determined to play their part on earth among humanity—a position which, all in all, may be considered quite typical of the Society of Jesus in the seventeenth century.

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67   We can note that the image of the artist's workshop is also often used as a figurative comparandum in the famous *Imago primi saeculi societatis Jesu* (Antwerp, Moretus: 1640), which contains many artisanal emblems.

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'To Make Yourself Present': Jesuit Sacred Space as Enargetic Space

Steffen Zierholz

This essay examines the specific Jesuit aesthetics related to sacred space in Roman churches. It takes into account the decisive spatial qualities of the Ignatian *Spiritual Exercises*—qualities which scholars have usually neglected in comparison to the intense visual experiences promoted in this work. However, its spatial qualities are essential for an understanding of Jesuit sacred space, especially where spatial perception went beyond the imaginary mode of beholding to become fused with the practitioner's experience of actual space. As I will demonstrate, the rhetorical concept of *enargeia* is the crucial instrument that allows us fully to apprehend the conjunction of Ignatian *mental* space with the artistic design of *physical* space, without having to resort to ahistorical notions such as illusion or immersion. Situated within this context, the first major decorative project of the order, the Chapel of the Nativity in the Gesù, can be seen spatially to express Jesuit spirituality, long before Andrea Pozzo's 'illusionistic' ceiling vault in Sant'Ignazio.

Space and Spirituality

'Fra l'altre gratie, e beneficij, che il Signore ci hà fatti nella Compagnia, questa è stata molto particolare, che ci hà dato il modo d'oratione, ch'habbiamo da osservare'.[1] These are the words the Jesuit Alfonso Rodriguez uses in the

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[1] Rodriguez Alfonso, *Essercitio di Perfettione, e di virtv' christiane*, 3 vols. (Brescia, Lodovico Britannico: 1623) vol. 1, 304–305. For an English translation, see Rodriguez A., *Practice of Perfection and Christian Virtues*, trans. Joseph Rickaby, 2 vols. (London: 1929) vol. 1, 266: 'Amongst the other favours and benefits that the Lord has done us in the Society, this is a very particular one, that He has given us a method of prayer to go by (...) Our Lord imparted to our Father this method of prayer, and he imparted it to us in the same order in which our Lord imparted it to him. And we must have great confidence in God that by this way and method, which he has given us, He will help us and do us favours, since with it He gained our Father and his companions, and after them many others, and therein He made known to him the method and plan of the Society, as he said'.

Practice of Perfection and Christian Virtues (1609) to describe the significance of the *Spiritual Exercises* for his order. They are construed as the most rewarding instrument used by Ignatius to gather the first disciples around him, with which he had gained countless other followers for the order after the founding of the Society of Jesus. Further, they are thought to convey the approach and conception of the Jesuit order as communicated by God ('il modo, & il disegno della Compagnia'), so that John O'Malley can pointedly sum up: 'There is no understanding the Jesuits without reference to that book'.[2]

Due to this foundational significance, the question of the influence of the *Spiritual Exercises* on the art and art patronage of the Jesuit order was raised early on. Thus older scholarship speculated that the text's sensory and visual meditation practices in particular seemed responsible for the development of a so-called Jesuit style.[3] Its influence on an iconographical level, however, manifested itself far more clearly. As Howard Hibbard has demonstrated in his seminal study of the early decorations of the Roman Gesù, the *Spiritual Exercises* formed the conceptual basis of the pictorial program.[4] By structuring the thematics of the individual chapels, they presented the visitor with a 'progressive religious experience' in the sense of a spiritual pilgrimage.[5] Ultimately, Bailey proclaimed this 'programmatic and meditative interior decoration', which enabled a 'sequenced pilgrimage of the soul', to be a general characteristic of Jesuit spaces.[6]

Heinrich Pfeiffer was the first to articulate a more direct connection between the shaping of space and the praxis of prayer, in which the *Spiritual Exercises* are no longer understood merely as the structuring narrative of a spiritual journey, but rather as an impetus that lends the space per se a concrete form.[7] With reference to the works of the Jesuit lay brother Andrea Pozzo (1642–1709),

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2   O'Malley J.W., *The First Jesuits* (Cambridge, MA: 1993) 4.

3   The history of the concept of Jesuit style is summarized in Bailey G.A., "'Le style jésuite n'existe pas'. Jesuit Corporate Culture and the Visual Arts", in O'Malley J.W. – Bailey G.A. – Harris S.J. – Kennedy T.F. (eds.), *The Jesuits. Cultures, Sciences, and the Arts 1540–1773* (Toronto: 1999) 38–89 and Levy E.A., *Propaganda and the Jesuit Baroque* (Berkeley, CA – Los Angeles – London: 2004) 15–42.

4   Hibbard H., "Ut picturae sermones. The First Painted Decorations of the Gesù", in Wittkower R. – Jaffe I.B. (eds.), *Baroque Art—The Jesuit Contribution* (New York: 1972) 29–49.

5   Hibbard, "Ut picturae sermones" 41.

6   Bailey G.A., *Between Renaissance and Baroque. Jesuit Art in Rome, 1565–1610* (Toronto – Buffalo, NY – London: 2003) 9 and 269.

7   Pfeiffer H., "Pozzo e la spiritualità della Compagnia di Gesù", in Battisti A. (ed.), *Andrea Pozzo* (Milan – Trent: 1996) 13–32.

he was able to suggest that the latter's artistic understanding of space could not be conceived independently of the spiritual foundations of the order.

Pfeiffer's thesis is vividly illustrated by the example of Pozzo's fresco for the vault of Sant'Ignazio in Rome. It depicts the propagation of the faith to all corners of the earth through Ignatius of Loyola and the Jesuit order [Fig. 14.1].[8] To accomplish this, Pozzo used a central perspectival construction to extend the nave through a fictive additional storey and dissolved the vault as an architectonic support by painterly means—a process that he had illustrated in his treatise on perspectival painting [Fig. 14.2].[9] The painted, illusory architecture is conceived from a single ideal viewing point, which Pozzo termed *punto stabile*, and which is to this day marked by a round marble slab in the middle of the nave. Seen from this point, the pictorial space and the space of the beholder combine into a unified whole, in which the structure of the church space flows seamlessly into the architecture of the simulated arcade. Only from the *punto stabile* is the complete dissolution of the aesthetic boundary realized, which also affects the role of the distanced beholder: by having the representation intrude into actual space, the viewer is transformed into a participant directly involved in the proceedings. Thus Pfeiffer sums up: 'La sua [Pozzo's] arte vuole informare, rendere presente la storia sacra nella vita quotidiana […] Non vuole una distanza estetica tra l'osservatore e l'opera'.[10]

On Pfeiffer's account, the influence of the *Spiritual Exercises* made itself felt in the suspension of aesthetic distance, which forced the actualisation and self-referentiality of the represented action as the beholder becomes an immediate witness to it.[11] This resembled the techniques Ignatius of Loyola described as the 'Composition of Place' (*compositio loci*) and the 'Application of the Senses' (*applicatio sensuum*). By inserting the practitioner of the exercises imaginatively into biblical episodes and allowing him to participate in his

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8   On Pozzo's works in Sant'Ignazio see Vignau-Wilberg P., *Andrea Pozzos Innenraumgestaltung in S. Ignazio. Ein Beitrag zum Innenraum des römischen Spätbarocks*, Ph.D. thesis (Kiel: 1966); Kerber B., *Andrea Pozzo,* Beiträge zur Kunstgeschichte 6 (Berlin – New York: 1971); Burda-Stengel F., *Andrea Pozzo und die Videokunst. Neue Überlegungen zum barocken Illusionismus* (Berlin: 2001); Hecht C., "Der 'Concetto' von Andrea Pozzos Langhausfresko in S. Ignazio", in Karner H. (ed.), *Andrea Pozzo (1642–1709). Der Maler-Architekt und die Räume der Jesuiten* (Vienna: 2012) 37–43.

9   Pozzo A., *Perspectiva pictorum et architectorum*, 2 vols. (Rome: 1693–1700; reprint Trent: 2009) vol. 1, Fig. 101.

10   Pfeiffer, "Pozzo e la spiritualità" 14; 'His [Pozzo's] art wishes to inform, to render salvation history present in everyday life […] He does not want any aesthetic distance between the beholder and the work'.

11   Pfeiffer, "Pozzo e la spiritualità" 14.

FIGURE 14.1   *Andrea Pozzo, "The Propagation of Faith by Ignatius of Loyola and the Society*
of Jesus", ceiling vault (1694). Fresco. Rome, Church of Sant'Ignazio.
IMAGE © MICHAEL IMHOF.

own salvation story, these techniques functioned in their effects upon the contemplative experience analogously to Pozzo's transformation of the beholder's experience in the *punto stabile.*

The 'Composition of Place', to which Pfeiffer makes particular reference, is an obligatory component of every meditation.[12] As a prelude to the exercise, it describes the mental construction of the setting in the imagination of the practitioner:

> *The First Prelude* is a composition made by imagining the place. Here we should take notice of the following. When a contemplation or meditation is about something that can be gazed on, for example, a contemplation of Christ our Lord, who is visible, the composition consists of seeing in imagination the physical place where that which I want to contemplate is taking place. By a physical place I mean, for instance, a temple or a mountain where Jesus Christ or Our Lady happens to be, in accordance with the topic I desire to contemplate.[13]

In the famous Meditation on Hell, Ignatius calls upon the practitioner to construct a three-dimensional space within the imagination: '*The First Prelude*, the composition of place. Here it will be to see in imagination the length, breadth, and depth of hell'.[14] In a similar fashion, one is called upon to investigate the spatial aspects of the Nativity. ('Similarly look at the place or cave of the nativity: How big is it, or small? How low or high? And how is it furnished?')[15]

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12   On the 'Composition of Place' see the seminal study by Fabre P.-A., *Ignace de Loyola. Le lieu de l'image. Le problème de la composition de lieu dans les pratiques spirituelles et artistiques jésuites de la seconde moitié du XVIᵉ Siècle* (Paris: 1992); see also Boer W. de, "Invisible Contemplation: A Paradox in the Spiritual Exercises", in Enenkel K. – Melion W.S. (eds.), *Meditatio—Refashioning the Self: Theory and Practice in Late Medieval and Early Modern Intellectual Culture,* Intersections 17 (Leiden: 2011) 233–256; Göttler C., *Last Things. Art and the Religious Imagination in the Age of Reform*, Proteus: Studies in Early Modern Identity Formation 2 (Turnhout: 2010) 278–317; Olphe-Galliard M., "Composition de lieu", in *Dictionnaire de spiritualité* II (1953), cols. 1321–26; Standaert N., "The Composition of Place. Creating Space for an Encounter", *The Way* 46, 1, (2007) 7–20.

13   Ignatius of Loyola, *Exercitia Spiritualia*, ed. I. Calveras – C. de Dalmases, Monumenta Ignatiana, ser. secunda: Exercitia Spiritualia S. Ignatii de Loyola et eorum Directoria 1 (Rome: 1967) 47; the translation of this text is from Ignatius of Loyola, "The Spiritual Exercises", in Ganss G.E. (ed.), *Ignatius of Loyola. The Spiritual Exercises and Selected Works* (New York – Mahwah: 1991) 136.

14   Ignatius of Loyola, *Ex. Sp.* 65 [141].

15   Ignatius of Loyola, *Ex. Sp.* 112 [150].

These few examples already demonstrate that the *Spiritual Exercises* are not only characterized by visual experience, but also manifest decidedly spatial and topographic qualities that—as Pierre-Antoine Fabre has shown—have their origins in ancient rhetorical and mnemonic techniques.[16]

The 'Composition of Place', then, becomes relevant for Jesuit art patronage when it is detached from its context of an entirely imaginary mode of beholding and intermingled with the sensory realm of actual space. When Pfeiffer writes, with reference to Pozzo's frescoes in the *Casa professa*, 'Andrea Pozzo dipinge così come se egli dovesse fare un esercizio secondo il metodo ignaziano o, meglio, egli fa compiere all'osservatore un tale esercizio',[17] he presupposes this spatial intermingling as a given, although it is in fact a thesis that would first need to be demonstrated.

Such an intermingling of various levels of reality and spatial perception is already evinced by Ludolph of Saxony's *Vita Jesu Christi*, one of the most influential meditation texts of the late Middle Ages. Its significance for Ignatius of Loyola's conversion, as well as for the genesis of the *Spiritual Exercises*, is well known.[18] In the proemium, Ludolph of Saxony offers some methodological advice regarding the topographical embellishment of the individual episodes. In the words of a sixteenth-century Italian translator,

> Leggi adunque le cose che furono fatte come se si facessero adesso. Mettiti dinanzi gli occhi il passato come presente, & cosi tu prouerai le cose con più gusto, & più care. [...] conciosia che è diletteuol cosa aspirare alla terra santa [...] ma molto più diletteuole è il *uederla con gli occhi propri, & riuolgersi per la mente*, in che modo in ogni luogo il Signore operasse in quella la nostra salute.[19]

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16   Fabre, *Ignace de Loyola* 91–108; Carruthers M.J., *The Craft of Thought. Meditation, Rhetoric, and the Making of Images 400–1200*, Cambridge Studies in Medieval Literature 34 (Cambridge: 1998) 16–22 also points to Jewish and Biblical influences.

17   Pfeiffer, "Pozzo e la spiritualità" 15; 'Andrea Pozzo paints as though he were performing an exercise in accordance with the Ignatian method, or rather, he makes the beholder perform such an exercise'.

18   Cf. Baier W., *Untersuchungen zu den Passionsbetrachtungen in der Vita Christi des Ludolph of Saxony. Ein quellenkritischer Beitrag zu Leben und Werk Ludolfs und zur Geschichte der Passionstheologie*, 3 vols., Analecta Cartusiana 44 (Salzburg: 1977); Zarncke L., *Die Exercitia spiritualia des Ignatius von Loyola in ihren geistesgeschichtlichen Zusammenhängen*, Schriften des Vereins für Reformationsgeschichte 49 (Leipzig: 1931); Bodenstedt M., *The Vita Christi of Ludolphus the Cartusian* (Washington, DC: 1944).

19   Ludolph of Saxony, *Vita di Giesu Christo* (Venice, Altobello Salicato: 1589) Prologo, unpaged [c3]: 'Therefore read what happens as if it were happening now. Make the past

The passage demonstrates the common practice in which a concrete geographical location—here, the holy sites in which Jesus performed his works—is given imaginary spatial form through the inner gaze of the pilgrim. This space serves as a kind of matrix within which the biblical events of the past come to life at their historical sites and are experienced by the pilgrim in personal terms. The context of the novitiate's spiritual reading shows that the Jesuits were schooled in these meditative techniques from the start.[20]

An overlaying of real and imaginary realms of space can also be found in the methodical prayer practices of the Jesuits. Whereas Ignatius of Loyola foregoes any detailed explanation regarding the 'Composition of Place' in the *Spiritual Exercises*, there are extensive instructions in the various popular prayer manuals known as Directories. In one such guide, the novitiate master Antonio Valentino writes, somewhat in passing:

> Quanto al modo generale di considerare i misterii di Cristo per imitare le sue virtù et specialmente l'humiltà, obedienza et carità, è tale che mirando prima con l'occhio della fede e della ragione il fatto che contiene l'historia con le circostanze delle persone et luoghi, *l'huomo si faccia talmente presente al misterio o il misterio a sè*, come se con gli occhi vedesse ogni cosa et udisse ciò che si parla.[21]

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present before your eyes and in this way you will enjoy and love the things more [...] It is wonderful to long for the Holy Land [...] but it is even more wonderful to see this land *with one's own eyes* and then to consider *mentally* how Jesus there worked our salvation [my emphasis]'; See also Falkner A., "Was las Iñigo de Loyola auf seinem Krankenlager? Zum Prooemium der Vita Jesu Christi", *Geist und Leben* 61, 4 (1988) 258–264.

20   See the section "Libri ad usm magistri novitiorum accommodati" in *Regulae Societatis Iesu* (Rome, Collegio Romano: 1607) 125–126 which mentions Ludolph of Saxony's work explicitly.

21   Valentino A., "Informatio Padris Antonii Valentino", in Iparraguirre I. (ed.), *Directoria Exercitiorum Spiritualium (1540–1599)*, Monumenta Historica Societatis Iesu 76 (Rome: 1955) Doc. 16, 26 [199]: 'As for the general way of considering the mysteries of Christ in order to imitate his virtues, particularly his humility, obedience and charity, it is as follows. First a person beholds with the eye of faith and reason the event contained in history, with the circumstances of persons and places, *and makes himself as present to the mystery—or the mystery as present to himself*—as if he saw everything with his own eyes and heard what was being said [my emphasis]'. Trans. in Palmer M.E. (ed.), *On Giving the Spiritual Exercises. The Early Jesuit Manuscript Directories and the Official Directory of 1599* (St. Louis, MO: 1996) 83.

While Valentino puts both possibilities ('to make himself as present to the mystery—or the mystery as present to himself') next to one another without further commentary, Diego Miró prefers the method in which the imaginary realization is connected back to the real space.

> In compositione loci homo constituit se quasi praesentem loco ubi res gesta fuit vel alibi, et oculis imaginationis videt omnia quae illic sunt, dicuntur et fiunt vel fieri creduntur, *atque haec eadem ut praesentia sibi in loco ubi ipse est eodem modo considerare poterit, et hoc ultimum fieri expedit.*[22]

Since Miró's manual for a long time enjoyed quasi-official status, his views strongly influenced the praxis of mental prayer.[23] The recommendation to connect the 'Composition of Place' back to the space of the beholder is of particular interest in the context of this analysis in so far as it was made while the work on the interior of the Gesù chapels took place.

Similar explications can be found in Bartolommeo Ricci's *Instruttione di meditare* (published in 1600)—a comprehensive prayer manual that contains the most extensive treatment of the 'Composition of Place' of which I am aware. Ricci, too, understands on the basis of his experience as a novitiate master that the imaginary conception of space could present great difficulties, particularly for those who are unskilled in the practice of meditation.[24] He therefore recommends that for the particulars of the imaginative space, one should orient oneself based on what is available to the senses in the immediate environment:

> E perche molti sono, che hanno dificultà à determinare dette misure, terminerai tu la lunghezza, se t'imaginerai, d'abbassar gl'occhi à piedi,

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22   Miró D., "Directoria P. Iacobi Miró", in Iparraguirre I. (ed.), *Directoria Exercitiorum Spiritualium (1540–1599)*, Monumenta Historica Societatis Iesu 76 (Rome: 1955) Doc. 22–23, 66 [394]; 'In the composition of place, a person makes himself present, as it were, to the place where the event occurred, or to some other place. With the eyes of the imagination he beholds everything which is found, said, or done there, or is thought to be done there. *He can also imagine that all these things are similarly present to him in the place where he is. This latter procedure is normally preferable* [my emphasis]'. Trans. in Palmer, *On Giving* 174; on the Directories of Valentino and Miró see Fabre, *Ignace de Loyola* 136–142.

23   Palmer, *On Giving* 162.

24   Although the 'Composition of Place', was an important aid to meditation, at the same time one was cautioned against lingering too long on this preliminary exercise; see Göttler, *Last Things* 278–282.

e poi stenderli alla distanza, che ti piace: al medesimo modo hauerai la larghezza, se volterai gl'occhi prima ad vna parte, e poi all'altra, quanto lontano vorrai: e parimente l'altezza, s'abbassati l'occhi al pauimento, l'alzerai in sù, quanto ti par che basti.[25]

Ricci generalizes this method of proceeding as a universal rule. He constructs a hierarchy at the top of which stand visible spaces; images come next: '[…] gioueria à formarsi i luoghi, prima hauer visti gli stessi, secondo hauerne vedute l'Imagini, terzo sentirne parlare à chi ci è stato, quarto leggerne libri, che ne raggionano'.[26] Thus, in the meditation on the Incarnation of Christ, he advises the reader to conceptualize the house of the Holy Family, in which Mary's Annunciation took place, in terms of its likely physical parameters, in case he has not seen it personally in Loreto ('deuerai comporti quella Casuccia della SS. Madonna, di una determinata lunghezza, e larghezza, e parimente l'altezza, la quale ti parrà verisimile che fosse, se non l'havesti veduta in Loreto').[27]

In light of these numerous examples, the once controversial question concerning a specific Jesuit aesthetic can also be reformulated in reference to space and place. Herbert Karner, for instance, sees in Pfeiffer's approach a possibility 'to sketch out an unmistakeably "Jesuit" conception of certain kind of Jesuit spaces beyond any question of style'.[28] Yet this claim has heretofore been pursued only in a limited way, since Pfeiffer and Karner illustrated their theses exclusively with reference to late Baroque spaces. There is a serious objection to this temporal limitation—namely, why should the *Spiritual Exercises* only

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25   Ricci Bartolomeo, *Instrvttione di meditare* (Rome, Luigi Zannetti: 1600) 87; 'And since many will have difficulty determining the specified dimensions, you can establish the length if you imagine looking down at your feet and then directing your gaze into the distance as far as you like. In the same way, you obtain the width by turning your eyes first to one side and then the other, as far as you like. And similarly, the height, by lowering your eyes to the ground and lifting them up to where it seems sufficient to you'.

26   Ricci B., *Instrvttione* 88; '[…] it is helpful to shape the spaces in the following manner: first, as you yourself have seen them; second, according to the pictures that you have seen of them; third, according to the stories you have heard from those who have been there; fourth, according to books that deal with them'.

27   Ricci B., *Instrvttione* 87; '[…] you must compose the little house of the Holy Mother for yourself with the particular length, and width, and height that appears probable to you, if you have not seen it in Loreto'.

28   Karner H., "Jesuitische Sakralräume und ignatianische Spiritualität", *Acta Historiae Artis Slovenica* 7 (2002) 35.

come to have artistic influence with Pozzo when an intermingling of real and imaginary space was already evident during the early work on the Gesù?[29]

The main reason for this limitation is most likely to be found in an influential paradigm of Baroque fresco painting. Older scholarship assessed Pozzo's vault fresco primarily in connection with illusion, that is to say, as 'the staging of an illusory world within the image that strives to be so perfect that the beholder is not capable of distinguishing between illusion and reality'.[30] Only against this background can it be explained why older, non-illusionistic forms of representation such as those in the chapels of the Gesù are consistently ignored. A comprehensive investigation of Jesuit sacred spaces that would take full account of the significance of the *Spiritual Exercises* from the very start,

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29   The fact that Andrea Pozzo is one of the most famous artists of the Jesuit order likely strengthened this interpretation. An artist-centric understanding that focuses exclusively on his Jesuit background would take a back seat to the view of *patronage studies*, which have pointed out the influence of the patron on the shaping of the work; see the foundational study by Haskell F., *Painters and Patrons. A Study in the Relations between Art and Society in the Age of the Baroque* (London: 1963) esp. 63–94.

30   Büttner F., "Die ästhetische Illusion und ihre Ziele. Überlegungen zur historischen Rezeption barocker Deckenmalerei in Deutschland", *Das Münster* 51 (2001) 110; Feinblatt E., "Jesuit Ceiling Decoration", *The Art quarterly* 10 (1947) 237–253; Roettgen S., *Wandmalerei in Italien. Barock und Aufklärung 1600–1800* (Munich: 2007) 262–278; Tintelnot H., *Die barocke Freskomalerei in Deutschland. Ihre Entwicklung und europäische Wirkung* (Munich: 1951); Fiess P., *Die Anfänge der barocken Deckenmalerei in süddeutschen Kirchenräumen. Prinzipien der Illusion* (Karlsruhe: 1997); with reference to Pozzo's ceiling vault see Rupprecht B., *Die bayerische Rokoko-Kirche* (Kallmünz/Opf.: 1959) 13: 'Das Wesentliche des Illusionismus besteht nur darin, daß alles Illusionierte scheinbar in den Realitätsgrad des gebauten Raumes überführt wird. […] Die Voraussetzung für diese Gegenwart ist der Umstand, daß es kein Mittel gibt, die Illusion sinnlich erfaßbar aufzulösen, dass man nicht „desillusioniert" werden, daß man den „Schwindel" nicht entlarven kann'. ('The essential element of illusionism consists only in that everything that is illusionary is seemingly transported into the level of reality of the constructed space […] The precondition for this presentness is the circumstance that there is no sensory means to comprehensively dispel the illusion, that one doesn't become "disillusioned", that one can't unmask the "deception"'); Frey D., "Der Realitätscharakter des Kunstwerks", in Frey, D., *Kunstwissenschaftliche Grundfragen. Prolegomena zu einer Kunstphilosophie* (Vienna: 1946) 106–149; Sandström S., *Levels of Unreality. Studies in Structure and Construction in Italian Mural Painting during the Renaissance*, Figura Uppsala Studies in the History of Art New Series 4 (Uppsala: 1963); Krieger M., "Zum Problem des Illusionismus im 14. und 15. Jahrhundert—ein Deutungsversuch", *Bruckmanns Pantheon* 54 (1996) 4–18; on immersion, see Grau O., *Virtual Art. From Illusion to Immersion* (Cambridge: 2003); cf. the numerous essays in Bleumer H. (ed.), *Immersion im Mittelalter* (Stuttgart – Weimar: 2012), Zeitschrift für Literaturwissenschaft und Linguistik 167, 42 (2012).

however, must include the late Mannerist decorations of the Gesù just as much as Pozzo's Baroque painting in Sant'Ignazio. The first necessary step to such broader understanding is to abandon the anachronistic use of the concept of illusionism and look to alternative possibilities of interpretation.[31] Oskar Bätschmann's focus on aspects of pictorial presence and animation is one such fruitful alternative:

> The production of lifelike pictorial presence is served by the continued intensification of corporeality, the clarification of the relationships between bodies and space, the heightening of the sensual appeal of skin, as well as the intensification of expression and movement. It appears that the production of pictorial presence was pursued intensely in European painting from the second third of the 15th century on.[32]

Bätschmann's interpretation also does justice to Vasari's progressive historical model of the rebirth of the arts. Vasari's point of reference was, indeed, not the deceptive imitation of nature, but rather the criterion of liveliness, in the sense of vivid lifelike presence.[33] Thus, Leonardo's art, which ushers in the *maniera moderna*, stood out because he was able to lend his figures a heretofore unknown liveliness ('dette [Leonardo] veramente alle sue figure il moto ed il fiato').[34] This is the sense in which John Shearmann emphasized that it was 'the intention to place the subject more vividly before the eye'[35] that distinguished the Renaissance artist from an artist of the Middle Ages. And finally,

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31 Cf. Büttner, "Die ästhetische Illusion" 111.

32 'Der Herstellung der lebensähnlichen bildlichen Präsenz dienen die kontinuierliche Steigerung der Körperlichkeit, die Verdeutlichung der Beziehungen von Körpern und Raum, der Anstieg des sinnlichen Reizes der Haut wie auch die Steigerung von Ausdruck und Bewegung. Es scheint, daß die Herstellung bildlicher Präsenz in der europäischen Malerei vom zweiten Drittel des 15. Jahrhunderts an erneut intensiv verfolgt wurde'. Bätschmann O., "Bild—Text: Problematische Beziehungen", in Fruh C. – Rosenberg R. (eds.), *Kunstgeschichte—aber wie? Zehn Themen und Beispiele* (Berlin: 1989) 37–38.

33 Cf. Fehrenbach F., "Kohäsion und Transgression. Zur Dialektik lebender Bilder", in Pfisterer U. – Zimmermann A. (eds.), *Animationen/Transgressionen. Das Kunstwerk als Lebewesen*, Hamburger Forschungen zur Kunstgeschichte 4 (Berlin: 2005) 20.

34 Leonardo 'may be truly said to have endowed his figures with motion and breath'. Trans. in Vasari Giorgio, *Lives of the Painters, Sculptors and Architects*, ed. G. du C. de Vere, 2 vols. (New York – Toronto: 1996) vol. 1, 620; on this interpretation, see also Jacobs F.H., *The Living Image in Renaissance Art* (Cambridge: 2005) 42.

35 Shearman J., *Only Connect . . . Art and Spectator in the Italian Renaissance*, Bollingen series 35, 37 (Princeton, NJ: 1992) 208.

Frederika Jacobs has established that the vocabulary of sixteenth-century art criticism was characterized by terms such as *vivo* (alive), *vivere* (to live, be alive), *veramente vivissimo* (to truly be very much alive), etc.[36]

Presence in Meditation and Painting

The concept of presence is encountered predominantly in the context of sacred art. David Ganz and Georg Henkel have found that the staging of cult images in the post-Tridentine period attains 'an exponentially heightened level of aesthetic presence';[37] Thomas Lentes speaks of a 'condensation of pictorial presence'[38] within the liturgical context; and Iris Wenderholm declares 'the experience of presence and space'[39] to be an ideal frame of reference for the conceptual understanding of the multi-medial strategies used in creating altar ensembles. Paying particular attention to the strategies of producing presence offers a heuristically legitimate opportunity to approach the historical conditions of reception within an appropriate framing context. After all, to contemplate the life and suffering of Jesus in a manner that would bring it vividly before the mind's eye was a constitutive component of mental prayer technique. Exemplary of this practice is a meditative exercise, which probably can be attributed to Everard Mercurian, in which the presence of God could be produced in multiple ways:

> Praesentiam Dei semper habere debeat uno ex iis modis: vel primo, Christi humanitatem sacratissimam coram oculis ac si Christum crucifixum videret coram se semper, vel imaginem mysterii eius diei, quod meditatus est mane. In corde effigiem seu imaginem Christi crucifixi gestare, ibi illam intenduo, aut Beatam Virginem cum Christo in ulnis. Vel in celo ad dexteram Dei Patris, ubi sedet et unde nos aspicit. In coelis existentem et inde omnia gubernantem. Vel ubique existentem in omni

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36   Jacobs, *The Living Image* 2.

37   Ganz D. – Henkel G., "Kritik und Modernisierung. Der katholische Bildkult des konfessionellen Zeitalters", in Hoeps R. (ed.), *Bild-Konflikte*, Handbuch der Bildtheologie 1 (Paderborn – Munich – Vienna – Zurich: 2007) 282.

38   Lentes T., "Ereignis und Repräsentation. Ein Diskussionsbeitrag zum Verhältnis von Liturgie und Bild im Mittelalter", in Stollberg-Rilinger B. – Weißbrich T. (eds.), *Die Bildlichkeit symbolischer Akte*, Symbolische Kommunikation und gesellschaftliche Wertesysteme 28 (Münster: 2010) 170.

39   Wenderholm I., *Bild und Berührung. Skulptur und Malerei auf dem Altar der italienischen Frührenaissance*, I Mandorli 5 (Munich – Berlin: 2006) 93.

loco et coram nobis, ut creator omnium et omnia conservans ac guber-
nans. Vel intra nos ipsos et essentia animae nostrae existentem dansque
ei essentiam et vivere ac esse etc. Vel sub aliquo conspectu, prout plus
expediet.[40]

Such expressions as 'making present' or 'keeping before one's eyes' are fre-
quently encountered in the meditation instructions. They should not be mis-
understood as empty clichés. Rather, they are paraphrases of a category that
was already known in the tradition of ancient rhetoric as *enargeia*.

The concept of *enargeia*, which Heinrich Plett describes as potentially a
'universal principle of representation',[41] is a technique used by speakers and
poets in order to depict a subject in the most vivid, imagistic manner. The locus
classicus is a well-known passage in Quintilian's *De institutione oratoria*:

> There are certain experiences which the Greeks call φαντασίαι, and the
> Romans *visiones*, whereby things absent are presented to our imagina-
> tion [repraesentantur animo] with such extreme vividness that they
> seem actually to be before our very eyes [ut eas cernere oculis ac praesen-
> tes habere videamur]. It is the man who is really sensitive to such impres-
> sions who will have the greatest power over the emotions [adfectis]. [...]
> From such impressions arises that εναργεια which Cicero calls *illumina-
> tion* [illustratio] and *actuality* [evidentia], which makes us seem not so

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40   Mercurian E., "Brevis instructio de modo tradendi exercitia (probabiliter P. Everardi
     Mercuriani)", in Iparraguirre I. (ed.), *Directoria Exercitiorum Spiritualium (1540–1599)*,
     Monumenta Historica Societatis Iesu 76 (Rome: 1955) Doc. 18, 107 [261]: 'He should always
     preserve the presence of God in one of the following ways. He can keep Christ's most
     sacred humanity before his eyes as if seeing Christ before him always on the cross, or
     else by picturing the mystery he had meditated that morning. He can carry the likeness
     or image of the crucified Christ in his heart, gazing on it there; or else the Blessed Virgin
     with Christ in her arms. Or he can see him in heaven at the Father's right hand where he
     sits and beholds us; or in heaven governing all things from there; or in every place, includ-
     ing where we are, creating, preserving, and ruling all things. Or we can have him present
     within ourselves and in the essence of our soul, where he gives it essence and life and
     being, etc.'. Trans. in Palmer, *On Giving* 112.
41   Plett H.F., *Enargeia in Classical Antiquity and the Early Modern Age. The Aesthetics of
     Evidence*, International Studies in the History of Rhetoric 4 (Leiden – Boston: 2012) 2;
     a similar assessment was already made by Eck C. van, *Classical Rhetoric and the Visual
     Arts in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge – New York: 2007) 7.

much to narrate as to exhibit the actual scene, while our emotions will be no less actively stirred than if we were present at the actual occurrence.[42]

The speaker at a legal trial must describe the crime in such a way as to make the listeners think they are witnessing it directly on the spot.[43] *Enargeia*, then, designates the capacity of language to evoke images and is inextricably bound up with the imagination. Such a power of visualisation is also described by Aristotle in his poetics, although he characterises it only as placing things before one's eyes.[44]

   As Mary Carruthers has shown, the theory of meditation has a decidedly rhetorical foundation as well.[45] Even though in the meditation literature, the concept of *enargeia* is not named explicitly, nor it is an object of conceptual reflection, various paraphrases of the notion of 'making present' and 'placing before one's eyes' are in evidence. The Spanish Dominican Luis de Granada (1504–1588) already used a formulation similar to that of the above-cited manuals by Valentino and Miró ('to make himself as present to the mystery—or the mystery as present to himself'). His influence on the practice of the *Spiritual Exercises* should not be underestimated. De Granada's ascetic writings were the only works of a contemporary author to be recommended for reading by the official Directory alongside the works of Saint Bernard and Thomas à Kempis. In the *Libro de la oración y meditación* (1566) he explains that one

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42   Quintilian, *De institutione oratoria*, ed. H.E. Butler, 4 vols., The Loeb Classical Library 124–127 (London – Cambridge: 1959–1963) vol. 2, VI, 2, 29–33 [433–437]; the cited passage from Cicero is as follows: 'For a great impression is made by dwelling on a single point, and also by clear explanation and almost visual presentation of events as if practically going on—which are very effective both in stating a case and in explaining and amplifying the statement, with the object of making the fact we amplify appear to the audience as important as eloquence is able to make it', M.T. Cicero, *De oratore*, ed. H. Rackham, 2 vols., The Loeb Classical Library 348–349 (London – Cambridge: 1959–1960) vol. 2, III, 202 [161].

43   Cf. Quintillian, *De institutione oratoria*, vol. 3, VIII, 3, 62 [245]: 'It is a great gift to be able to set forth the facts on which we are speaking clearly and vividly. For oratory fails of its full effect, and does not assert itself as it should, if its appeal is merely to the hearing, and if the judge merely feels that the facts on which he has to give his decision are being narrated to him, and not displayed in their living truth to the eyes of the mind'.

44   Cf. Aristotle, *The Poetics*, ed. W.H. Fyfe, The Loeb Classical Library 199 (London – Cambridge: 1960) 17 [65]: 'In constructing plots and completing the effect by the help of dialogue the poet should, as far as possible, keep the scene before his eyes. Only thus by getting the picture as clear as if he were present at the actual event, will he find what is fitting and detect contradictions.'

45   On the connection to rhetoric, see Carruthers, *The Craft of Thought*; Rabbow P., *Seelenführung. Methodik der Exerzitien in der Antike* (Munich: 1954).

must first translate the mystery in the reading into a pictorial representation before the inner eye ('figurare con la imaginativa').[46] It is this imaginative visualization in the here and now ('facendo conto che *all'hora in quel medesimo punto il tutto si vegga dinanzi alla presenza nostra*') that first leads to a more vivid and enriched consideration ('più viva, & piena di più sentimenti') of the mysteries of faith that are the object of the meditation. This form of prayer can then be performed without difficulty, as if the objects in question are present in the very place one happens to be ('ne vi paia difficile di potere fare questa consideratione cosi perfettamente, *come se vedesimo le dette cose presenti à noi*' [author's emphasis]).[47]

As this passage suggests, the connection between engendering presence and affectivity that was articulated by Quintilian as characteristic for the concept of *enargeia* also undergirds de Granada's elucidations. According to the anthropological assumptions of the time, the significance of affect (*affectus*) consisted in its connection to the will (*voluntas*). As one of the three capacities of the soul, it was responsible for the practical implementation of meditation in a Christian form of life. This was also reflected in the *schola affectus*, as the tertianship, the third year of novitiate learning, was called. During this time, the Jesuits learned by means of the techniques of mental prayer to deny themselves, cleanse themselves affectively from sin, practice the virtues, and thereby constitute themselves as intentionally moral subjects. In this regard, Rodriguez argues that all meditations and considerations should be means to arouse affections and desires of virtues in one's heart ('tutte le meditationi, e considerationi, che faremo, hanno da esser prese da noi come mezzo per eccitare, et accendere nel nostro cuore gl'affetti, et i desiderij delle virtù').[48]

The fundamental connection between presence and affectivity is reflected in the Jesuit literature in the context of the 'Application of the Senses'. As the official Directory makes clear with reference to Bonaventura, the 'Composition of Place' already aims to unfold the entire biblical scene holistically in a way that encompasses all the senses.[49] The 'Application of the Senses' is the most

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46 See Acquaviva C., "Directoria conscripta iussu et Auctoritate R.P. Cl. Acquaviva", in Iparraguirre I. (ed.), *Directoria Exercitiorum Spiritualium* (*1540–1599*), Monumenta Historica Societatis Iesu 76 (Rome: 1955) Doc. 43, n. 160 [683].

47 Granada Luis de, *Trattato dell'oratione & della meditatione* (Venice, Gabriel Giolito de' Ferrari: 1570) 37–39.

48 Rodriguez A., *Essercitio di Perfettione*, vol. 1, 217; On the anthropological foundations, see Lundberg M., *Jesuitische Anthropologie und Erziehungslehre in der Frühzeit des Ordens ca. 1540–ca. 1650*, Studiae doctrinae Christianae Upsaliensia 6 (Uppsala: 1966) esp. 155–236.

49 Acquaviva C., "Directoria conscripta", Doc. 43, 122 [653]: 'Hence, St. Bonaventure writes in the preface to his life of Christ: If you wish to gather fruit from these matters, make yourself as present to what is recounted about the sayings and actions of the Lord Jesus

powerful instrument of visualization and presentness with which salvation history can be brought to life and made available as individual experience.[50] According to Ricci, the imagination possesses inner senses—analogous to the corporeal senses, with which material objects are perceived—which are employed to perceive the internal objects that are only present in the imagination.[51]

Since the people and events of salvation history belong to the past ('Hora perche le cose della Divina Scrittura, lequali sono ordinaria materia delle nostre meditationi, son già passate'), the practitioner of mental prayer thus only has the possibility of making these present to his mind through the inner senses of the imagination ('e perciò non possiamo esercitare i sensi corporali circa di esse, lo facciamo, come si è detto, in vigore dell'Imaginativa').[52] In his manual, Ricci gives explicit examples for the 'Application of the Senses', whereby he does not limit himself only to the five corporeal senses but also addresses the Aristotelian *sensibili communi* of size, shape, number, rest, and motion.[53] The care with which Ricci discusses the individual senses underscores the great priority Ignatius assigned to this exercise. For instance, out of consideration for the physical condition of the practitioner, certain repetitions might be left out; the 'Application of the Senses', however, was an indispensable component that was supposed to be completed with every exercise. Its function for the practitioner consisted in practicing the elicitation of affective responses, which was an essential concern of the *Spiritual Exercises* and was valued higher than knowledge attained by discursive means.[54] This entailed specific,

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Christ as if you were seeing them with your own eyes and hearing them with your own ears; do this with all the affection of your spirit, carefully, lovingly, and slowly, leaving aside all your other concerns and cares'. Trans. in Palmer, *On Giving* 314.

50 Cf. Zarncke, *Die Exercitia spiritualia* 50.

51 Ricci B., *Instrvttione* 230: 'Per intendere donque questa maniera di meditare, devi sapere, che si come i sensi, alla presenza de loro oggetti materiali si esercitano intorno di essi; cosi per virtù della Fantasia possiamo imaginarci d'adoprarli intorno all'istessi, anchorche assenti: nel qual caso, si dice tal sensatione essere imaginaria.' 'Thus, to understand this form of meditation, you must know that just as the senses work upon their material objects in their presence, so, through the nature of our fantasy, can we imagine applying these [the senses] to them [the objects] even when they are absent: in this case, we say such a sensation is imagined'.

52 Ricci B., *Instrvttione* 230–231. 'Now, since the events of the Holy Scriptures, which constitute the usual subject of our mediations, are in the past, and we therefore cannot bring our corporeal senses to bear upon them, we do is, as already mentioned, by means of the senses of the imagination'.

53 Ricci B., *Instrvttione* 237–254.

54 Ignatius of Loyola, *Ex. Sp.* 2 [121].

predefined affects which varied according to the respective object of meditation and the week of the mediation exercise ('I will ask for joy with Christ in joy; in a contemplation on the Passion, I will ask for pain, tears, and suffering with Christ suffering').[55]

The 'Application of the Senses' therefore can be understood as a technique of meditative auto-affectivity. As such, it aims at the production of emotion ('grandemente aiuta à commovere gl'affetti corrispondenti alla materia'). While the most potent means of this stimulation of emotion is through the corporeal presence of objects and people, the 'presenza imaginaria' would have been understood to have an equivalent capacity to produce an affective response:

> sebene le dette motioni principalmente e piu efficacemente sono cagionate dalla presenza corporale di essi oggetti, [...] Nientedimeno le produce ancora con assai efficacia la presenza imaginaria.[56]

As an instrument of 'engendering presence',[57] the 'Application of the Senses' aligns with Quintilian's understanding of *enargeia.* In terms of its technical process, it overcomes the temporal distance to biblical events and transports them into an imaginary sensory realm. Analogously to the techniques of rhetoric, this concrete presentness of events is achieved by means of inner *visiones* and results in a comprehensive affective involvement on the part of the practitioner. In its sensory intensity, however, the 'Application of the Senses' goes far beyond the mere status of being an eyewitness: the individual inserts himself into the imagined scene and participates *actively* in his own salvation history.

In an important study, Valeska von Rosen has been able to demonstrate the relevance of the *enargeia* concept for the pictorial understanding of the Cinquecento.[58] On her account, the commonality between pictorial and linguistic representation consists in the 'evocation of a potent presence, a fictive

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55   Ignatius of Loyola, *Ex. Sp.* 48 [136–137].

56   Ricci B., *Instrvttione* 233. 'Although the movements mentioned are induced chiefly and more effectively through the corporeal presence of these objects, [...] they are still brought forth with great efficacy through imaginary presence [...]'.

57   Rahner H., "Die Anwendung der Sinne in der Betrachtungsmethode des heiligen Ignatius von Loyola", in Rahner H., *Ignatius von Loyola als Mensch und Theologe* (Freiburg im Breisgau – Basel – Vienna: 1964) 353.

58   Cf. Rosen V. von, "Die Energeia des Gemäldes. Zu einem vergessenen Inhalt des Ut-pictura-poesis und seiner Relevanz für das cinquecenteske Bildverständnis", in *Marburger Jahrbuch für Kunstwissenschaft* 27 (2000) 171–208; see also Eck C. van, *Classical Rhetoric*; Plett, *Energeia in Classical Antiquity* 85–89.

lifelikeness of representation that aims to make something present in the here and now, and thereby makes the recipient forget its status as a mere sign, and with it, its artificiality, in order to present him with the merely fictive as a reality "before his very eyes"'.[59] Leon Battista Alberti had already been aware of this capability of painting to produce sensory presence when he wrote in his *Della Pittura* (1435/36):

> Tiene in sè la pittura forza divina non solo quanto si dice dell'amicizia, quali fa gli uomini assenti essere presenti, ma più i morti dopo molti secoli essere quasi vivi, tale che con molta ammirazione dell'artefice e con molto voluttà si riconoscono.[60]

As an example, he tells an anecdote described by Plutarch, in which one of Alexander the Great's commanders begins to tremble in every limb upon seeing a picture of his dead leader. This and similar topical formulations that suggest the liveliness of a work should be understood as more than simply praise for the artist. Rather, they point to the unique ability of the painter to generate presence.[61] This is the sense in which Mary E. Hazard has placed Quintilian's concept of *enargeia* in conjunction with the relevant statements regarding liveliness by Cennini, Alberti, and Leonardo.[62] Lora Ann Palladino also sees the influence of the *enargeia* concept on painting in the context of Titian's portrait painting: it is not 'the act of mimesis nor the resultant lifelikeness' on which all the arts are based, but rather the 'liveliness, that masterful quality of vividness and clarity which ancient rhetorical theory had christened enargeia'.[63]

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59 Von Rosen, "Die Enargeia des Gemäldes" 172.

60 Alberti L.B., *Della Pittura*, in Grayson C. (ed.), *Opere volgari*, 3 vols., Scrittori d'Italia 254 (Bari: 1973) vol. 3, 25 [44]; 'In fact, painting has a truly divine power, not only because, as they say of friendship, a painting lets the absent be present, but also because it shows [to] the living, after long centuries, the dead, so that [these] become recognized with the artist's great admiration and the viewers' pleasure'. Trans. in Alberti L.B., *On Painting*, ed. R. Sinisgalli (Cambridge – New York: 2011) 25 [44].

61 Cf. Jacobs, *The Living Image* 2; see also the various essays in Eck C. van – Gastel J. van – Kessel E. van (eds.), *The Secret Lives of the Artworks. Exploring the Boundaries between Art and Life* (Leiden: 2014).

62 Cf. Hazard M.E., "The Anatomy of 'Liveliness' as a Concept in Renaissance Aesthetics", in *The Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism* 33 (1975) 409 f.

63 Palladino L.A., *Pietro Aretino. Orator and Art Theorist*, Ph.D. thesis Yale University (Ann Arbor: 1982) 75; a similar assessment is made by Plett, *Enargeia in Classical Antiquity* 196–197: 'In Classical Antiquity and the Early Modern Age *enargeia* or *evidentia* is not one stylistic concept among others, but the fundamental constituent of all the verbal arts. There

Although pictures and texts both have the effect of producing presence, the advantage of painting over verbal representation consists in the fact that, by virtue of the characteristic specific to the medium—its visuality—it is eminently suited to the task of placing a subject immediately before the beholder's eyes. For in contrast to text, the content of which unfolds successively, a picture achieves its effects instantaneously—an argument that leads Leonardo to place painting over poetry in the *paragone*.[64]

The concept of *enargeia* manifests itself in many art theorists through the paraphrase of making something present before one's eyes, and only very occasionally is it treated as a conceptual object of reflection.[65] For instance, in his treatise *De sculptura* (1504), Pomponius Gauricus differentiated between various types of pictorial representation that are narratively structured in such a way as to bring forth an abundance of internal images. These differ from one another with respect to the temporal relationship in which they stand to the actual events in the picture. While one type, described as *enargeia*, shows what happened before the represented events, a second type of image, which Gauricus defined as *emphasis*, makes clear how the represented action will be continued.[66] Both forms of representation aim at 'mobilising the

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it compensates for the disadvantage of the ear as opposed to the eye, which as the highest of the senses has direct perceptional access to reality. The *enargeia* of the representation eliminates this deficit by projecting the absent optical visuality into a self-constructed visuality of the imagination, thus creating a fictionality whose substitutive function forms the basis of an aestheticity of representation'.

64 Vinci Leonardo da, *Das Buch von der Malerei. Nach dem Codex Vaticanus (Urbinas) 1270*, ed. and transl. H. Ludwig, 3 vols. (Vienna: 1882) vol. 1, 40; 'Painting presents its essence in an instant to the power of sight, through the same medium by which man's receptive capacity is aware of natural objects [...] Poetry makes the same report, though through a less worthy medium than the eye, and carries to the receptive capacity the shape of things named, with greater confusion and tardiness than does the eye, which is a true intermediary between the object and the receptive capacity. The eye reports with utmost truthfulness the true surfaces and shapes of that which is presented to it [...]' Trans. in Vinci L. da, *Treatise on Painting* [*Codex Urbinas 1270*], ed. Ph. McMahon, 2 vols. (Princeton, NJ– London: 1956) vol. 1, 42 [28f.]; see also Summers D., *The Judgement of Sense. Renaissance Naturalism and the Rise of Aesthetics* (Cambridge – London – New York: 1987) 71–75; Pardo M., "Memory, Imagination, Figuration. Leonardo da Vinci and the Painter's Mind", in Küchler S. – Melion W.S. (eds.), *Images of Memory. On Remembering and Representation* (Washington, DC – London: 1991) 47–73.

65 Cf. von Rosen, "Die Enargia des Gemäldes" 173–174.

66 Pomponius Gauricus, *De Sculptura*, ed. A. Chastel – R. Klein (Geneva: 1969) 196–201; see also Michels N., *Bewegung zwischen Ethos und Pathos. Zur Wirkungsästhetik italienischer*

imagination',[67] which compels the beholder to break down the static representation of the action into a number of *visiones*, to imagine the previous and subsequent moments as a succession of images, and thus 'to make the action present before the mind's eye in its entire narrative sequence'.[68]

Although the argument thus far has been laid out only in a rather sketch-like form, it is already quite clear that painting and meditation coincide in that both aim to make the events of the past present to the beholder through a process of visualisation that places vivid images before his eyes.

This functional connection can be delineated more sharply by examining the illustrated meditation literature of the Jesuits. As a journal entry by Ignatius' follower Peter Faber (1506–1546) makes clear, 'praying in images'[69] is a process that manifests itself early on. Here, for instance, as he is sunk raptly in prayer, Faber recognizes the power of the material image to bring absent objects before the beholder's eye:

> Dum etiam me convertissem ad imaginem crucifixi ad orandum Christum, ego itidem: sensi quamdam vivam intelligentiam circa utilitatem imaginum, quae ideo (ut tunc primum sensi) sunt repraesentationes personarum, quia denuo nobis praesentes ipsas faciunt. Rogavi ergo cum magna devotione Deum Patrem, ut dignaretur mihi applicare hanc gratiam praesentiae Christi, et ipsum praesentem facere menti meae, iuxta hanc virtutem repraesentativam, quam habent imagines sanctorum apud pie credentes ac catholice fideles.[70]

Kunsttheorie des 15. und 16. Jahrhunderts, Kunstgeschichte, Form und Interesse 11 (Münster: 1988) 78.

67   Michels, *Bewegung* 84.

68   von Rosen "Die Enargeia des Gemäldes" 174.

69   Rahner, "Die Anwendung der Sinne" 367.

70   See the entry from July 6, 1543 in Lirola F. (ed.), *Fabri Monumenta. Beati Petri Fabri Epistolae, Memoriale, et Processus*, Monumenta Historica Societatis Iesu 14 (Madrid: 1914) 659; 'As I turned to a crucifix to pray to Christ, I was aware at the same time of a clear understanding about the usefulness of images; namely as I realized then for the first time that they represent persons in order to make them present to us anew. So I begged God the Father with great fervor to grant that I might profit from this grace of Christ's presence and also that he might make Christ present to my mind through the vivid representational power possessed by the images of saints in the eyes of the devoutly believing Catholic faithful'. Trans. in Faber P., "The Memoriale", in Padberg J.W. (ed.), *The Spiritual Writings of Pierre Favre*, Jesuit Primary Sources in English Translation 16 (St. Louis, MO: 1996) 350 [265]. In a similar context, see Dekoninck R., "Visual Representation as Real Presence. Otto van Veen's 'Naples Vision of Saint Thomas Aquinas'", in Eck C. van – Gastel J.

It is precisely because contemporary art theory reflected the power of painting to create presence that the act of painting could then become a metaphor for meditation.[71] Thus, in his *Via vitae aeternae*, printed in Antwerp in 1620, the Jesuit Antoine Sucquet defines meditation as follows: 'Quid ergo meditatio vel meditari? Est considerare cum animo suo, et velut in corde depingere mysterium, aut doctrinam aliquam e vitam Christi vel denique perfectionem Dei cum circumstantiis personae, actionum, verborum, loci ac temporis'.[72]

The formulation *depingere in corde* was translated artistically by Boetius à Bolswert in numerous illustrations. In the *Birth of Christ* [Fig. 14.3], the picturing soul—a particularly beloved motif for Jesuit emblem devices—points to the process of generating presence by means of internal images.[73] The main scene depicts the Adoration of the Shepherds, which is supplemented by a number of allegorical elements. As the commentary in the text makes clear, the 'Composition of Place' corresponds to the pictorial composition ('Compositio loci, ut in imagine').[74] In the foreground, on a slight elevation, stands a painter with brushes and palette. In accordance with the techniques of mental prayer, he has concretely visualized the birth of Christ in his imagination and stands by as a witness to the event. The depiction of the painter from behind invites the beholder to emulate him and facilitates the empathetic participation in the events. The heart-shaped canvas is partitioned into five fields and is held up by the personification of serenity (*tranquillitas animae*). The images painted inside the heart depict various aspects of meditation. Like the Latin *re-cor-dari*, they refer to the 'emotionally engaged work of making memory

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van – Kessel E. van (eds.), *The Secret Lives of the Artworks. Exploring the Boundaries between Art and Life* (Leiden: 2014) 179–199; Le Gaudier Antoine, *De dei praesentia* (Cologne, Peter Henning: 1622) 116–117 offers a similar explanation of an image as an appropriate aide to meditation for making the mysteries of the past to be truly and vividly observed in the present.

71   Smith J.C., *Sensuous Worship. Jesuits and the Art of the Early Catholic Reformation in Germany* (Princeton, NJ – Woodstock, NY: 2002) 48.

72   Sucquet Antoine, *Via vitae aeternae* (Antwerp, Henricum Aertssium: 1630) 501; 'Meditating means to contemplate with one's soul some secret, or teaching, or the perfection of God, together with the corresponding persons, actions, words, places, and times, as if painting it into one's heart'.

73   Smith, *Sensuous Worship* 49; Dekoninck R., *Ad imaginem. Status, fonctions, et usages de l'image dans la littérature spirituelle jésuite du XVII siècle*, Travaux du grand siècle 26 (Geneva: 2005) 190; Melion W.S., *The Meditative Art. Studies in the Northern Devotional Print 1550–1625*, Early Modern Catholicism and the Visual Arts Series 1 (Philadelphia: 2009) 151–189.

74   Sucquet A., *Via vitae aeternae* 517.

FIGURE 14.3   *Boethius à Bolswert, "The Christian Soul Painting the Nativity", engraving
illustration to Antoine Sucquet,* Via vitae aeternae (*Antwerp, Henricus Aertssius:
1630*) *vol. 2, chapter 35, 517.*
IMAGE © BAYERISCHE STAATSBIBLIOTHEK.

images' and are bound up with the stylistic rhetorical figure of *enargeia*.[75] The individual pictorial fields structure the act of meditation by diminishing the instantaneous effect of the entire composition as a whole and separating it into disparate elements. Thus, the official Directory had already compared meditation to the viewing process of a picture that proceeds from the whole to observing increasingly more detail:

> […] deinde vero in ipsa meditatione incipiat in singulis eius partibus immorari, easque ponderare et penetrare. Ut cum quis coniicit oculos in tabulam aliquam pictam, in qua sit varietas rerum pictarum, prius unico intuitu omnia confuse cernit, et scit quid in ea tabula contineatur; postea vero figit oculos in singulis particularibus rebus, quae ibi pictae sunt, easque sigillatim melius et accuratius perpendit.[76]

Following the system in general use since Nadal's *Imagines*, the letter annotations refer to a text that accompanies the image, which contains some starting points for meditation.[77] What is significant is the close connection between the techniques of generating presence by means of internal images and the notion of the practitioner's auto-affectivity. Thus, the letters point to the specific affects for which the beholder should pray before the devotional scene: Gratitude (L); Joy (M); Wonder (N), with the shepherds; and in contrast, Sympathy (O), with Joseph.

Just as painting, on Bätschmann's account, seeks to attenuate its representational character in order to place the depicted events before the eyes of the beholder as if they were present and animated, so the practitioner must also overcome the character of inner images as signs in order to achieve the comprehensive experience of presentness. As Quintilian's definition of *enargeia* makes clear, the techniques of presence-producing visualisation ultimately

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75   Cf. Carruthers, *The Craft of Thought* 133; see also Dekoninck, *Ad imaginem* 196; Göttler, *Last Things* 189.

76   Acquaviva C., "Directoria conscripta", Doc. 43, 150 [673]; 'Later, in the meditation itself, it will begin spending time on its individual parts, weighing and penetrating them. It is like when a person casts his eyes upon a painting which contains a great variety of objects: he first gets a hazy impression of the whole in a single glance, and then afterwards focuses on the individual detail of the painting, inspecting them more fully and accurately one by one'. Trans. in Palmer, *On Giving*, 321.

77   On Nadal's *Adnotationes et meditationes in Evangelia* see Melion W.S., "The Art of Vision in Jerome Nadal's *Adnotationes et meditationes in Evangelia*", in Jerome Nadal, *Annotations and Meditations on the Liturgical Gospels I: The Infancy Narratives*, ed. and trans. F.A. Homann (Philadelphia: 2003) 1–96.

aim at the auto-affectivity of the practitioner, which influences his will and spurs him to imitation. In accordance with the spread of meditation techniques, in the Middle Ages the affects came to the fore as an object of theological discussion and as such were thematised by Thomas of Aquinas and Bonaventure in the context of the function of sacred images.[78] In relation to art theory, it was the Bolognese Archbishop Gabriele Paleotti—significantly, an ecclesiastic—who first declared the affective stimulation of the beholder by means of 'imagini fatte al vivo' (images made from life) to be highest aim of sacred art in his *Discorso intorno alle imagini sacre e profane* (1582).[79]

Strategies of the Artistic Production of Presence in the Cappella della Natività

As this account has by now made clear, the concept of vivid presence was constitutive for both Jesuit meditation and pictorial praxis. Its roots in rhetoric underscores its significance as an historical category, all the more so since it was a consistent component of Jesuit education and substantially shaped the Jesuits' perceptual horizon.[80] When the Jesuit aesthetics of space are

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78 Büttner F., "Vergegenwärtigung und Affekte in der Bildauffassung des späten 13. Jahrhunderts", in Peil D. – Schilling M. – Strohschneider P. (eds.), *Erkennen und Erinnern in Kunst und Literatur. Kolloquium Reisensburg, 4.–7. Januar 1996* (Tübingen: 1998) 195–213.

79 The entire passage is as follows: 'Essendo donque la imaginativa nostra così atta a ricevere tali impressioni, non è dubbio non ci essere istrumento più forte o più efficace a ciò delle imagini fatte al vivo, che quasi violentano i sensi incauti', Gabriele Paleotti, "Discorso intorno alle imagini sacre e profane [1582]", in Barocchi P. (ed.), *Trattati d'arte del cinquecento fra Manierismo e controriforma*, 3 vols. (Bari: 1960–1963) vol. 2, 230; For an English translation, see Paleotti G., *Discourse on Sacred and profane Images*, ed. W. McCuaig (Los Angeles: 2012) 121: 'So, our imaginative faculty being so receptive in causing this than life-like images, which practically catch the senses off guard and overwhelm them'; on this passage, see Göttler C., "The Temptation of the Senses at the Sacro Monte di Varallo", in Boer W. de – Göttler C. (eds.), *Religion and the Senses in Early Modern Europe*, Intersections 26 (Leiden – Boston: 2013) 401 f.; Michels, *Bewegung* 134; Steinemann H., *Eine Bildtheorie zwischen Repräsentation und Wirkung. Kardinal Gabriele Paleottis 'Discorso intorno alle imagini sacre e profane' (1582)*, Studien zur Kunstgeschichte 164 (Hildesheim – Zürich – New York: 2006); Schildgen B.D., "Cardinal Paleotti and the 'Discorso intorno alle imagini sacre e profane'", in Feigenbaum G. – Ebert-Schifferer S. (eds.), *Sacred Possessions. Collecting Italian Religious Art, 1500–1900*, Issues & Debates 20 (Los Angeles: 2011) 8–16.

80 The rhetoric handbook of Cyprian Soarez was a foundational component of the Jesuit curriculum; cf. Mahlmann-Bauer B., *Jesuitische 'ars rhetorica' im Zeitalter der Glaubenskämpfe*, Mikrokosmos 18 (Frankfurt am Main – Bern – New York: 1986) 138.

understood as grounded in the perspective of vivid presence, it becomes evident that the decoration of Sant'Ignazio was not the first time that the spiritual foundations of Jesuit teaching made themselves felt aesthetically. Rather, these foundations were already manifest in the very first Jesuit decoration project. The following examination of the Cappella della Natività in the Gesù, the chief Jesuit church completed in 1584, will demonstrate how a series of subtle artistic devices produced a concentration of pictorial presence within the sacred liturgical space that had not been known until that point.[81]

The decorative scheme in the chapels of the Gesù would have been seen, even at first glace, to break with the contemporary beholder's habitual ways of seeing. In the chapels of Santa Maria in Vallicella, built around the same time not far from the Gesù, the surfaces of the vaults are segmented by stucco work [Fig. 14.4]. The Jesuits, in contrast, reduced the use of stucco to a minimum. They eschewed a multi-part pictorial program in the dome vaults and unified the effect of the space through Niccolò Circignani's large-scale decoration of the entire surface [Fig. 14.5].[82]

Another novel aspect was the interplay between Circignani's *Heavenly Host* in the cupola and Hans von Aachen's altarpiece depicting the birth of Christ, which is only known from an engraving by Aegidius Sadeler of 1588 [Fig. 14.6].[83] Whereas in the individual chapels of the Vallicella the images of the altarpiece and the cupola did not yet stand in any relation to each other in terms of content, in the Cappella della Natività they were liberated from their architectural frames and interconnected narratively with one another through gazes and pointing gestures. The organization of both compositions along the central vertical axis demonstrates the extent to which the collaboration of the two artists was coordinated by the Jesuit order both in terms of content and form. Hans von Aachen placed the Christ child in the crèche along the cen-

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81   On the chapel and the early decoration of the Gesù see Pecchiai P., *Il Gesù di Roma* (Rome: 1952); Hibbard, "Ut picturae sermones" 29–49; Bailey, *Between Renaissance and Baroque* 224–261; on the Baroque redesign see Dobler R.-M., *Die Juristenkapellen Rivaldi, Cerri und Antamoro. Form, Funktion und Intention römischer Familienkapellen im römischen Sei- und Settecento*, Römische Studien der Bibliotheca Hertziana 22 (Munich: 2009) 82–148.

82   Kummer S., *Anfänge und Ausbreitung der Stuckdekoration im römischen Kirchenraum 1500–1600*, Tübinger Studien zur Archäologie und Kunstgeschichte 6 (Tübingen: 1987) 205.

83   The attribution by Emma Zocca continues to be accepted by more recent scholarship; see Gaspare Celio, *Memoria deli nomi dell'artefici delle pitture, che sono in alcune chiese, facciate, e palazzi di Roma*, ed. E. Zocca (Milan: 1967) 78; see also Ramaix I. de (ed.), *Aegidius Sadeler II (Supplement)*, The Illustrated Bartsch, vol. 72 (New York: 1997) 1, Nr. 032 S2; Boon K.G. (ed.), *Aegidius Sadeler to Raphael Sadeler II*, Hollstein's Dutch and Flemish Etchings, Engravings and Woodcuts, ca. 1450–1700, 21 (Amsterdam: 1980) Nr. 32.

FIGURE 14.4 *Antoniani Chapel (1582–1600). View from the nave. Rome, Santa Maria in Vallicella (Chiesa Nuova).*
IMAGE © BIBLIOTHECA HERTZIANA.

FIGURE 14.5   *Niccolò Circignani, "Angels Celebrating the Nativity", dome (1584). Fresco. Rome,*
Chapel of the Nativity (today: Chapel of the Holy Family), Church of Il Gesù.
IMAGE © STEFFEN ZIERHOLZ.

FIGURE 14.6   *Aegidius Sadeler after Hans von Aachen, "The Nativity" (1588).*
             Etching and engraving, 335 × 236 mm.
             IMAGE © RIJKSMUSEUM AMSTERDAM.

tral pictorial axis, around which he loosely grouped Joseph, the three angels, and the shepherds. Circignani adopted this organization in his depiction of the Heavenly Host and lent it a strict, nearly mirror-symmetrical character. The representations were also linked to one another in their motifs. For instance, the bank of clouds in the cupola, on which a multitude of angels glorify Christ in the manger is taken over in the altarpiece, where it fills up the entire upper third of the image. A group of three putti seem to have fallen straight through the open cloud cover and down into the earthly realm. This narrative continuity is emphasized by means of visual analogies, which is particularly evident in the ornamentally draped banderols held up by putti. Such correspondences at the level of formal elements and motifs stress the unity of the content and allow the beholder to relate the two representations directly to one another.

Such a spatially expansive consolidation and condensation of the pictorial narrative in order to represent a single moment of action reveals the increasing influence of Aristotelian poetics.[84] Gregorio Comanini, for instance, recognized in the Aristotelian ideal of the unity of action a principle that was equally binding for history painting.[85] The postulate of the unity of action, which up to this point had been a demand entirely intrinsic to a single image, here encompasses the composition of the entire space. As is the case later in Sant'Ignazio, the effect of the space is determined to a significant extent by the painted ceiling. Because it physically surrounds the beholder, it is a fundamental element in the production of presence. Circignani's angel figures break through the pictorial bounds of the cupola with their gazes and pointing gestures, thereby creating an overarching spatialization of the action that enfolds the corporeal experience of the beholder within it. Analogously to the 'Composition of Place', the space of the chapel itself becomes the site of the event. This transformation must not be understood as an illusion that seeks to simulate the depicted events in a life-like manner. Rather, at issue here is a 'Deixis am Phantasma',[86] in which the presence suggested by the reality of the image stimulates inner *visiones* and thus brings the Nativity to life as an inner

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84   Lee R.W., "Ut pictura poesis. The humanistic Theory of Painting", *The Art Bulletin* 22 (1940) 197–269.

85   Comanini G., "Il Figino, ovvero del Fine della Pittura", in Barocchi P. (ed.), *Trattati d'arte del cinquecento fra Manierismo e controriforma*, 3 vols. (Bari: 1960–1963) vol. 3, 345: 'About narrative, your Aristotle says that it must be the representation of a single action from a single [epos]. […] The unity of poetic action corresponds to the unity of invention of a good painter, who does not paint multiple actions on a single canvas but rather a single one'; see von Rosen, "Die Enargeia des Gemäldes" 195.

86   Largier N., *Die Kunst des Begehrens. Dekadenz, Sinnlichkeit und Askese* (Munich: 2007) 36.

experience to be grasped in the imagination. This is also the sense in which the *Spiritual Exercises* intended the contemplated event to become self-referential:

> *The First Point.* This is to see the persons; that is, to see Our Lady, Joseph, the maidservant, and the Infant Jesus after his birth. *I will make myself a poor, little, and unworthy slave, gazing at them, contemplating them, and serving them in their needs, just as if I were there*, with all possible respect and reverence. Then I will reflect upon myself to draw some profit [my emphasis].[87]

The extensive use of figures depicted from behind within the pictorial program must also be understood in the context of a pictorial practice focused on generating vivid presence. Hans van Aachen in particular placed such figures prominently in the extreme foreground of his altarpieces. The anonymous figures seen from the back stimulated the beholder's empathetic participation and affective response in the events. By directing the beholder's attention to the represented action through gestures and gazes, they took on a mediating function and had already been conceived as such by Alberti in a well-known passage of his treatise on painting.[88]

The conspicuous emphasis on the gestures and facial expressions of the mediating figures aligns them with the notion of *actio*. This refers to the last stage of the process of rhetorical strategy encompassing the actual speech itself, which had become a subject of intensive theoretical scrutiny starting around 1600.[89] It describes the emotionally infused body language, gestures, and expressions of the speaker, which were necessary to produce a suitably affective effect on the audience. Norbert Michels has pointed to the significant difference between Quintilian's speaker and Alberti's mediating figure.

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87   Ignatius of Loyola, *Ex. Sp.* 114 [150]

88   Alberti L.B., *Della Pittura* 42 [72–74]: 'It seems opportune then that in the *historia* there is someone who informs the spectator of the things that unfold; or invites with the hand to show; or threatens with severe face and turbid eyes not to approach there, as if he wishes that a similar story remains secret; or indicates danger or another [attribute] over there to observe; or invites you with his own gestures to laugh together or cry in company. It is necessary, in the end, that also all [the occurrences] that those painted [characters] made with the spectators and with themselves, concur to realize and explain the *historia*'. Trans. in Alberti L.B., *On Painting*, ed. R. Sinisgalli (Cambridge – New York: 2011) 42 [63].

89   Cf. Göttler C., "'Actio' in Peter Paul Rubens' Hochaltarbildern für die Jesuitenkirche in Antwerpen", in Imorde J. – Neumeyer F. – Weddigen T. (eds.), *Barocke Inszenierung. Akten des internationalen Forschungskolloquiums an der Techischen Universität Berlin, 20.–22. Juni 1996* (Emsdetten – Zurich: 1999) 10–31.

Whereas the speaker has recourse to a multitude of possible facial, gestural, and corporeal forms of expression in order vividly to present past events to the audience, the disadvantage of a static pictorial figure is counterbalanced by placing it in direct visual relation to the action in the image.[90] The picture doesn't need to evoke the events through internal imagery, but rather, in the words of Leonardo, puts it 'in un' subito' before the beholder's eyes. Thus, Quintilian himself had already compared the effectiveness of gesture with a painted picture.[91]

In this regard, Hans von Aachen's figures seen from the back take on the rhetorical function of making things present before the viewer's eyes [Fig. 14.6].[92] As eyewitnesses, they engage the beholder affectively in the events while simultaneously retaining their rationale at the level of content. Using the language of the *Spiritual Exercises*, we might describe such figures as enabling us to feel 'just as if [we] were there', mediating the viewer's access to the sacred event, and inviting him to engage in imaginative participation. The decidedly contemporary clothing and hairstyles of the figures contrast with the ancient garb of the main group of Maria, Joseph, and the angels. They are marked as a part of the beholder's own reality, thus stimulating an affective response to this episode from salvation history.

The access to the image is governed substantially by the deep recess cut into the floor at its lower edge. It intensifies the mediating function of the figures seen from the rear, by opening up the scene and destabilizing it from below – at the beholder's eye level—in the boundary between the image and the space of the chapel. The motif is not a real pictorial invention: it had already been used by Albrecht Dürer in *The Engraved Passion* of 1512. In the engraving *Christ before Pontius Pilate*, Dürer similarly opens up the border of the image by means of a hollow below, out of which a soldier depicted from behind emerges [Fig. 14.7]. His right leg is cut off by the lower edge of the picture.[93] Like Dürer,

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90   Cf. Michels, *Bewegung* 25.

91   Quintilian, *De institutione oratoria*, vol. 4, XI, 3, 67 [281]: 'Nor is it strange that gesture which depends on various forms of movement should have such power, when pictures, which are silent and motionless, penetrate into our innermost feelings with such power that at times they seem more eloquent than language itself'.

92   Cf. Prange P., "Sinnoffenheit und Sinnverneinung als metapicturale Prinzipien. Zur Historizität bildlicher Selbstreferenz", in Krieger V. – Mader R. (eds.), *Ambiguität in der Kunst. Typen und Funktion eines ästhetischen Paradigmas*, Kunst – Geschichte – Gegenwart 1 (Cologne – Weimar – Vienna: 2010) 143.

93   On this engraving, see Schoch R. – Mende M. – Scherbaum I. (eds.), *Albrecht Dürer. Das druckgraphische Werk*, 3 vols. (Munich – London – New York: 2001) vol. 1, 136; Strauss W.L. (ed.), *Sixteenth Century German Artists, Albrecht Dürer*, The Illustrated Bartsch 10 (New

FIGURE 14.7   *Albrecht Dürer, "Christ before Pontius Pilatus", part of his* Engraved Passion *5 (1512). Engraving, 117 × 74 mm.*
IMAGE © THE METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART.

Hans von Aachen places the main event at the height of the column. It marks the internal pictorial boundary that constitutes an interstitial realm between the world of the image and the reality of the beholder. Since the recess in the floor is cut off or hidden on the left, the beholder remains in the dark regarding its true dimensions and full extent. The erosion of spatial boundaries within the picture, its uncertain and undefined character, expands the aesthetic boundary, placing emphasis on the threshold where the contiguous segments of pictorial and actual space overlap and confound one another. The liminal status of the figures in the rear at this threshold also explains their peculiar relationship to the action within the picture: they experience it as eyewitnesses, but do not participate in the event directly. They find themselves in the immediate proximity of what is happening, yet they maintain a palpable distance from it. As repoussoir figures they are a solid material part of the picture, yet they are placed in the extreme foreground and cut off by the frame in such a way that they appear to oscillate between the real and the pictorial space. They are, in Turner's words, 'betwixt and between'.[94]

By intensifying the mediating function of the figures in the rear, the liminal space of the threshold enmeshes the world of the image and the reality of the beholder with even greater effectiveness. The beholder is urged to place both spatial segments—his or her own space and that of the threshold—in relation to the sacred event unfolding within picture. The motif of the opening prompts the viewer to step across the border of the image; he or she is thus transformed into a direct participant or, better, a fellow actor in the depicted events.[95] This corresponds in turn to the 'Application of the Senses', in which the practitioner inserts himself into the biblical scene by means of the inner senses of his imagination, and conversely, brings the biblical scene toward himself.

Finally, painterly *rilievo* is another essential element of a pictorial praxis of engendering vivid presence. In her seminal study, Valeska von Rosen has reconstructed its significance within the context of early modern poetics as

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York: 1981) .007; Boon K.G. – Scheller R.W. (eds.), *Albrecht und Hans Dürer*, Hollstein's German Engravings, Etchings, Engravings and Woodcuts ca. 1400–1700, 7 (Amsterdam: 1962) 10.

94   Turner V.W., "Betwixt and Between. The Liminal Period in Rites de Passages", in Spiro M.E. (ed.), *Symposium on New Approaches to the Study of Religion*, Proceedings of the Annual Spring Meeting of the American Ethnological Society 1964 (Seattle, WA: 1964) 4–20.

95   In this respect, the motif also corresponds to Kemp's understanding of a 'Leerstelle' [gap], as described by the theory of reception aesthetics; see Kemp W., "Verständlichkeit und Spannung. Über Leerstellen in der Malerei des 19. Jahrhunderts", in Kemp W. (ed.), *Der Betrachter ist im Bild. Kunstwissenschaft und Rezeptionsästhetik* (Berlin: 1992) 307–333.

a theoretical discourse.[96] *Rilievo* describes the appearance of corporeality on the flat painted surface, and it was considered fundamental to maintaining the fiction of reality within the image. The underlying premise posited that due to its three-dimensionality, sculpture stood closer to reality than painting, which was associated with semblance, and the former could therefore lay claim to a higher level of truth. The association of sculpture with true being and painting, in contrast, with false appearance, was a particularly topical argument in connection with the *paragone.*[97] But outside that context, the pictorial production of a relief effect was a central criterion for judging the quality of a painting. Varchi, for instance, writes that '[…] una figura di rilievo ha più de vero e del naturale […]'.[98]

The prerequisite to the ability to produce a sculptural effect through the medium of painting lay in the intensive study of the play of light and shadow in nature. Thus, Alberti counselled the inexperienced painter to study the appearance of relief produced by light in nature, by looking at sculpture.[99] This connection may be elucidated by examining the etymological origins of the *enargeia* concept. The term derives from *enárges* ('clear, distinctly visible') or *enárgos* ('luminous, surrounded by radiance, shining'); the related term *argos* means 'gleaming white' and 'bright'.[100] Accordingly, Cennino Cennini argues

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96   Cf. von Rosen, "Die Energeia des Gemäldes" 185 f.

97   On the paragone see Benedetto Varchi, *Paragone. Rangstreit der Künste. Italienisch und Deutsch*, edited, translated, and with commentary by Oskar Bätschmann and Tristan Weddigen (Darmstadt: WBG, 2013); Mai E. – Wettengl K. (eds.), *Wettstreit der Künste. Malerei und Skulptur von Dürer bis Daumier*, ex. cat. Munich/Cologne (Wolfratshausen: 2002); Baader H. – Müller-Hofstede U. – Patz K. (eds.), *Im Agon der Künste. Paragonales Denken, ästhetische Praxis und die Diversität der Sinne* (Paderborn – Munich: 2007); Hessler C.J., *Zum Paragone. Malerei, Skulptur und Dichtung in der Rangstreitkultur des Quattrocento,* Ars et scientia 6 (Berlin: 2014).

98   Varchi B., "Lezzione della maggioranza delle arti", in Barocchi P. (ed.), *Benedetto Varchi— Vincenzio Borghini. Pittura e scultura nel Cinquecento* (Livorno: 1998) 46. '[…] relief lends a representation a greater claim to truth and naturalness […]'.

99   Cf. Alberti L.B., *Della Pittura* 58 [100]. Trans. in Alberti L.B., *On Painting* 58 [80]: '[…]I prefer that you plan to imitate an object poorly sculpted rather than excellently depicted. In fact, from depicted things, we accustom hands to realize only a certain resemblance. Whereas from sculpted ones we learn how to deduce both resemblance and true illumination. […] Sculpture, certainly, is more secure and easier than painting. And there will never be anyone who can correctly paint a thing of which he does not know all protrusions [rilievo]'.

100   "Evidentia, Evidenz", in Ueding G. (ed.), *Historisches Wörterbuch der Rhetorik*, 12 vols. (Tübingen: 1992–2015), III, 33.

in the *Libro dell'arte* that *rilievo* describes those portions of a painted body that are in the light and seem to protrude from the picture'.[101]

Since Hans von Aachen's altarpiece has survived only in Sadeler's engraving, the quality of its relief effects cannot be conclusively evaluated. However, Valeska von Rosen has pointed to sources that connect the notion of *rilievo* with the process of making things present before the mind's eye. In the *Bellezze della Città di Fiorenza*, Francesco Bocchi wrote in reference to Battista Naldini's *Nativity* (!) that the chiaroscuro of the figures lent them a virtually true and corporeal character ('rende le figure senza dubbio quasi vere, e quasi di rilievo'), making it seem as if they were truly enacting the depicted event before the beholder's eyes ('hà gran forza in se di vero di porre innanzi a gli occhi, anzi di recar altrui nella mente quello, che è scritto nel Vangelo').[102]

In the absence of the altarpiece, painterly *rilievo* may be observed particularly well in the pendentives of the cupola. On the left, above the altar, King David is enthroned, like the other Old Testament prophet figures, and oriented frontally toward the observer [Fig. 14.8]. He plays the lyre with both hands and looks down upon the birth of Christ. His right leg rests on the pedestal with the inscribed plaque, while his left leg is bent sharply and propped up on a step. The radiance of the heavenly host immerses him in a soft play of light and shadow that breaks off only in the heavy, voluminous folds of fabric. As Ralph-Miklas Dobler has noted, the white highlights on the left knee renders the figure sculptural.[103] The tip of his right foot seems to protrude beyond the ledge into real space and casts a clearly visible shadow onto the pedestal. By breaking through the aesthetic boundary, the relief effect enters into a direct relationship with the sacred space of the chapel and thus becomes a part of the beholder's reality. In addition, Circignani closes off the pictorial space of the pendentives by use of a black background and eschews deep spatial extension, so that the painted figures seem too large for their niches—a device that

101 Von Rosen, "Die Enargeia des Gemäldes" 186; cf. Cennini C., *Il libro dell'arte*, ed. F. Brunello (Vicenza: 1998) cap. IX, [10–11]: 'E così, seguitando la luce da qual mano si sia, da' el tuo rilievo e l'oscuro, secondo la ragione detta'. For an English translation, see *The Book of the Art of Cennino Cennini*, ed. C.J. Herringham (London 1922) 10: '[…] be sure to give relief to your figures or design according to the arrangement of the windows which you find in these places, which have given you light, and thus accommodating yourself to the light in which side soever it may be, give the proper lights [rilievo] and shadows'. Preimesberger had already pointed out that the juxtaposition of *rilievo* and *oscura* refers to the fact that *rilievo* marks the part of the figure that stands out and is in the light. Preimesberger R., "Zu Jan van Eycks Diptychon der Sammlung Thyssen-Bornemisza", *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 54 (1991) 466.

102 Bocchi F., *Bellezze della Città di Fiorenza* (Florence, Giovanni Gugliantini: 1677) 241.

103 Cf. Dobler, *Die Juristenkapellen* 99.

FIGURE 14.8   *Niccolò Circignani, "Prophet David", pendentive (1584). Fresco. Rome, Chapel of the Nativity (today: Chapel of the Holy Family), Church of Il Gesù. Detail of the pendentive of the north wall.*
IMAGE © STEFFEN ZIERHOLZ.

further intensifies the impression of corporeality and presence. Moreover, the use of colour, together with the relief effect, also plays a decisive role in intensifying the pictorial presence of the prophet.[104] Valeska von Rosen points to numerous examples in which a vivid verbal description is equated with painting in colour.[105] Art theory recognized colour as an important stimulus in creating the effect of animation. Thus, Lomazzo emphasizes with reference to the ambition of making things present before one's eyes, that the animating effect of a pictorial image is achieved primarily through coloration. It is precisely therein that he recognizes its value for faith:

104   Cf. Fehrenbach F., "Calor nativus—Color vitale. Prolegomena zu einer Ästhetik des 'Lebendigen Bildes' in der frühen Neuzeit", in Pfisterer U. – Seidel M. (eds.), *Visuelle Topoi. Erfindung und tradiertes Wissen in den Künsten der italienischen Renaissance*, Italienische Forschungen des Kunsthistorischen Instituts in Florenz 3 (Munich – Berlin: 2003) 151–170, here 158–160.
105   Cf. von Rosen, "Die Enargeia des Gemäldes" 184.

Né solamente esprime [il colore] nelle figure le cose come sono, ma mostra ancora alcuni moti interiori, quasi pingendo e ponendo sotto gl'occhi l'affezione de gl'animi et i loro effetti. D'onde s'inferisce che quest'arte giova ancora alla religione; poiché per lei si vengono a rappresentare, non solamente le imagini de' santi et angioli, ma anco dell'istesso Cristo, e di più, col mezzo della speculazione, dà forma all'eterno Creatore delle cose.[106]

The quality of presence in the figures of the painted prophets is intensified by a sophisticated combination of media in the pendentives. While the prophets demonstrate the technique of painterly relief, the putti and garlands of fruit are executed in grisaille [Fig. 14.8]. Through the use of black and white, they feign the appearance of actual stucco and thus negate their innate pictorial character. This feigned change of medium should not be understood exclusively in the context of the *paragone*, however. As Alberti explains, in order to produce the effect of relief and the appearance of corporeality in painting, the artist must become practiced in the use of black and white:

Ma voglio così estimino i dotti, che tutta la somma industria e arte sta in sapere usare il bianco e 'l nero, e in ben sapere usare questi due conviensi porre tutto lo studio e diligenza. Però che il lume e l'ombra fanno parere le cose rilevate, così il bianco e 'l nero fa le cose dipinte parere rilevate, e dà quella lode quale si dava a Nitia pittore ateniese.[107]

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106   Lomazzo G.P., "Trattato dell'arte della pittura, scoltura, ed architettura", in Ciardi R.P. (ed.), *Scritti sulle arti*, 2 vols. (Florence: 1973–1975) vol. 2, 166; 'In the figures, it [the color] does not just express how things are, but rather also shows their inner movement, as though it were to make the affects of the soul and their impact visibly present before one's eyes. From this follows that this art is also useful for religion, since through it, not only images of saints or angels can be represented, but of Christ himself; and moreover, through the means of beholding, it gives form to the Eternal Creator of all things'; on colour as a stimulant of animation see Fehrenbach, "Calor nativus".

107   Alberti L.B., *Della Pittura* 46 [80–82]: 'But, this is what I would want: let the prepared painters consider that the highest quality and mastery reside only in the distribution of black and white and that—in having to place accurately these two—one must devote all talent and zeal. As, in effect, the incidence of light and shadow shows in which place surfaces swell up, or where they shrink by hollowing out or how much every part moves aside or strays, so the distribution of black and white produces what became praised in the Athenian painter Nicias or what an artist must greatly look for: that is painted objects appear very much to protrude'. Alberti L.B., *On Painting* 46 [68.]; the connection to black and white painting in antiquity had been known through Pliny's account, according to

The pictorial status of the cupola's pendentives is complicated further by another medial break. In addition to the feigned switch of media, there is another obfuscation in the use of materials, in which the fictive sculptural relief materializes into real plaster cherubim in the crests of the lunettes. Since the Jesuits largely eschewed plaster decoration in their chapels, a conscious use of the medium may be assumed. Iris Wenderholm has shown that awareness of the differences specific to various visual media informed the preference of mixed media, at least since the Quattrocento.[108] She traces the resulting medial ambiguity to the rhetorical principle of *contrapposto*, through which the impression of movement, and thereby of liveliness, was produced. The synthesis of painting, plaster, and feigned plaster can therefore be understood as a form of aesthetic antithesis. It leads to a material ambivalence that oscillates between pictorial representation and corporeal presence. While the plaster cherubim claim the status of truth and reality by virtue of their materiality and corporeal extension into space per se, in the feigned plaster the same claim is rearticulated as an aesthetic postulate. The beholder's uncertainty regarding the material and representational character of the real vs. feigned plaster encompasses the figures of the prophets, which in their coloration contrast with the corporeal albeit 'dead' stone and thus enhance the aesthetic impression of lively presence. Frank Fehrenbach has repeatedly described this subtle play as a specific characteristic of 'liveliness': 'The history of lifelike art is a history of the eye, of visual deception, and above all, of the aesthetic oscillation between illusion and disillusion'.[109]

To Make Yourself Present—the Enargeia of Jesuit Spaces

In sum, a pictorial praxis of vivid presence is fully in evidence in the Cappella della Natività. It can be realized effectively in a spatial context because the space already takes account of the corporeal experience of the beholder. The Jesuits made systematic use of the resulting artistic possibilities in their Roman church structures in order to intertwine pictorial space with the beholder's reality, relate the one to the other, and thus convey to the beholder an all-encompassing experience of presence. Seen in this context, Andrea Pozzo's vault fresco in Sant'Ignazio is simply the formal end- and high-point of

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which Zeuxis had already painted monochrome pictures; cf. Preimesberger, "Zu Jan van Eycks Diptychon" 467.

108   Cf. Wenderholm, *Bild und Berührung* 57.

109   Fehrenbach, "Kohäsion und Transgression" 3; cf. also ibid., "Calor nativus" 152.

an aesthetic principle that had already been at work in the side chapels of the Jesuits' first major decorative project.

The interweaving of real and fictive space is produced by means of various artistic techniques. What they all have in common is that the depicted action breaks through pictorial space in multiple ways and spills over into the space of the beholder. The resulting destabilisation and dissolution of aesthetic boundaries in turn supports a crucial shift in the reception of a painted depiction, whereby the *re-praesent-atio* becomes *praesentia*. The depiction loses its status as a representation, is transformed into the represented thing, and acquires an actual life-like presence. This transformation is, according to Caroline van Eck, the artistic realization of the principle that in practice makes something present before one's eyes: 'the rhetorical ideal of dissolving the representational character of a speech into what it describes, by means of all the stylistic strategies that help to achieve *enargeia*'.[110]

As I have demonstrated, the basis for such a pictorial practice of presentness was a conceptual understanding of space as inextricably linked with the spiritual foundations of the order. In the *compositio loci*, the *Spiritual Exercises* manifest distinct spatial qualities that were closely connected with real space in the Jesuit praxis of mental prayer ('to make himself as present to the mystery—or the mystery as present to himself'). Jesuit sacred spaces respond in their design to the 'Composition of Place', with which they stand in a functional relation. Both evoke the experience of living presence that addresses itself to the senses and aims to shape the affective response of the beholder. This is the sense in which I understand the spaces of the Jesuits, both physical and mental, to be 'enargetic' spaces.

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110   van Eck, *Classical Rhetoric* 19.

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The Jesuit Strategy of Accommodation[1]

Jeffrey Muller

At the heart of their global enterprise to save souls lay the Jesuits' strategy of accommodation. They contrived to fashion any aspect of a message that would increase the receptivity of their audience to the Christian truth. In China they dressed as Confucian Mandarins. In Flanders they adapted the picture signs from farmers' almanacs that would make it easy for illiterate peasants to learn Christian doctrine. In Peru the Jesuits encouraged the altered use of Inca quipu, memory devices tied from string knotted in different lengths and colors, as the means to recall the sins necessary to divulge for a good confession.

At a more fundamental level, throughout the world the Jesuits pioneered in systematizing the knowledge of languages in grammars, dictionaries, and writing conventions, as they recognized that they could win souls only if they preached, heard confession, and wrote in Japanese, Tamil, or Quechua. Every time they entered a new place they analyzed the local power structure and economy to plan approaches best suited to establishing a secure position for saving souls. Music, food, dances, etiquette, architecture, medicine, mathematics, astronomy, pictures, philosophy, law—all areas of knowledge were learned and accommodated to every place and circumstance. Now, at this moment, in our expanding digital world of global knowledge, the Jesuits' extraordinary achievement immediately attracts attention to what we think might be an early modern reflection of our own understandings.

During the last three decades historians, art historians, linguists, musicologists, and anthropologists have scrutinized Jesuit interaction with people of every kind across the world from many different vantage points of method and agenda. Detailed studies have been devoted to everything and everywhere. In recent years broader, comparative and synthetic essays have connected Jesuit missions back to the center in Rome, to local hubs of activity in a global network, and to new directions for research. But the field remains fragmented by cross-purposes of assumption, willful or unintended mutual ignorance, and the constraints of specialization that prevent one subfield from seeing

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1 Thanks to Sarah Moran and to the editors of this volume who encouraged me to take this article one step further.

the other. This paper traces the ruptures that divide, examines some of what I have found to be the most useful recent contributions, and considers whether a unified understanding is possible at this juncture. It seems to me that for the purposes of Jesuit image theory, the question is fundamental.

Theoretical Elements of Accommodation in the Practice of Roberto de Nobili as an Introduction to Key Issues

But accommodation developed as a strategic practice and not as a theory. No single document or treatise ever set down its principles in full. Roberto de Nobili, who came closest, sent his manuscript report on Indian customs (1613, published 1972) to win support from the Superior General for controversial practices that De Nobili already had introduced into the mission at Madurai.[2] Necessity spurred him on. He cobbled together arguments drawn from the Bible, Plutarch, Augustine, Jesuit precedent, Aristotle, Aquinas, Brahmin texts, and experience in the field. De Nobili started with political analysis. His mission worked far from the Portuguese centers of trade, in a region where Indian princes ruled, and would succeed only by means of persuasion through accommodation. Evangelization of all lower castes depended on converting the Brahmins whom everyone else followed, and the Brahmins would convert only if they could continue to display the caste signs that assured their superior status. Caste signs originated in social and civic customs, so that any sacred meaning attached to them could be construed as 'accidental'. By drawing that distinction between form, which was essential, and accident, which was superficial, the Jesuits could argue for the acceptance into Catholic practice of many rituals and customs that others considered superstitious or sacrilegious.[3]

Accident pertained to superficial appearance and so could be manipulated to project different images that would increase the Jesuits' opportunity to save souls while leaving intact their own immortal souls. De Nobili applied this logic to defend Jesuit preachers who perfumed themselves with fragrance of sandalwood:[4]

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2 Nobili R. de, S.J., *Preaching Wisdom to the Wise: Three Treatises by Roberto de Nobili, S.J., Missionary and Scholar in 17th Century India*, trans. and ed. A. Amaladass, S.J. – F.X. Clooney, S.J. (St. Louis: 2000).

3 Ibidem 217–220.

4 Ibidem 177–178.

> [...] does it become a preacher of the Gospel to use such perfumery, in which these heathen men take such delight? In the light of reason and factual experience, this objection too proves to be rather weak. For just as it becomes a preacher of the Gospel to appear mean and poor when such an appearance is conducive to the greater glory of God and to the salvation of souls, so also it beseems the same preacher of the Gospel to surround himself with some distinction and respectability when this is thought necessary for the praise and glory of God and for the welfare of souls.

By using the senses—smell, vision, hearing—to manipulate perceptions of worldly things among their intended audiences, the Jesuits, who were indifferent to such things as wealth, could control the mental images formed in the minds of whomever they wished to persuade and convert. Certainly images generated by the faculties of fantasy or imagination were seen to pertain to all the senses and not just to vision.[5] De Nobili, educated in the humanist curriculum of Jesuit schools, could articulate the Jesuit practice of accommodation that, as I show below, Ignatius of Loyola had already justified through his admonition to be indifferent towards worldly things.

De Nobili could even integrate the Arisotelian-Jesuit and Indian theories of perception directly into his *The Dialogue of Eternal Life*, written in Tamil to persuade a learned Brahmin audience that Catholic and Hindu knowledge rested on the same universal foundations of natural reason and revealed truth.[6] The types of accommodation described in this *Dialogue* include those based in language (Tamil), words for sacred things (Veda for Bible), and theories of the image.[7] Later in his *Dialogue*, De Nobili argued that Hindus, having forgotten the universal revelation of the Bible, had fallen into the error of idolatry; they had confused the true with the false, for reasons similar to those that had led heathens to worship images in place of God.[8] The point is that De Nobili used

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5   Scheiter K.M., "Images, Appearances, and *Phantasia* in Aristotle", *Pronesis* 57 (2012) 260–269. For Jesuit uses of this theory see Melion W.S., "Introduction: Meditative Images and the Psychology of Soul", in Falkenburg R.L. – Melion W.S. – Richardson T.M. (eds.), *Image and Imagination of the Religious Self in Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe* (Turnhout: 2007) 1–36; and Dupré S., "The Return of the Species: Jesuit Responses to Kepler's New Theory of Images", in De Boer W. – Göttler C. (eds.), *Religion and the Senses in Early Modern Europe* (Leiden: 2013) 473–488.

6   De Nobili, *Preaching Wisdom* 245–246.

7   Ibidem 256–262, where De Nobili substitutes Veda for Bible.

8   Ibidem 274–329, for an extensive discussion of the causes that led Indians to the idolatrous worship of images.

current theories of images to conceptualize, justify, and even as content for his practices of accommodation.

Images as the products of perceptions skillfully manipulated, entered into De Nobili's practice of accommodation from another, very different kind of source—the worldly sphere of politics—in a double accommodation:[9]

> Just as the overlord of city-states must [to ensure his sway] adopt many of the local institutions, so too must the ecclesiastical leaders set over the Christian communities. Just as the proper government of nations depends on a policy of give and take, so too the pastoral care of souls in view of heaven must (to use Alexander's words) comprise two things: we must give them certain advantages, and must also learn certain lessons from them. In other words, we must learn and tolerate their human ways of acting in society, so that in turn we may teach and strengthen in them the ways of God.

Although De Nobili invoked Plutarch's "Life of Alexander" as his example, it was Machiavelli who had stamped this early modern pattern of political accommodation:[10]

> If one desires or intends to reform the government of a city so that the reform will be acceptable and will be able to maintain itself to everyone's satisfaction, he should retain at least the shadow of ancient customs so that it will not seem to the people that they have changed institutions, whereas in actual fact the new institutions may be completely different from those of the past; for the majority of men delude themselves with what seems to be rather than with what actually is; indeed, they are more often moved by things that seem to be rather than by things that are.

Rhetoric, as I will show, was one of the main arteries from which Jesuit accommodation flowed. But Machiavelli's prince manipulated images in a way not so different from that followed by the Jesuits in their practice of accommodation. If one accepts this broader definition of images, paying attention to the ways they were used to engage all the senses, considers how images were characterized in debates about idolatry, and examines the manipulation of images in politics, then the practice of Jesuit accommodation can be seen as both

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9   Ibidem 223–224.

10   Machiavelli N., *The Portable Machiavelli*, trans. and ed. P. Bondanella – M. Musa (New York: 1979) 231, from *Discourses*, Book I, Chapter 25.

coherent and wideranging. And the political aspect of image-making can be analyzed without discounting the spiritual functions of images as instruments of the faith.

Inside/Outside

After centuries of polemical opposition, the question remains whether any account can bridge the divide between those inside, Jesuits or not, who believe the Holy Spirit works in and through history, and those outside who see only the sanctimony of Machiavellian politics cloaked in learned disguises. What the Jesuits held dearest, that everything they did was for saving souls and the greater glory of God, their enemies denied as pretense. Pascal saw in accommodation the Jesuits' ambition to please everyone and win over the world.[11] From the order's vantage point, their story is comprised by sacred history, inflected by the same accommodation constitutive of that very history. Thomas Lucas, S.J., demonstrates the innovative pattern of urban settlement that located Jesuit churches from Florence to Cuzco at the crossroads where rich and poor, powerful and weak, saved and lost, were most likely to meet, in an accommodation to the social geography of each city.[12] He bases this analysis on a combination of research into primary sources such as *The Jesuit Constitutions* and the letters of Ignatius of Loyola, together with the secondary literature of architectural and urban history current right before publication of the book. He compiles from the letters and analyzes a quantitative database that measures Ignatius's direct involvement in stamping all aspects of the template for settlement that would still apply late in the twentieth century. Yet Lucas happily enfolds this rigorous history into a loving, personal evocation of Ignatius's work, and celebrates the spiritual force that has guided Jesuit interaction with cities. Lucas ascribes the inspiration of his own work to a 1609 map of Ignatius's Rome that fell open before him in 1987, in what sounds like a felicitous example of divine intervention.[13] In his book a Jesuit accommodates new methods of history that lend credibility to the sacred story of accommodation in which the Jesuits still see themselves as protagonists.

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11   Pascal B., *The Provincial Letters*, trans. and intro. A.J. Krailsheimer (Baltimore: 1967) 76.

12   Lucas T.J., S.J., *Landmarking: City, Church, and Jesuit Urban Strategy* (Chicago: 1997).

13   Ibidem 171.

Less overtly, but just as much inside, John W. O'Malley, S.J.'s influential *The First Jesuits* (1993) understands accommodation according to the founding Jesuit texts such as *The Spiritual Exercises* and *The Constitutions*.[14] He takes the Jesuits at their word. Ignatius of Loyola urged those giving *The Spiritual Exercises* to be flexible and sensitive to the age, education, and aptitude of each participant.[15] Early Jesuit leaders close to Ignatius recommended the same kind of adaptation to other circumstances. Jesuits who engaged in conversation for the sake of saving souls should, according to Jéronimo Nadal, judge each person's character and temperament and start with a topic likely to attract interest, before entering into spiritual matters. As Ignatius had advised in the sense of a Spanish proverb, one should enter 'in by their door to come out by ours'.[16] Further, O'Malley, like Pascal, but with deeper study, joins accommodation to casuistry in the Jesuit practice of confession, and finds at the center of casuistry 'the rhetorical principle of accommodation to times, persons, and other circumstances'.[17] He cites a whole paragraph from *The Constitutions* as the framework for this approach that Jesuits then could fill in according to given circumstances. It reads in part: 'In general, they ought to be instructed about the manner of acting proper to a member of the Society, who has to associate with so great a diversity of persons throughout such varied places. Hence they should foresee the difficulties which may arise and the opportunities which can be grasped for the greater service of God, by employing this means or that'. Constitutional guidelines might help, but only the Holy Spirit and divine prudence can teach such tact, which O'Malley also connects with the art of rhetoric.

In fact, *The Constitutions* employed the past participle of *accommodare* twice, and gave other instructions as well, that established directions for some of the practices most characteristic of Jesuit accommodation as it would develop over the centuries. First, Jesuits should learn the 'method of teaching Christian doctrine, accommodated to the intelligence of children and simple persons'.[18] Second, in observance of their vow of poverty Jesuits should wear clothing of a decent sort ('honestus') that could be 'accommodated to the customs of the

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14 O'Malley J.W., S.J., *The First Jesuits* (Cambridge, MA: 1993).

15 Ibidem 38.

16 Ibidem 111–112.

17 Ibidem 144–145, citing *Constitutiones Societatis Iesu*, Pars IV, Cap. VIII 8.

18 *Constitutiones Societatis Iesu*, anno 1558, Pars IV, Cap. VIII 6: 'Studium etiam congruum ad modum tradendae doctrinae Christianae addiscendum, quid sit captui puerorum ac rudium accommodatum, adhibeatur'.

place where they live' ('ad usum loci, in quo vivitur accommodatus').[19] Allied with these instructions, *The Constitutions* also required Jesuits to learn and preach in the vernacular of the country where they found themselves and to say mass according to the Roman usage, 'so far as the diversity of regions permits'.[20] Each of these practices flourished as one of the key tactics in the Jesuit strategy of accommodation. Vestments were carefully chosen so that they could fit in where and as they wanted. Specially designed catechisms, pictures, and songs were used to teach Christian doctrine to both children and illiterates. Mastery of languages was a constant part of Jesuit preaching, necessary as well to accomplish all their ministries wherever they had been sent, away from their native lands. Finally, when circumstances required it, the Jesuits would even alter the trappings of the mass so that it would be acceptable, for example, as mentioned by Pascal, to Chinese converts who were repulsed by the passion and crucifixion of Christ.[21]

More recently Robert Maryks, not himself a Jesuit, has followed closely O'Malley's example with important results for understanding the origins and rationale of accommodation.[22] By returning to original sources O'Malley could demonstrate that schools became the preeminent Jesuit ministry years after the establishment of the Society in a development that profoundly changed the course of Jesuit history.[23] In a similar way Maryks employs his unequalled knowledge of Jesuit confessional manuals and writings on penitence to show that Probabilism, which he, O'Malley, and Pascal associate with rhetoric and accommodation, gained momentum from the humanist curriculum of the

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19   Ibidem, Pars VI, Cap. II 15: 'In vestitu itidem ratione tria observentur: primum, ut hones-
      tus ille sit; alterum, ut ad usum loci, in quo vivitur, accommodatus; tertium, ut professioni
      paupertatis non repugnet. Videretur autem repugnare, si sericis vel preciosis utcunque
      pannis uteremur, a quibus abstinendum est; ut in omnibus humilitatis et submissionis
      debita ad maiorem Dei gloriam ratio habeatur'.

20   Ibidem, Pars IV, Cap. VIII 3: '[…] studeantque ad id munus obeundum linguam populo
      vernaculam bene addiscere. Res etiam alias vidisse oportet, et prae manibus habere, quæ
      ad hoc officium utiles futurae sunt; ac demum, ut melius et cum maiori fructu animarum
      id munus obeant. Omnibus mediis utantur, quibus commode juvari possint'. Pars IV,
      Cap. VIII, 2: 'et cerimoniis eisdem [the mass] omnis Societas, quantum fieri potest, utatur
      in quibus usum Romanum ut magis universalem et quem peculiari quadam ratione Sedes
      Apostolica amplexa est, quantum patietur regionum varietas, sequetur'.

21   Pascal, *The Provincial Letters* 76.

22   Maryks R.A., *Saint Cicero and the Jesuits: The Influence of the Liberal Arts on the Adoption
      of Moral Probabilism* (Abingdon, Oxon.: 2008), in ProQuest ebrary. Web. [16 March 2015].
      I thank Isabel Zinman for drawing my attention to this book.

23   O'Malley, *The First Jesuits* 200–242.

Jesuit schools, which concentrated so intently on rhetoric. At first the Jesuits took a safer course in hearing confession. They adopted Probabilism starting only around 1580, after they had turned to Cicero and were able to integrate the arguments of Dominican theologians. Probabilism meant that Jesuits could offer penitents who confessed with them a choice of more and less likely interpretations of their sins. Maryks contends that the distinctively flexible Jesuit spirituality and 'especially its anthropologically founded principle of accommodation', would have predisposed the Jesuits to incorporate Probabilism.[24]

Lucas, O'Malley, and Maryks mostly use primary sources produced by the Jesuits themselves. When they do introduce sources from outside, such as Pascal, it is to set up a target that they try to topple with methods that historians currently use. Yet, if more than an accurate reconstruction of Jesuit intention is at stake, then different approaches are required.

More inclusive and dynamic by definition, a significant number of recent inside accounts have applied the concept of inculturation to understand accommodation, its Jesuit forebear. The *Complementary Norms to the Constitutions of the Society Jesus* (English translation of 1996) include among the characteristics that now direct the mission and identity of the Society, '[…] the inculturated proclamation of the Gospel and dialogue with members of other religions. Hence, in our mission, the faith that seeks justice is a faith that inseparably engages other traditions in dialogue and evangelizes cultures'.[25] Through implementation of the Second Vatican Council, inculturation became one of the Society's missions set by the pope.[26] To accomplish these ends Jesuits should be educated 'in literature, in the arts, in sciences, also in social sciences, the better to understand reality, and to undertake the analysis of it; and also in history and in various aspects of the culture of the region where the apostolate will be carried on, as well as in the modern means of social communication'.[27]

Nicolas Standaert, S.J., the leading practitioner of inculturation in the study of early modern Jesuit accommodation, has even written a kind of catechistic handbook to explicate inculturation simply and clearly.[28] Although he never uses the term 'inculturation' in his seminal essay, "Jesuit Corporate Culture

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24   Maryks, *Saint Cicero* 4, 79–81.

25   *The Constitutions of the Society of Jesus and Their Complementary Norms: A Complete English Translation of the Official Latin Texts*, Institute of Jesuit Sources (Saint Louis: 1996) 61: 4 §3.

26   Ibidem 277: 253 §4.

27   Ibidem 157: 95.

28   Standaert N., S.J., *Inculturation: The Gospel and Cultures* (Pasay City: 1994).

Shaped by the Chinese", Standaert's argument that 'the Jesuit corporate identity was shaped by the Chinese Other' exemplifies the methods called for by inculturation.[29] Standaert insists on uncovering a dialog between Jesuits and Chinese that depends on knowledge of Chinese primary sources, recognition of the 'Other's' separate cultures and beliefs, acceptance that some differences might be too great to overcome, and consideration of how Jesuits might be changed through their encounters with the 'Other'. 'Jesuit accommodation', he writes, 'is often described by a sentence attributed to Ignatius of Loyola: "Enter through the door of the other so as to make them leave through our door". Cultural imperative means that the Chinese say to the Jesuits: "You should enter through our door (and you will have to prove you have done so). Moreover, you should remain inside, and you cannot leave without our permission. Anyway, we have no intention of leaving through your door"'.[30] Taking this approach, Standaert develops an understanding of Jesuit accommodation that requires more detailed knowledge of particular circumstances in which Jesuits from different backgrounds could disagree among themselves, could devise tactics according to the varied groups whom they wished to persuade, and could change their policies over time. Even though inculturation, because it originated in the Vatican, has been questioned as a concept of value for serious historical research, Standaert's contributions must be credited.[31] This engagement with other cultures closely approaches the methods of cultural anthropology that also inform the work of historians outside the Jesuit circle in which, as Simon Ditchfield advocates, the goal is to include the voices of as many participants as can be retrieved through the expansion of sources connected with ritual and performance, and through processes of exchange that are reciprocal, which is another way of invoking the search for dialog.[32]

Carlo Ginzburg, however, stresses the rhetorical function of dialog in Jesuit writing which serves to conceal its true character as a monolog.[33] By projecting back onto the past the dialog of respect that Jesuits now seek with other

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29   Standaert, S.J., "Jesuit Corporate Culture as Shaped by the Chinese", in O'Malley J.W., S.J. – Bailey G.A. – Harris S.J. – Kennedy T.F., S.J. (eds.), *The Jesuits: Cultures, Sciences, and the Arts, 1540–1773* (Toronto – Buffalo – London: 1999) 352–363.

30   Ibidem 357.

31   Županov I.G., *Missionary Tropics: The Catholic Frontier in India* (*16th–17th Centuries*) (Ann Arbor: 2005) 19.

32   Ditchfield S., "Decentering the Catholic Reformation: Papacy and Peoples in the Early Modern World", *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte* 101 (2010) 206.

33   Ginzburg C., "Alien Voices: The Dialogic Element in Early Modern Jesuit Historiography", in idem, *History, Rhetoric, and Proof* (Hanover – London: 1999) 83.

cultures, the model of inculturation risks anachronism. Jaime Lara, for example, says that inculturation was called accommodation in the early modern period, but that the process is timeless.[34] From this position he celebrates the use of Testarian catechisms introduced by Franciscan missionaries early in the sixteenth century to convert the Nahua of Mexico.[35] But Elizabeth Boone has challenged the premise on which these rebus books of Christian doctrine were based: namely, that before the Spanish conquest Aztecs read pictures which recorded a phonetic ideographic language. She asserts that there is no evidence to show the existence of this kind of systematic pictographic language, so that the Testarian catechisms were products instead of European traditions.[36] In her more precise analysis, Bérénice Gaillemin has demonstrated recently that the Testarian catechisms employed European techniques to combine images and words in diverse ways, as particular solutions that would enable (native) readers to memorize and then repeat the elements of Christian doctrine.[37] As to how effective they were, that is still an open question. And, one can argue as well that Standaert exaggerates the Jesuits' passive response to Chinese culture. After all, flexibility, both active and passive, was built into their way of proceeding.[38]

Social Science Models

In a certain way, by denying the coherence of a Jesuit corporate culture and calling attention to the Jesuits' reactive stance in China, Standaert remains faithful to the deeper meaning of inculturation. In contrast to the term acculturation used by cultural anthropology to describe the results of continuous first-hand contact between individuals of different cultures, its variant inculturation suggests the insertion of the Christian message into the world's diverse cultures by the Catholic Church which, 'in virtue of her mission and nature, is bound to no

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34   Lara J., *Christian Texts for Aztecs: Art and Liturgy in Colonial Mexico* (Notre Dame: 2008) 17.

35   Ibidem 49.

36   Boone E.H., "Pictorial Documents and Visual Thinking in Postconquest Mexico", in Boone E.H. – Cummins T. (eds.), *Native Traditions in the Postconquest World* (Washington, D.C.: 1998) 158, 161–162.

37   Gaillemin B., "Images mémorables pour un texte immuable", *Gradhiva* [Online] 13 (2011), URL: http://gradhiva.revues.org/2068 [17 June 2015]. Aliocha Maldavsky kindly brought this article to my attention.

38   Brockey L.M., *Journey to the East: The Jesuit Mission to China, 1579–1724* (Cambridge: 2007) 368.

particular form of culture'.[39] Acculturation in practice has become associated with the disruptive imposition of a dominant culture on a weaker, the result especially of colonial power over indigenous peoples whose traditional ways are destroyed and lost.[40] But, as Gauvin Bailey observes, acculturation considers only the action of the dominant group, in our case the Jesuits, and denies 'agency' to those on the receiving end.[41]

By contrast postcolonial theory and cultural anthropology grant agency to the cultures of colonial subjects through the introduction of terms such as hybridity, in which the natives give new and different meanings to the colonial models they appropriate, in a way that 'terrorizes authority with the *ruse* of recognition, its mimicry, its mockery'.[42] Art historians and historians have used this approach with different degrees of consistency and success.

One problem is that many start from current blind spots, assumptions that with good will respond to the theoretical imperatives demanding to restore history and choice to many peoples whose societies were devastated by encounters with Western European colonial invaders. It is clear that a Guarani wooden image of the Virgin of the Immaculate Conception made around 1700 for the Jesuit Church of São Miguel, Brazil, is executed in a carving technique mastered by some workers among the indigenous people, but it is not evident that this was a survival of pre-contact or even of post-contact traditions cultivated by the Guarani.[43] In a similar way Allan Greer argues against choosing between the black and white alternatives regarding the success of conversion, which have persisted in the historical literature from the seventeenth century to the present. In this polemic the Jesuits' claim that they had made 'true' converts of the Iroquois in seventeenth-century New France is opposed by the derision of the Jesuits' enemies who denounced the claim to true conversion as papering over an untamed savagery. Greer persuasively rejects this polarity because it imposes the terms and concepts of European religion onto the responses of the Native Americans whom he presents as reacting to Jesuit

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39   Crollius A.R., S.J. – Nkéramihigo T., S.J., *What Is So New About Inculturation?* (Rome: 1984) 4, quoting from Vatican Council II, as cited in Abbott W.M., S.J. – Gallagher J. (eds.), *The Documents of Vatican II. Introductions and Commentaries by Catholic Bishops and Experts. Responses by Protestant and Orthodox Scholars* (New York: 1966), Vatican II, GS 42.

40   Rubertone P.E., "The Historical Archaeology of Native Americans", *Annual Review of Anthropology* 29 (2000) 428–429. My thanks to Jessica Nelson who directed my attention to this article.

41   Bailey G.A., *Art on the Jesuit Missions in Asia, and Latin America 1542–1773* (Toronto – Buffalo – London: 2001) 22–23.

42   Bhabha H.K., *The Location of Culture* (Abingdon – New York: 1994) 165.

43   Bailey, *Art on the Jesuit Missions* 27.

teaching according to their own understandings.[44] He offers instead the possibility of the 'Middle Ground', a concept developed by Richard White, to characterize the historical meeting place of mutual misunderstandings on which common agreements could be founded.[45]

This historical location is for White specific and depends on a balance of power in which neither group can dominate the other. But from Greer's description it seems as if the Iroquois who settled in the French-Jesuit town of Kahnawake did so in response to an increased French military force from which they sought protection, so that these Iroquois were at a distinct disadvantage in any exchange with the Jesuits.[46] As is often the case in interactions with a pre-literate indigenous society, all the sources were written by the conquerors—in this and other similar cases, by the Jesuits. Under these circumstances White warns modern historians, who rely completely on sources written by the colonizers, not to assume that they can see better and more about the Indians than what the colonizers saw.

By using the models of inculturation, hybridity, and Middle Ground, Lara, Bailey, and Greer gain the confidence to detect indigenous expression and agency in works of art and architecture, in performed rituals, and in religious exchanges, even when other sources might not support that view. The frustrated desire to find strong modern political agendas confirmed in past history has produced in the historiography of colonial Peru what Aliocha Maldavsky calls a 'retrospective utopia'.[47] In similar fashion Ines Županov questions how useful it is for a history of the early modern period to focus on 'subaltern resistance or negotiation, as has been in vogue for more than a decade in Indian studies and refers primarily to British colonialism and the forms of domination related to it'.[48] Jesuits in early modern India operated instead out of a much more circumscribed and fragile Portuguese colonial sphere. Luke Clossey warns sarcastically against the anachronistic view of Jesuits who risked 'their

44   Greer A., "Conversion and Identity: Iroquois Christianity in Seventeenth-Century New France", in Mills K. – Grafton A. (eds.), *Conversion: Old Worlds and New* (Rochester: 2003) 175–198.

45   White R., "Creative Misunderstandings and New Understandings", *The William and Mary Quarterly*, Third Series 63 (2006) 9–13, Stable URL: http://www.jstor.org/stable/3491722 [18 September 2014]. I thank Jessica Nelson for drawing my attention to this article.

46   Greer, "Conversion and Identity" 180.

47   Maldavsky A., *Vocaciones inciertas. Misión y misioneros en la provincia jesuita del Perú en los siglos XVI y XVII* (Seville – Lima: 2012) 25.

48   Županov, *Missionary Tropics* 25.

lives to travel to the ends of the earth to embrace multiculturalism, to find themselves, or even to be converted'.[49]

If evidence cannot be found to prove that Jesuits defended the Indians and cherished their traditions, that evidence can even be manufactured. How striking that what seems to be a forgery has perturbed the field by positing a more radical Jesuit strategy of accommodation. Starting in the mid-1990s, successive books and articles have published a collection of documents and artifacts found in a private library in Naples that, if authentic, would change completely our understanding of the Jesuits in colonial Peru. All this material pertains to the life of the Peruvian mestizo Jesuit Blas Valera.[50] Before discovery of the Naples documents, Blas Valera's life was known mostly through Jesuit archival sources. These inform us that Valera contributed his knowledge of Andean languages to the translation of catechisms into Quechua and Ayamara prepared by the Third Council of the Archdiocese of Lima during 1582–1583. They tell us further that in April 1583, Valera was arrested and then imprisoned four years for a serious crime about which the Jesuit sources remain silent. After spending more years under house arrest, he eventually was transported to Spain in 1596 where, critically injured in the English attack on Cádiz, he died of his wounds in April 1597.

But if the Naples documents are authentic, then Valera actually faked his death and returned to Peru. There he lived incognito and wrote what now is the major source of Inca history, which everyone thought was the work of the native Inca Guaman Poma who signed and dated the manuscript 1615. The Naples Documents tell us instead that Guaman Poma served only as a cover for the real author, Blas Valera. Valera also led a movement followed by other Jesuits to restore the use of indigenous language and customs that he defended as compatible with Catholic doctrine. To this end he invented a phonetic system of writing with quipu that could be used to teach catechism in the Indian language, and he revealed that Inca quipu survive in different kinds, replete with legible historical and literary content not previously suspected. The package of documents in Naples even contains sample quipu that would illustrate the lost writing system of the Incas, thus feeding the current hunger for material culture to supplement the written record. In the end, in drawings that purportedly are by his own hand, Valera envisioned an apocalyptic destruction of Spanish rule, superseded by Inca worship of the true God.

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49   Clossey L., *Salvation and Globalization in the Early Jesuit Missions* (New York: 2008) 7.

50   Minelli L.L. (ed.), *Exsul immeritus Blas Valera populo suo e Historia et rudimenta linguae piruanorum. Indios, gesuiti e spagnoli in due documenti segreti sul Perú del XVII secolo* (Bologna: 2005).

Historians of colonial Peru who have reviewed publications of the Naples documents conclude that they are forgeries. One reviewer asked if they might be the latest novel by Umberto Eco.[51] Others, however, lend a different kind of historical credibility to this manufactured heritage of the mestizo Jesuit Blas Valera. In particular, Sabine Hyland has argued carefully in her book *The Jesuit and the Incas* that the Naples documents are indeed forgeries, but not modern.[52] Instead, she maintains, the forgers were a group of disgruntled seventeenth-century Jesuits who supported Valera's positions in favor of the Indians and contrived a history that would perpetuate and confirm his ideas. Further research is necessary before we can decide whether these documents are modern forgeries or the products of seventeenth-century Jesuit dissent.

Either way, the package of documents neatly ties together the agendas pursued by a significant network of researchers currently active in the field. Hyland in her book glorifies her own version of Blas Valera as 'a Peruvian of great courage and importance in the struggle for native rights' who 'deserves to be recognized for his achievements in this area'.[53] Valera, as he is represented in the Naples documents, lends agency to the Indians who lived under colonial rule. Valera stands for resistance, he embodies the mestizo combination of races, he offers the record and defense of an indigenous civilization otherwise destroyed by the Spanish. His legacy incorporates authentic Inca objects, quipu, into a system of writing used to teach Christian doctrine. All these achievements project concepts of postcolonial theory back into early modern history.

Outside and Politics

A very different account of Jesuit accommodation emerges from Juan Carlos Estenssoro Fuchs's great book *Del paganismo a la santidad*, on the incorporation of the Indians of Peru into Catholicism, 1532–1750.[54] Using as his major

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51   Estenssoro Fuchs J.C., "¿Historia de un fraude o fraude histórico?", *Revista de Indias* 57 (1997) 566. Also see Durston A., "Review of Sabine Hyland, *The Jesuit and the Incas: The Extraordinary Life of Padre Blas Valera, S.J.* (Ann Arbor: 2003)", in *Journal of Latin American Anthropology* 10 (2008) 453–455, DOI: 10.1525/jlca.2005.10.2.453 [28 June 2008].

52   Hyland S., *The Jesuit and the Incas: The Extraordinary Life of Padre Blas Valera, S.J.* (Ann Arbor: 2003).

53   Ibidem 5.

54   Estenssoro Fuchs J.C., *Del paganismo a la santidad. La incorporación de los indios del Perú al catolicismo, 1532–1750* (Lima: 2003). Aliocha Maldavsky kindly drew my attention to this book.

sources the few catechisms from the time that survived subsequent obliteration carried out by the Jesuits, he argues that during the first period of evangelization, from the conquest in 1532 to the Third Council of Lima in 1583, Dominicans, Mercedarians, and Augustinians integrated many Inca practices into Catholic worship and eliminated doctrines of Christian orthodoxy that would have alienated the Indians. Through this inclusion, the Inca past was converted into a Christian present, and the Indians were included in a variety of ceremonies and as participants in the para-liturgy.[55]

These policies of accommodation changed after Philip II sent the Jesuits in 1568 and the new viceroy Francisco de Toledo in 1569 to consolidate royal power and orthodox Catholic doctrine in fractious Peru. Toledo corralled the decimated Indian population into *doctrinas* ('Indian parishes') that would secure political control, economic exploitation of cheap labor, and religious uniformity. Under the leadership of their provincial José de Acosta, the Jesuits dominated the Third Lima Council that condemned the accommodations to pre-Hispanic customs granted by their Dominican predecessors. The Jesuits required instead that the Indians learn a strict Christian doctrine of the Ten Commandments, knowledge of Christ's incarnation, passion, and resurrection, the existence of hell, heaven, purgatory, the last judgment, and the Trinity, necessity to confess and commune. However, because the Indians were cast apart as a separate group, they were always kept under suspicion. Estenssoro Fuchs argues that the generic classification 'Indian', on which Acosta insisted, did not correspond to any ethnic or cultural reality, and carried instead a negative religious connotation of 'not Christian', like pagan, idolater, converso, infidel, and Jew, linked to Spanish statutes on purity of blood.[56] Like conversos in Spain, the category 'Indian' in Peru indefinitely postponed assimilation into Christian society. Vestiges of the Inca customs permitted by the Dominicans into Catholic practice now emerged as signs of idolatry after the Jesuits and Viceroy Toledo changed the rules. On this basis the Jesuits and the Spanish colonial authorities could launch their Church-State campaigns to extirpate idols from 1609 to 1630. Evidence of idolatry was supplied only by the extirpators who devoted themselves to rooting out what they insisted was there. What twentieth-century historians present in these texts as evidence of resistance to Spanish control is, according to Estenssoro Fuchs, in fact part of the colonial ideological justification perpetually to deny the Indians credit for a complete and sincere conversion.[57]

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55   Ibidem 32–138.
56   Ibidem 141–142.
57   Ibidem 145.

Acosta in his *De procuranda indorum salute*, written in 1577 and published in 1589, devised a theoretical rationale for the new method of evangelization that condemned as idolatrous the vestiges of Inca belief allowed by the Dominicans into Catholic worship.[58] Invoking Thomas Aquinas and Aristotle, Acosta measured barbarity in degrees of distance from right reason. The first class of barbarians, Chinese, Japanese, and some East Indians, were not far from the light. Above all they cultivated literature, which depended on a high level of political organization. Only human wisdom and reason would lead the Chinese and Japanese to the Gospel, while they would be driven away from Christian doctrine by force and power. Peruvian and Mexican Indians, by contrast, lived further away from right reason, most of all because they mastered no system of writing for literature and laws. Many of their customs, rites, and laws were so monstrous that they would never see the light of the Gospel unless constrained by superior force. This second class of barbarians must be subjugated by Christian princes before they would open themselves to the authority of the Church.[59] Behind the rationale of right reason stood the brute force of military power. The Spanish conquered the Incas and destroyed their civilization. Acosta applied his theory to Peru after the fact, where the Jesuits accommodated to the political reality of Spanish rule and bent to Viceroy Toledo's demand that they serve as parish priests in the *doctrinas* in violation of their principles. In Asia the Portuguese and then also the Spanish never mounted serious military threats against China, Japan, or the larger part of India. When they were admitted under the sufferance of different rulers, the Jesuits of necessity followed a strategy of accommodation.

Political calculation as the first accommodation is demonstrated in George Elison's brilliant book *Deus Destroyed: The Image of Christianity in Early Modern Japan*, published more than forty year ago, in 1973.[60] Unlike the Incas or the Iroquois, the Japanese could answer back in writing and through political action. Elison uses Japanese primary and secondary sources to offer an account independent of the Jesuit sources that usually record this kind of history. From that two-sided point of view one can argue that Jesuit accommodation always was politically motivated and superficial, while they demanded that the Japanese change on the interior in morals and ultimate loyalty,

58   Ibidem 188–192.

59   Acosta J. de, *De procuranda Indorum salute*, ed. L. Pereña, 2 vols. (Madrid: 1984–1987), 1, 4–8.

60   Elison G., *Deus Destroyed: The Image of Christianity in Early Modern Japan* (Cambridge: 1973).

shifting from their feudal lord to the Christian god.[61] Further, in offering potential military support from the Portuguese, they inadvertently posed themselves as a threat. They were not, as Elison puts it, Machiavellian enough. Consequently, daimyo Hideyoshi Toyotomi, after he finally unified Japan under his rule and no longer needed to dissimulate, on 24 July 1587, issued a decree that banished Jesuits from the country. Elison explains this as a rational part of Hideyoshi's program to restructure Japan under central authority. Not strictly enforced, the decree initiated measures that culminated in 1614, when the Tokugawa shogunate banished the Jesuits outright and began actively to per-secute Christians. The Sakoku edict of 1639 finally closed Japan to all Catholic lands, and chained the country off from foreigners for two centuries, except for the Dutch trading factory on Deshima. Instead of entering through the Japanese door and exiting through their own, the Jesuits were thrown out, and the Japanese closed the door behind them.[62]

Just as Elison could present a very different history from the Japanese side, so Roger Hart has recently dismantled the framework used to explain how the Jesuits used European science and technology to win converts in China. Hart attacks the terms 'China', 'the West', 'science', and 'modernity' as categories that already bring their own conclusions to the analysis. He reduces the scale from an heroic encounter between 'China' and 'the West' to the collaboration between Jesuit missionaries and Chinese scholar-officials who faced opposi-tion from enemies in China and Europe.[63] Arguments for the importance of Matteo Ricci's translation of Euclid into Chinese are based according to Hart only on the propaganda of Jesuits and their collaborators and the subsequent glorification of the inevitable triumph of superior European science.[64] Xu Guangqi, celebrated by the Jesuits as a pious adherent, defended the Jesuits in 1616 against the accusation that they had violated Chinese laws, rituals, and decrees and that they had placed the 'Lord of Heaven' above the emperor, and collaterally, that they had done this not for the sake of Christianity, but rather to support Xu's own career that depended on promoting 'Western Learning' which, in turn, he misrepresented for his own purposes (253). Xu was neither a convert, Christian, mathematician, scientist, nor polymath as the hagiographi-cal accounts claim. He was a creative manipulator who did what he did for the

61   Ibidem 61–73.
62   Ibidem 111–131.
63   Hart R., *Imagined Civilizations: China, the West, and Their First Encounter* (Baltimore: 2013) 1–7, 28, eBook Academic Collection (EBSCOhost) [31 May 2015].
64   Ibidem 205.

sake of higher official posts.[65] Hart bases these arguments on the contexts of late-Ming politics, Xu's earlier writings, and on a detailed study of the elements of Chinese mathematics that were included but not acknowledged in Ricci's Euclid. He deflates the heroic importance of the narrative that would set everything on a global scale in the clash of civilizations. However, by ignoring the sincere religious motivations that impelled the Jesuits and their converts alike, Hart's view may be limited by a different kind of anachronism.

In that context of Chinese politics the Jesuits succeeded better than they had in Japan because they accommodated better. Only the final outcome of the Chinese Rites controversy trapped them inextricably in what Liam Brockey calls 'the power game being played between Peking and Rome', with the result that their incorporation of Confucian rites into Catholic ceremonies was condemned by Pope Clement XI in 1704, and their presence in China was prohibited by the Yongzheng emperor in 1724.[66] Up to then their political calculations were as astute and manipulative as those of their Chinese collaborators.

When the necessity arose, the Jesuits willingly transformed accommodation into disguise for the sake of elaborately contrived deceptions.[67] At the behest of Philip II, who sought a base of operations for his navy in Scandinavia, Gregory XIII sent Jesuits to Stockholm on a mission to convert the Swedish King Johan III, who had shown signs of interest in returning his country from the Lutheran to the Catholic fold. As worldly reward, Philip could dangle before the Swedish king the enormous inheritance of Johan III's queen, Catherine Jagellon, which Philip held frozen in Naples. The pope first sent to Stockholm the Jesuit Stanislaus Warszewicki, disguised as an ambassador from Poland, who could open negotiations without arousing Lutheran suspicions. These negotiations spun out an intricate plot. In 1575, a second Jesuit, the Norwegian Father Laurentius Nicolai, embedded himself in the Swedish royal court and Lutheran Church. Nicolai, disguised as a Lutheran theologian, was appointed by Johan as professor and rector of the newly founded seminary in Stockholm, which quickly attracted Lutheran pastors and students. At the same time Nicolai tried gradually to win King Johan over to the Catholic side, but failed to make progress or to obtain Swedish ships for Philip II.

Impatient, Gregory XIII dispatched the famous Jesuit Antonio Possevino, in disguise, and Philip II sent his own special agent to speed things along. Possevino, in 1578, accomplished the private conversion of the Swedish king,

65   Ibidem 249–257.

66   Brockey, *Journey to the East* 184–203.

67   For what follows, see Garstein O., *Rome and the Counter-Reformation in Scandinavia: Jesuit Education Strategy 1553–1622* (Leiden: 1992) XIX–XXIX.

who nevertheless requested dispensation from the pope to keep his new faith secret for ten years and to incorporate significant Lutheran elements into Catholic practice. Although Possevino supported this accommodation, the pope refused. And, when Johan in his turn would not budge, Possevino destabilized the situation in Sweden by revealing his own and his Jesuit colleagues' true identity as Catholic priests. Lutherans in Stockholm were provoked to riot in May 1580, and although the king protected the Jesuits from physical harm, he retreated into a position of neutrality. Nevertheless, when Possevino and Nicolai left Stockholm that year, they placed a quartet of new Jesuits disguised as royal minstrels in the royal palace to continue the deception.

Their infiltration of the Swedish court presents a powerful example of the nature of Jesuit accommodation. It was impelled by the highest authority for the gravest motives in which the fates of Church and State were at stake. Opportunities were assessed and boldly seized. Agents employed disguise and false identities to win influence and confidence, even if that meant posing as ministers of heretical sects. They established a network of conspirators and gained control of the most important educational institutions where they taught Catholic doctrine in secret. They advocated the acceptance of dispensations that violated important doctrines of Catholic orthodoxy for at least a limited period of time. Jesuit accommodation was political, and its method was Machiavellian.

Antonio Possevino, the preeminent Jesuit involved directly in the Stockholm gambit, who employed these tactics to achieve the ends of Philip II and Gregory XIII, was also among the first Jesuit writers to attack Machiavelli for his argument that princes should use religion only as a superficial image to blind the masses from their real amoral actions.[68] But the Jesuits easily resolved this apparent contradiction. They acted on the conviction that all means were justified in attaining their goal of saving souls through true religion in obedience to the pope. They served the Church, not the State.

This kind of remarkable story does not appear often in current studies of Jesuit accommodation. It suggests the elements of secrecy, manipulation, and sheer amorality behind the deeply ingrained belief in a global conspiracy managed by Jesuits to control the world.[69] But it is important evidence and must

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68   Bireley R., S.J., *The Counter-Reformation Prince: Anti-Machiavellianism or Catholic Statecraft in Early Modern Europe* (Chapel Hill – London: 1990) 25–26.

69   On the rhetoric of conspiracy as applied to the Jesuits and also used by them, see Caffiero M., "La rhétorique symétrique. Discours et stratégies d'autolégitimation des jésuites", in Fabre P.A. – Maire C. (eds.), *Les Antijésuites. Discours, figures et lieux de l'antijésuitisme à l'époque moderne* (Rennes: 2010) 208–220.

be included in a balanced history that avoids the stereotypes of anti-Jesuit polemics and the anachronisms that reduce Jesuit motives to modern conceptions of politics.

Recent comparative and broader discussions of accommodation have considered the political element as decisive.[70] At this juncture politics should be recognized as one constant in the encyclopedia of Jesuit accommodation where knowledge was compiled to seize every opportunity for saving souls. Supplied with the large number of detailed studies about every kind and place of Jesuit accommodation, it may be possible now to write a larger history of the concept and practice.

First it would be necessary to bring together and analyze in context the texts that were decisive for guiding Jesuit accommodation, from *The Constitutions*, as I have indicated above, to the treatises by José de Acosta, Alessandro Valignano, and Roberto de Nobili. Ines Županov's rich contextualization of De Nobili's campaign to accommodate the caste system in Madurai provides a good example of how to connect the history of theory with practice.[71] Paolo Aranha's analysis of the different interests—religious, political, and economic, local, and global—competing in the Malabar Rites controversy continues this approach and is especially valuable for using the archives of the Congregation de Propaganda Fide to expand the active points of contact involved in this case study.[72] Around the treatises themselves, letters and reports chart the process by which the strategy of accommodation was elaborated.

For example, Alessandro Valignano, in his correspondence with the Superior General, Claudio Acquaviva, requested official approval of the varied ways in which he already had accommodated the Jesuit mission to the customs and ceremonies observed by the Japanese in their conversation and politics. Acquaviva in his letter of 24 December 1585, gave his consent:

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70   Hosne A.C., *The Jesuit Missions to China and Peru, 1570–1610*: *Expectations and Appraisals of Expansionism* (Abingdon – New York: 2013) 82; and Rubiés J.-P., "The Concept of Cultural Dialogue and the Jesuit Method of Accommodation: Between Idolatry and Civilization", *Archivum Historicum Societatis Iesu* 74 (2005) 241.

71   Županov I.G., *Disputed Mission: Jesuit Experiments and Brahmanical Knowledge in Seventeenth-Century India* (New Delhi – Oxford: 1999).

72   Aranha P., "'Glocal' Conflicts: Missionary Controversies on the Coromandel Coast between the XVII and XVIII Centuries", in Catto M. – Mongini G. – Mostaccio S. (eds.), *Evangelizzazione e globalizzazzione. Le missioni gesuitiche nell'età moderna tra storia e storiografia* (Rome: 2010) 79–104.

> [...] è necessario accommodarsi loro et entrar con la loro per uscir poi con la nostra. Questo, Padre mio, sino a un certo segno mi par consiglio molto prudente, perchè anche l'Apostolo diventava con tutti tutte le cose per guadagnarli a Christo, et così lodo io che nelle cortesie, nella composizione esterna della modestia et gravità, nel non dar mostra di alcuna passione discomposta, et nelle cose che toccano al tratto et commertio politico, ci accommodiamo con loro.

> [...] it is necessary to accommodate oneself to them and to enter through theirs in order to exit by ours. This, my Father, I think most prudent counsel up to a point, because the Apostle [Paul] became all things to all people to win them for Christ, and thus I praise that in courtesies, external composure of modesty and gravity, in suppression of all unruly passions, and in affairs of politics, we accommodate ourselves to them.[73]

Valignano and Acquaviva settled on the term 'accommodation', appealed to the Spanish proverb associated with Ignatius of Loyola that has appeared several times in this paper, cited St. Paul's call for Christian evangelists to be all things to all people [1 *Corinthians* 9: 22], set a limit to accommodation based on *The Constitutions*' warning against luxurious silk vestments that would violate the vow of poverty, and drew a circle of indifference to worldly things around the Jesuits who would have to accommodate themselves for the sake of what they valued most. Treatises, letters, and reports on accommodation will enable a reconstruction of the precedents from the Bible and from ancient Greek and Roman texts that the Jesuits used to conceptualize their approaches.

Along with precedents in theory and text, a history of Jesuit accommodation must analyze as well the precedents in practice set especially by Dominican and Franciscan missionaries in Peru and New Spain. Jesuit use of pictures in teaching Christian doctrine to Paraguayan Indians and peasants of Brittany, for example, has its firm roots in Franciscan methods.[74] It may be that Jesuit

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73   Valignano A., S.J., *Il Cerimoniale per i missionari del Giappone. Advertimentos e avisos acerca dos costumes e catangues de Jappão, di Alexandro Valignano, S.J. Importante documento circa i metodi di adattamento nella missione giapponese del secolo XVI*, ed. G. Fr. Schütte, S.J. (Rome: 1946) 318.

74   Boone, "Pictorial Documents and Visual Thinking" 161–162; Estenssoro Fuchs, *Del paganismo a la santidad* 217; Lara, *Christian Texts for Aztecs* 49; and Dekoninck R., "Une pédagogie jésuite *de* et *par* l'image: la 'langue des images' du Pére Steegius (1647)", in Renonciat A. (ed.), *Voir/Savoir. La pédagogie par l'image aux temps de l'imprimé du XVIᵉ au XXᵉ siècle* (Paris: 2011) 173–180.

accommodation differed most from what came before it in the systematic and variously flexible ways it was rationalized and applied. Bernadette Majorana provides an excellent case study to confirm this point in her recent article that reconstructs exactly how the Jesuits developed a new rhetorical style during the 1670s for preaching to peasants of the Roman Province.[75] Majorana, like Gaillemin, devotes special attention to how Jesuits combined words with non-verbal media such as gestures and figures to increase the effectiveness of their communication.

In considering the varieties of Jesuit accommodation it will be important as well to avoid identifying accommodation exclusively with overseas missions where the strategy of accommodation often was obvious and to which so much research and theoretical discussion have recently been devoted. Accommodation to persons, places, and circumstances was active as well in locations that at first glance might not appear to have required it.

Compare, for example, the Jesuit accommodation of their churches to the circumstances prevalent in Japan and the South Netherlands. I have already drawn attention to the elaborate protocol of accommodation that Alessandro Valignano devised to authorize the Jesuits in their social conversation and political interaction with the Japanese. In the detailed handbook guide he wrote in defense of this practice of accommodation, *Advertimentos e avisos acerca dos costumes et catangues de Jappão* (manuscript finished 1581), Valignano devoted a chapter to the construction of Jesuit houses and churches in which he explained that:

> Asi como en todas as mais cousas hé nesesario que nos saibamos acomodar ao modo de proceder e costumes dos Japõis, asi tãobem nos avemos de acommodar na fabrica de nosas igrejas e casas, porque, sem ter-se nisto conta com o modo de fabricar que os[d] Japõis usão, nam se pode comprir com as cortesias e a[ga]salhados que com eles se fazem, e na fabrica tãobem parese que temos maa arqutectura e se segem muitos inconvenientes, asi pera[e] o serviço como pera o recolhimento e outras cousas nesesarias.

> As in all other things it is necessary to know how to accommodate ourselves to the way of proceeding and the customs of the Japanese, so also we must accommodate ourselves in building our churches and houses.

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75   Majorana B., "Lingua e stile nella predicazione dei gesuiti missionari in Italia (XVI–XVIII secolo)", *Mélanges de la Casa Velázquez* 45.1 (2015) 133–151. Aliocha Maldavsky kindly called my attention to this article.

> Because, if one does not take account in this of the way the Japanese build, one will not be able to fulfill the courtesies and reception that they observe amongst themselves. And in building also, it appears that we produce bad architecture, causing many inconveniences, as much for [divine] service, as for reception, and for other necessary things.[76]

Catholic churches in Japan should be equipped with rooms on both sides to receive lords and their retinues because, as Valignano had previously demonstrated, the proper observance of rank and custom among visitors was crucial for gaining respect and status. Courtyards in front should be built in the Japanese manner, covered by verandas and furnished with water so that visitors could wash their feet during the rainy season. By means of these and many other accommodations, Valignano intended to win the Jesuits a position of authority equal to that enjoyed by the Zen Buddhist priests, who were their chief competitors in religion.

Although he required Jesuits in Japan to imitate these rivals in dress, manners, and even in the style of ritual gestures they performed during divine services, when it came to the layout of churches Valignano insisted on a sharp distinction instead of the usual practice of accommodation:

> [...] as igrejas se fação de tal maneira que se guarde o custume de nossa Europa, tendo a capella polo comprido, e nam pera o traves, como os Japões acustumam de fazer suas varelas, porque na forma das igrejas não convem imita-los, pois as suas são singogas de satanas e as nossas igrejas de Deos [...].

> [...] churches should be built in such manner that they keep our European custom, having the chapel on the long axis, and not wide as the Japanese are accustomed to making their temples, because in the form of churches it is not appropriate to imitate them, since theirs are synagogues of Satan and ours churches of God [...].[77]

A point-by-point comparison between Catholic churches and Japanese temples, made in 1585 by Valignano's colleague Luis Frois, broadens the context for understanding Valignano's distinction. Frois reiterated first the contrast between long narrow churches and broad shallow temples that Valignano had drawn. Frois, however, elaborated more on the images that visitors would

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76   Valignano, *Il Cerimoniale*, 270–271, with Schütte's Italian translation.

77   Ibidem 278–281.

encounter in these sanctuaries. Catholic images, he said, are mostly painted retables, whereas all Buddhist images are sculpted. Catholics paint their images in a variety of colors unlike the Buddhists, who gild their images from top to bottom. While Christian images are fashioned at human scale, some Buddhist images are colossal, even giant in size. And most telling, our images '[…] are beautiful and inspire devotion; theirs are horrendous and frightening, with images of demons engulfed in flames'.[78] This fills out with images the opposition between divine and diabolical that fuelled Valignano's order to build Catholic churches on the long and not the broad bias.

But an earlier description of Buddhist images by Frois also suggests that Valignano's black-and-white contrast was a calculated choice. Frois reported on a hall he had seen in which stood a thousand gilded figures of 'Kanon, the son of Amida':

> There is a shining halo behind each statue […]. The beautiful faces are so well carved that, but for the fact that it is a temple of Amida, this scene would make a good composition of place for a meditation on the ranks and hierarchies of the angels.[79]

During the 1580s, Valignano and Frois both singled out the fierce guardian figures, making them stand for all images in Buddhist temples, because these figures resemble Catholic representations of the devil and could be used to brand Japanese beliefs as diabolical superstition. At this stage in their mission, it was to the Jesuits' advantage to distinguish themselves from their Buddhist rivals whom they condemned as satanic idol worshippers.

However, Valignano also used the long axis of Catholic churches, surrounded as they were by Japanese-style walls, courtyards, and houses, as a more hidden, discrete sign, apparent only to those who already had chosen to enter. Visitors at the entrance to a church would see at the end of the path that opened before them, the ultimate goal, the sacred difference of their spiritual journey—the altar and on it, the body of Christ. Valignano was unwilling to compromise with respect to what he held most sacred; he maintained this same stance by strictly limiting access to the Eucharist. Only those Japanese who over time

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[78]   Frois L., S.J., *The First European Description of Japan, 1585: A Critical English-Language Edition of Striking Contrasts in the Customs of Europe and Japan by Luis Frois, S.J.*, trans. and ed. R.K. Danford – R.D. Gill – D.T. Reff (Milton Park – New York: 2014) 111–115.

[79]   Ibidem 116, quoting the translation of Frois' letter in Cooper M., *They Came to Japan* (Ann Arbor: 1965) 340.

had proven themselves to be good Christians and truly understood the doctrine of the faith could receive the Sacrament.[80]

But at the same time, Valignano was indifferent to superficial matters of politics, manners, social conversation, and taste, in which he could accommodate Japanese sensibilities, thus enhancing Jesuit authority. For this reason, in 1590–1592, Valignano permitted the installation of gilded folding screens in the reception rooms built off the sides of Catholic churches for the use of Japanese notables, even though such luxury went against the Jesuit vow of poverty.[81] From my own research, it is striking to see how the new Jesuit Church in Antwerp (completed 1621) negotiated the same accommodation, carried out on a vastly larger scale and with consequences that reached far and wide into the future.

Evonne Levy was the first to recognize how the Antwerp Jesuit Church effected a decisive innovation by introducing a dazzling splendor of magnificence into the decoration of Jesuit churches that previously had conformed to the simplicity enjoined by the order's vow of poverty.[82] Precious marble, lavish ornament, and illusionistic paintings designed in a careful and learned application of Vitruvian principles appealed at different levels to Antwerp's elite, who donated generously to the church.[83] But the project was so costly that it plunged the Jesuits into debt and raised stiff resistance from the Superior General Acquaviva.[84] Antwerp's Jesuits intended to accomplish much more with the splendor of their church than just a superficial and passive accommodation to the luxurious taste of Spanish Brabanders.

The surfaces of the façade and interior were clad in colorful, reflective materials intended to dazzle the eyes and enrapture the souls of all who beheld them. At the center of the facade the name of Jesus, 'our Society's symbol, expressed in gold letters on a stone of black marble that would evoke the envy

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80   Valignano, *Il Cerimoniale* 168–171.

81   Ibidem 65.

82   Levy E., "'A Noble Medley and Concert of Materials and Artifice': Jesuit Church Interiors in Rome, 1567–1700", in Lucas T. (ed.), *Saint, Site, and Sacred Strategy: Ignatius, Rome, and Jesuit Urbanism* (Vatican City: 1990) 46–61.

83   See Snaet J. – Jonge K. de, "The Architecture of the Jesuits in the Low Countries: A State of the Art", in Alvaro Zamora I. – Ibánez Fernández J. – Criado Mainar J. (eds.), *La arquitectura jesuítica. Actas del Simposio Internacional* (Zaragoza: 2012) 239–276, for contributions up to 2010.

84   Poncelet A. de, S.J., *Histoire de la compagnie de Jésus dans les anciens Pays-Bas. Établissement de la compagnie de Jésus en Belgique et ses développements jusqu'à la fin du régne d'Albert et d'Isabelle*, 2 vols. (Brussels: 1926), II, 458–560.

of a polished mirror, seizes eyes with maximum light'.[85] [Figs. 15.1–15.2] Inside, 'it is uncertain by which of the two the eyes are more enraptured, by the splendor of gold or by the beauty of the polished marble. Indeed the pavement in white and blue marble approaches the luster of a mirror'.[86] [Fig. 15.3] Using the sense of sight, the Jesuits composed an image in architecture that actively sought to fascinate the beholder and encourage him to enter. Attracted by this splendor, he would enter the church, hear the word of God, receive the sacraments of penance and communion, and attain salvation.

It is striking how the magnificence of the new Jesuit Church of Antwerp willfully violated prudent expenditure, and how the Antwerp Jesuits persisted in adding manifold beauties of ornament, despite the Superior General's repeated warnings to stop. Conflicts that push at the limits reveal the hand of accommodation, in this case to the luxurious taste of Antwerp's noble, patrician, and merchant-banker elite. Tense exchanges of the kind suggest as well how the principle of accommodation could function in a process of mediation pulling at Jesuits between obedience and independence, in the sense recently considered by Silvia Mostaccio.[87]

A true history of Jesuit accommodation depends as well on marking its limits. Close to the time that the Society of Jesus prohibited men of Jewish descent from joining (1593), in agreement with Spanish blood line statutes, Jesuit overseas missions grew increasingly reluctant to admit priests of non-European origin in overseas missions.[88] Even though that profound mistrust of the 'other' added to the manpower shortage that severely crippled the Jesuits' ability to accomplish their missions in Japan, China, and India, they did not accommodate to the pressing circumstances. In their indifference to worldly things and their knowledge of orthodox truth, George Elison also detects how

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85   *Honor S. Ignatio de Loiola Societatis Iesv Fundatori et S. Francisco Xaverio indiarum Apostolo per Gregorivm XV. Inter Divos relatis habitvs à Patribus Domus Professae & Collegij Soc. Iesu Antuerpiae 24. Iulij 1622* (Antwerp, Societas Jesu: 1622) 10–11: '[…] lapis eminet marmoreus, coloris nigri, ad inuidiam speculi politus, in quo Sanctissimi Iesv nomen, Societatis nostrae symbolum, aureis expressum litteris, luce maxima oculos perstringit'.

86   Ibidem 13: 'Dubium utrum magis auri splendor quam marmoris politi pulchritudo oculos rapiat. Quippe pavimentum candido ac caeruleo stratum marmore ad speculi nitorem accedit […]'.

87   Mostaccio S., *Early Modern Jesuits between Obedience and Conscience during the Generalate of Claudio Acquaviva (1581–1615)* (Farnham – Burlington: 2014) 6–7.

88   Maryks R., *The Jesuit Order as a Synagogue of Jews: Jesuits of Jewish Ancestry and Purity-of-Blood Laws in the Early Society of Jesus* (Leiden: 2010), eBook Academic Collection (EBSCOhost) [31 May 2015].

FIGURE 15.1   *Façade of the Antwerp Jesuit Church.*

a patronizing condescension would humiliate the Japanese.[89] That inner core of faith also prevented Jesuits from accommodating by swearing oaths that would transfer their ultimate loyalty to any power other than the pope. When they were caught in the Chinese Rites controversy the Jesuits would not swear loyalty to the emperor, even though the consequences would guarantee the destruction of their mission. These limits indicate the radical difference between what Jesuits of the early modern period understood, and what we understand today. Elison and Županov also have demonstrated the limitations set by native land, class, and education on how far and in what way early modern Jesuits were willing and able to accommodate.

Finally, what limits should be placed on a history of accommodation? One automatic break imposed by specialization is for historians of the early modern period to begin in 1540 and stop at the year of worldwide suppression

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89   Elison, *Deus Destroyed* 73.

FIGURE 15.2.   *Detail of fig. 15.1. Escutcheon with the Name of Jesus.*

of the Jesuits in 1773. But I have shown how the principle of accommodation flourishes now under its new and altered form of inculturation. In this spirit a leading scholar whom I met at the conference for which this article was originally written, Pierre-Antoine Fabre, asked why a book should not be written on accommodation up to the present? It is a good question.

Conclusion

At the beginning of this paper, I asked whether, in writing a history of the Jesuit strategy of accommodation, it is possible to bridge the divide between those working inside and outside Jesuit points of view. The limits beyond which the Jesuit practitioners of accommodation refused to go may prevent this. But goodwill and good history writing have opened up a genuine dialog. No one could write a history of accommodation now without using the works of O'Malley, Standaert, or Maryks. Following their examples a first step would be to analyze the key Jesuit texts that document how the strategy of accommodation developed. Studies written outside the Jesuit point of view have added

FIGURE 15.3   *Willem von Ehrenberg.* Interior of the Antwerp Jesuit Church. *1668. Oil on marble.*
                Antwerp, The Rubens House. A fire destroyed most of the original interior in 1718.

the necessary contexts of political, geographical, textual, and social history. Županov, Rubiés, Estenssoro Fuchs, and others use different allied methods to deepen understanding beyond the face value of Jesuit sources. More radical work by Elison and Hart takes the point of view completely away from the Jesuits and gives it to the Japanese and Chinese whom the Jesuits tried in different ways to accommodate. When the sources allow it this change of perspective deflates the constant triumphant claims of the Jesuit sources and reveals instead the marginal positions, limited scope of understanding, and mistaken politics that led to failure under circumstances they could not control.

For the purposes of this volume, I have shown that Jesuit image theory was integrated into the varied kinds of knowledge that the Jesuits used to guide their practices of accommodation. They could manipulate all the senses to

contrive images of themselves that would be more acceptable and persuasive to the different audiences they wished to persuade. Fragrance of sandalwood might draw attentive converts in Madurai, and lustrous surfaces would captivate the eyes of Antwerp's elite. In both cases the accommodation was double-sided—an accommodation to divergence from practices the Jesuits otherwise might follow and accommodation to customs of the people they wanted to attract. A broader definition of image might include as well the manipulation for political ends of how the Jesuits were perceived by different outside groups. Roberto de Nobili argued for this kind of accommodation, and Alessandro Valignano required it of Jesuits in Japan. Images in this Machiavellian sense were projected as shadows cast to hold the attention of the masses.

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Index Nominum